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DOCUMENTS: VOLUME I

UNITED STATES MINISTERS TO THE PAPAL STATES

INSTRUCTIONS AND DESPATCHES

1848–1868

UNITED STATES MINISTERS TO THE PAPAL STATES

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Edited with Introduction

BY

LEO FRANCIS STOCK, Ph. D., LL. D.

WASHINGTON, D. C. M · CM · XXXIII

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PREFACE.

In inaugurating its series of documentary publications the American Catholic Historical Association conceived as first in importance, among several projects considered, a collection of documents which would illustrate the diplomatic relations between the United States and the Papal States. It was thought that such a volume would serve two purposes: it would bridge a gap that has existed in the diplomatic history of the United States, and it would record a chapter of American Catholic history which, because of the recent agreement between Italy and the Vatican and because of present-day curiosity respecting Catholic loyalty to Church and State, assumes new interest and importance.

There are really two chapters to this diplomatic story: the one beginning with the appointment of the first United States consul to Rome in 1797, the other based upon the more formal relations which date from the appointment, in 1848, of Jacob L. Martin as first *chargé* of the newly established legation at the court of Pius IX. It seemed more important to publish first the correspondence of this second period; it is hoped that a second volume, to contain the consular correspondence, will soon be made possible.

It is surprising that this phase of our diplomatic history should so long have escaped the attention of students, and especially of our Catholic scholars. Scattered and fragmentary references to the subject have appeared from time to time in the *Researches* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia (*e. g.,* XXII, 248, 296, XXV, 396), and in the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York (II, 381, III, 149, XI, 85, XII, 115, XIII, 61). The late Mr. H. Nelson Gay gave a partial account of the Roman mission in his article, "Le relazioni fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti" (Rome, 1907), reprinted from *Nuova Antologia,* CCXX (1907), pp. 657-671; and printed the entire story, with documents, of the Perkins incident (*post,* pp. 143-152), "Uno screzio diplomatico fra il governo pontificio e il governo americano e la condotta degli svizzeri a Perugia il 20 giugno 1859" (Perugia, 1907), from *Archivio Storico del Risorgimento Umbro,* anno III, 1907, pp. 113-201—both studies based upon materials found in Italy. But the official documents in the Department of State at Washington lay neglected as sources of historical investigation until 1922, when the present editor first calendared them and used them for a survey which was in the following December presented before the New Haven meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, under the title, "The United States at the Court of Pius IX" (*Catholic Historical Review,* n. s. III, 103-122, April, 1923), and for a series of lectures before the Catholic Summer School, Cliff Haven, N. Y., July 23-27, 1923.

Other studies made by the editor from these papers appeared as follows: "The Empress of Mexico Visits Rome" (*America,* June 18, 1927); "Italy's Agreement with The Vatican" (*Current History,* XXX, 12-18, April, 1929); "American Consuls to the Papal States, 1797-1870" (*Catholic Historical Review,* XV, 233-251, October, 1929); "The United States and the Vatican: Past Diplomatic Relations" (Carnegie Institution of Washington, *News Service Bulletin,* 1929, No. 10, pp. 57-61); "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy," presidential address before the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, December 27, 1929 (*Catholic Historical Review,* XVI, 1-18, April, 1930); "An American Consul Joins the Papal Zouaves" (*Catholic World,* CXXXII, 146-150, November, 1930). From the material contained in some of these essays the Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, S. J., prepared a paper, "American Notes in Vatican Diplomacy", to which was appended a group of documents relating to the closing of the American mission (U. S. Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies,* XX, 7-27, 1931). Dr. Howard R. Marraro's interesting study of *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1845-1861* (N. Y., 1932), very naturally and frequently cuts across the diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican for the period covered by that work; attention should also be called to Sister Loretta Clare Feiertag's dissertation, prepared at the Catholic University of America, on *American Public Opinion concerning the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Papal States.*

All the documents here presented are printed from copies made at the Department of State. Futile efforts were made by Dr. J. F. Jameson, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, to secure for inclusion in this volume copies of such documents in the office of the papal Secretary of State as are not to be found in Washington; it was not possible to secure the necessary permission to have this search made at that time. The complete story of the diplomacy between the two governments can not, therefore, be known until the material showing "the other side" of the negotiations are made available. But it is not likely that the Vatican archives would disclose much that would alter very materially any of the important phases of the relations as set forth in the instructions and despatches here published.

The editorial policy adopted in presenting these materials requires very little explanation. The arrangement is, of course, chronological under the successive ministers. Embedded documents and enclosures are printed in smaller type; the latter, irrespective of dates, follow the covering letter. In general, the original spelling, capitalization, punctuation, abbreviations, and paragraphing have been retained. Occasionally, a comma or the insertion of a period seemed necessary to make clear the meaning. The liberty has been taken of expanding old sym-

bols and contractions for "and" "th" (after dates), etc. Names of vessels, newspapers, printed pamphlets and books, and foreign phrases have with few exceptions been rendered in italics. Omissions are indicated by the usual dots; the customary square brackets have been employed to enclose additions made to the original by the editor. The salutation in a letter has uniformly been retained, but the formal conclusion and the signature have in most instances been omitted. No attempt was made to cite in footnote references all bibliographical titles bearing upon the subject. Since these notes are used simply to explain the text and not to give extended accounts of political happenings in Italy, it seemed sufficient in each instance to list but one or two authorities from the enormous bibliography now concerned with the Risorgimento movement.

Foremost among the several individuals to whom acknowledgments are due for courteous and helpful assistance in the task of assembling and editing these documents are Dr. Tyler Dennett, former historical adviser to the Department of State, and his successor, Mr. Hunter Miller, without whose permission to copy and publish these materials this volume would not have been possible.

Grateful appreciation must also be expressed of the willing consent of the Benedictine Foundation, St. Anselm's Priory, and especially of Dom Francis Augustine Walsh, O. S. B., to enter into an agreement with the Association whereby the latter acquired copies of over half of these letters which had been made with the view to publication by the Foundation, together with certain contracts that had been entered into with subscribers.

The editor wishes to express his personal thanks to the Library of Congress for many favors granted; to the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday for helpful suggestions and for editorial service; to Mrs. Natalia Goraynoff Summers, chief of the archives section of the Department of State, for many courtesies; to the Rev. Dr. Francesco Lardone, Professor of Roman Law at the Catholic University of America, for reading the Italian portions of the book; to my daughter, Mrs. William M. Murray, for obtaining copies of documents, collating, and for valuable aid in reading the proofs; and to Mrs. Mangum Weeks for appreciated assistance in copying and collating.

LEO FRANCIS STOCK.

Washington, D. C.
May 30, 1933.

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INTRODUCTION.

Friendly relations between the United States and the Papal States date from December 15, 1784, when the papal nuncio at Paris wrote to the American commissioners that his government had agreed to open the ports of Civita Vecchia on the Mediterranean, and Ancona on the Adriatic, to the vessels of the infant republic. In June, 1797, John B. Sartori, a native of Rome, was commissioned as the first consul to represent the United States in the papal dominions.[1]

An echo of Sartori's consulship was heard many years later when his heirs, now resident in the United States, presented through the American minister a claim of $122,500 against the papal government. This claim was based upon the purchase by the consul of land belonging to ecclesiastics and religious communities which had been confiscated during the French invasion of 1798, but which, after the treaty of Vienna, had been restored to its lawful owners. Although fifty years and more had elapsed since this event and the case had before been dismissed, the papal Secretary of State consented to a reexamination of its merits. It was finally rejected, Stockton, the American minister, reporting that he would have been "sanguine at any other time", but that the government was then too greatly disturbed by revolutionary movements to give full consideration to the case.

It is of interest to note that the next consul, Felix Cicognani, also of Rome, bore the same name as the recently appointed Apostolic Delegate to the United States. The subsequent American consuls to represent our country at Rome during this period were: George W. Greene, grandson of Nathanael Greene of Revolutionary fame; Nicholas Browne, William C. Sanders, Daniel LeRoy, Horatio de V. Glentworth, William Dean Howells who, although accepting the appointment, never served; W. J. Stillman, Edwin C. Cushman, Charlotte Cushman's nephew, who is remembered for an incident which brought charges against him that he had fought with the papal troops during an engagement with the forces of Garibaldi; and David M. Armstrong who remained as first consul to the kingdom of United Italy. To these the papal government granted unusual privileges and favors; in fact, they were received at all formal functions on the same footing with full diplomatic representatives of other nations.

The choice of Pius IX, in 1846, to succeed Gregory XVI as the occupant of the Chair of Peter, was a popular one. The liberal character of the early reforms of the new pontiff—his release of political prisoners, the greater freedom granted to the press, the creation of a national guard, the grant-

[1] All Statements made in this Introduction are, unless otherwise indicated, based upon the documents which follow and the authorities cited in the footnotes.

ing of a constitution, the material improvements to roads and railroads, the placing of a box at the Vatican to receive complaints, etc., merited the enthusiasm these acts aroused in Italy and abroad. When a council of state was formed, the Americans in Rome met at the consulate to attend the installation of the deputies. It was agreed to secure a national flag and to proceed in a body, each to carry a branch of laurel.

This popular rejoicing in the election of Pope Pius found expression in a demonstration held in Broadway Tabernacle, New York, November 29, 1847, at which an address, presented by Horace Greeley, was adopted and, with appropriate resolutions, sent to Rome. Similar expressions of sympathy for the enlightened policy and liberal measures of the Pope were given in other centres. From several sources came suggestions that more formal diplomatic relations be opened with the States of the Church. Many Americans who were living in Rome at this time expressed the hope that President Polk would send some distinguished representative to the Holy See. Nicholas Browne, then consul at Rome, in a despatch to Secretary Buchanan, June 1, 1847, stated that high officials of the papal government and the Holy Father himself had expressed to him the desire that diplomatic relations might be established between the two governments.

President Polk responded to these sentiments. In his message to Congress, December 7, 1847, he stated that "the interesting political events" then in progress in the Papal States, "as well as a just regard to our commercial interests" rendered "highly expedient" the proposal to open such relations. The "commercial" expectations were never realized. Among the proposals of the new pontiff was the formation of a commercial league, of the nature of the German *Zollverein*, which should combine the activity and competition of the separate states with the power of national unity. With this league or with the individual states it was hoped that commercial treaties would be concluded. Reciprocity in the matter of exemption of duties on vessels of the respective nations was agreed to, but trade with the Papal States never reached large proportions. There were few wealthy merchants in Rome; the system of government monopolies, especially in tobacco, and the political confusion of the succeeding years both in Italy and the United States further operated against the establishment of profitable trade relations.

Following the recommendation of the presidential message, items appeared in the deficiency appropriations bill of that session providing for "an outfit and the salary of a chargé" at the court of Rome. These items were retained although they were subjected to prolonged and bitter debate, especially in the House of Representatives where the opposition was led by Lewis C. Levin of Pennsylvania, leader of the Native American party in that state. In the Senate the religious phase of the question played a minor part in the debates. Senator Badger (North Carolina) accused Polk and his party of pandering to the Catholic vote, but on the

whole the opposition was based on the opinion that the political and commercial needs of the situation could adequately be cared for by the consulate already established.

Jacob L. Martin, secretary of the American legation at Paris, was appointed *chargé d'affaires* to the new mission. In his earliest instructions to Martin, Secretary Buchanan emphasized the necessity of distinguishing between the spiritual and temporal powers of the Holy Father. The *chargé* was instructed to devote his efforts exclusively "to the cultivation of the most friendly civil relations with the Papal Government and to the extension of the commerce between the two countries." He was warned to "carefully avoid even the appearance of interfering in ecclesiastical questions, whether these relate to the United States or any other portion of the world." Succeeding ministers were more than once told by the Department of State to keep in mind this distinction between the Pope as head of his government and as supreme pontiff of the Catholic Church.

The diplomatic relations thus established continued for twenty years with no interruption in the friendly feelings existing betwen the two governments. With two exceptions the matters arising during this period were unrelated episodes that called for no sustained policy on the part of either country. These episodes, fully told in the following pages, do show however a desire on the part of each government to oblige the wishes of the other. The attitude of the United States towards the Papal States during the political changes in the latter country, and the position of the Holy See respecting the American Civil War were the more important phases of these diplomatic relations.

Throughout the long period of struggle for Italian unity, the American ministers, however sympathetic with the revolutionary elements were their personal feelings, were not blind to the perplexing domestic and foreign problems involved and to the lack of reciprocal cooperation on the part of certain factions in the Pope's programme of reform. "A struggle is now going on . . . for the independence of Italy," wrote Martin in his first despatch, "which has the lively sympathies of France, but on which England is supposed to look with no friendly eye." Among the Italians themselves, he reported, there were several parties, one in favor of uniting all Italy under one of its existing sovereigns, another desiring only a confederation, and a third working for the establishment of one or more republics. These factions were awaiting only the expulsion of the Austrians to begin the struggle. Even before he left Paris for his post, Martin was visited by agents of the republican party in Lombardy and the Venetian States in an effort to win his sympathy for their cause and to urge him to proceed to Rome by way of Milan, that the presence of the representative of the American Republic might be turned to account against the King of Sardinia.

Martin reached Rome, August 2, 1848, but because of the political

agitation in that city he was not received by His Holiness until August 19. "His reception was cordial in a high degree", the *chargé* writes. The Pope in this interview spoke of his efforts to introduce liberal reforms into his states and of the difficulties which he encountered, observing that it required prudence and patience to prepare his people for an order of things to which they had not been accustomed. In less than a month Martin was dead, a victim of the fever; he was succeeded by Lewis Cass, Jr., who remained until 1858 and who, in 1854, was raised to the rank of minister resident.

Before the arrival of Cass at Rome the Mazzini republic had been proclaimed and the Pope had withdrawn to Gaeta under the protection of the King of the Two Sicilies. Nicholas Browne, the consul, who in the absence of Martin's successor was in charge of the American legation, lost little time in tendering to the new regime his "warmest congratulations", giving assurances that his government would "take the earliest opportunity to recognize that of Rome in the most satisfactory manner". "So deeply rooted in every American heart," he wrote, "(is) the love of liberty, that the nation will at once hail with joy the Independence of the Roman Republic long before their diplomatic agents can have time, in due official form, to give expression to the generous sentiments of their constituency." In his official uniform Browne joined in the procession of the constituent assembly. But in spite of his urgings upon the home government to extend recognition and his belief that "the papacy is fallen, morally fallen forever", Buchanan was not convinced of the stability of the new order. The Secretary wrote Cass that while it was the constant policy of the United States to recognize existing governments without inquiring into their legitimacy, such governments must first give evidence of their will and power to maintain themselves; this, he thought, could not be asserted of the new republic. Cass, also, was convinced that the provisional government, because of the schemings of the European powers, could not live. Recognition of the provisional government had not been accorded by a single foreign power. On the contrary, the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See had accompanied the Pope to Gaeta where it remained to return with him to Rome.

In an effort to secure the strength which recognition by the United States would give, Cass was importuned by Mazzini and other officials to present his credentials and establish diplomatic relations with the provisional government. Dinners, seats at the opera, and other civilities were offered him, but the American minister declared he held no official communication with the existing government. Later, Cass was requested by the Prince of Canino, representing the ministry, to submit to the commanding officer of the French an ultimatum of the government demanding an armistice of fifteen days, within which period the question of papal restoration was to be determined by the vote of the people; at the

end of the armistice the French were to withdraw or war was to be declared. Cass stated that he declined to serve in the matter. But Ferdinand de Lesseps, who headed the French mission, says that the minister did act in behalf of the Roman Republic. General Oudinot, commander of the French forces, reported to Lesseps that Cass had left a paper with him, embodying these proposals, to which Cass had added another " in which it was proposed that he should sign the agreement as Minister of the United States ". Other authorities make similar statements, especially Farini who says: " The General, scarcely casting a glance on these articles, so contrary to the commission given M. Lesseps, and so entirely at variance with his own ideas, answered Mr. Cass, that, on the score of humanity, he was desirous of peace, but that beyond all he desired an honourable peace and a speedy conclusion; and then, without saying anything further, he took leave of the Ambassador, and gave no account of the interview to M. Lesseps."

The political situation became so complicated and uncertain that Cass was instructed to use his discretion in presenting his letter of credence to the provisional government or to withhold it some time longer. In doubt as to the purport of this instruction, the minister wrote for further interpretation, and was told that the only limitation imposed upon him was that any government to which he might present his credentials should possess " the necessary requisite of at least apparent stability ".

The Italian revolution rapidly crumbled. In Tuscany Austria restored the former rulers to the duchies, then intervened at Lucca, Leghorn, and Florence and restored the old government under the Grand Duke. Sicily was also reduced. The plight of the Holy Father brought Louis Napoleon to his assistance; other objects of this intervention were the winning of the French Catholics to the Napoleonic cause and the counter-balancing of Austrian power in Italy. The expedition under General Oudinot met with early defeat, but on July 2, 1849, the French forces entered Rome; shortly afterwards the Republican Assembly was dispersed, the triumvirate was forced to yield, and papal government was reëstablished. In the following April, after an absence of seventeen months, Pius returned to Rome with shaken faith in his liberal program of reform. Thereafter he refused to compromise with the new order. Cass had his first audience with the Holy Father, April 19, when the Pope " adverted with much feeling to the expressions of sympathy and contributions of pecuniary assistance which he had received from citizens of the United States, members of the Catholic Church, during the late events ".

A few days after the collapse of the republic some French soldiers entered the American consulate and arrested two Italians who had taken refuge on the roof. It was shown in the course of the investigation which followed the complaints of Cass, that two of Browne's servants had that day repeatedly insulted the soldiers while passing, and that an individual in the crowd which had gathered in front of the consul's house, had drawn

a poniard on the guard. The patrol, not knowing the character of the house until they were retiring, entered to make the arrests. Satisfactory apology was made to the consul, and the prisoners were released.

In 1853 occurred the eventful visit of Monsignor Bedini to the United States. The American minister was requested by Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State, " to apprise, in advance, his government of the intended visit of Monsignor Bedini, in order to secure for him a cordial welcome, the more especially as he is the bearer of a letter from His Holiness ". This letter merely offered to the President the Pope's assurances of his distinguished consideration, and requested the President to extend his protection to the Catholics of the United States. Bedini was received with all respect and courtesy by the President and other officials in Washington. But when the ex-priest Gavazzi, an exile from Italy, attacked the papal visitor as a supporter of despotism, the anti-Catholic flame was lighted. Demonstrations against Bedini began to occur in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Carthage, Cleveland, Covington, New Orleans, Baltimore, and elsewhere. These insults, which continued even after the nuncio left the country, were made the subject of discussion in the United States Senate. Secretary Marcy instructed Cass to assure Antonelli of the friendly reception given to Bedini by the President, " and his regret that any part of the people should have forgotten in moments of excitement what was due to a distinguished functionary charged with a friendly mission from a foreign power with which this country has hitherto maintained, and is still desirous of maintaining amicable relations ". Cass replied that the annoyances to which Bedini was subjected excited considerable indignation among his friends and the displeasure of the papal government. To the minister's communication, containing Marcy's expression of regret, Antonelli replied that " although he had learned with pain the occurrences which had taken place ", he was " nevertheless well persuaded that the American Government would disapprove and condemn them ".

Cass was succeeded, in July, 1858, by John P. Stockton who later represented New Jersey in the United States Senate. He had his first audience with Pope Pius, November 27, when he was received by His Holiness " with his usual kindness and cordiality ".

When Stockton arrived at his post the movement which was finally to lead to the unification of Italy was well under way. The reforms with which Victor Emmanuel began his reign in Sardinia encouraged the republicans throughout Italy to hope that through him their cause could be stirred to new life. But unless Austria could be driven from Italy there could be no hope for the latter's freedom. The diplomacy of Cavour, prime minister of Sardinia, threw his country into the Crimean War on the side of France and England, thus turning the isolation of Austria to the advantage of Italy. This step gained Cavour admission to the peace congress of Paris where he presented the Italian question by demanding the emancipation of Lombardy from Austrian rule, the secularization of the

Roman government, and governmental reforms in Naples. Although no action was taken on these proposals Napoleon III saw in them the opportunity of supplanting Austrian dominance of European politics by French prestige. So in the summer of 1858 he entered into a secret alliance with Cavour which provided for the " complete clearance of the Austrians from Italy ", the expansion of Piedmont into the Kingdom of Upper Italy, which was to include the Duchies and Romagna; the organization of a kingdom in Central Italy, the continuation of Naples as a separate kingdom, and the retention of Rome, and only Rome, by the Pope who should, however, be president of the federation of the Italian states.

Pius IX apparently trusted neither France nor Austria. Stockton wrote on March 1, 1859, that " the Papal Government have demanded the withdrawal of the French and Austrian troops ". The French minister asked whether Austria would withdraw from papal territory; the Austrian reply was that " the Austrian troops would withdraw if the French did ".

The expected war soon broke. When Austrian troops invaded Sardinian territory the French declared war against Austria. The papal government, wrote Stockton, pursued a policy " dictated by the instincts of self preservation ". Austria and France were both Catholic countries; if Napoleon should rob the Pope of any of his patrimony or fail to prevent a movement against the integrity of the Papal States, Austria would gain the support of Catholic Europe, and this was what the Emperor wished to avoid. Both countries gave assurances of protection, and Cardinal Antonelli sent a letter to Stockton, and presumably to all members of the diplomatic corps pointing out " the propriety to have the Papal Government as well as his States in such a situation as not to be diverted from the neutrality which belongs to it on account of its special standing ".

Stockton sent to his home government detailed accounts of the early allied victories and of the diplomacy at work throughout Italy. The *status quo* of the Papal States was threatened when Romagna revolted and demanded a dictatorship under Victor Emmanuel. Ravenna and Perugia were also in turmoil. When the downfall of Austrian power in Italy seemed certain, the armistice of Villafranca, arranged by the two emperors without consulting Victor Emmanuel, was announced. The agreement provided for the cession of Lombardy to Napoleon who was to transfer it to Victor Emmanuel; Austria was to retain possession of Venetia, while Romagna was to revert to papal authority. There was much speculation concerning Napoleon's motives in terminating the war so suddenly. Stockton thought the real reason was " that France was not able to make the next year's campaign without such exertions as would have made discontent at home, and this with the fear of a European alliance against him influenced the Emperor ". He believed also that the strong republican tendencies of the movement were alarming to all the monarchical governments. In view of the Pope's protest against the turn of affairs in Romagna and other parts of the Papal States the real motive of Napoleon's action

was perhaps to be found in his fear that the movement would dismember the States of the Church. However disappointed were Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, and other leaders of the liberation movement in the armistice, France and Sardinia had taken the first step in their agreement—the dominance of Austria in Italian politics was checked.

During the disturbances in Perugia the papal guards were fired upon from the windows and roof of a hotel where were staying the family of Mr. Edward Perkins, " a highly respected citizen of Boston ". The soldiers entered the Perkins apartment and found the Americans concealed in a closet. The patrol claimed no indignity was offered but that they had withdrawn after returning a coin found on the carpet and refusing a purse offered by Perkins. The latter maintained that the soldiers threatened with drawn swords. During the confusion the hotel was pillaged, and the jewelry, money, and clothing of the Americans were carried off. Stockton demanded the immediate arrest and punishment of the guilty ones, and the restitution of the value of the articles taken, set at $2425, to which amount the American minister added 1000 scudi " for incidental damages ". The papal authorities contested the facts as stated by Perkins, but made prompt settlement in full, protesting however that the Americans had taken no precaution to place themselves in safety. Stockton thought it best not to discuss the question of facts, pleading only the principle of international law that he who promises security by a passport is bound to protect it. This position was approved by the American Secretary of State who wrote that the promptness of Cardinal Antonelli in acceding to it closed a transaction which might have involved the two governments in serious misundertanding.

A few months later, in March, 1860, the political situation provoked another incident which for a while threatened to disturb the cordial relations of the two countries. In the midst of a band concert on the Piazza Colonna some persons began to hiss the papal guards, whereupon an order was given by the French commander to clear the square. It happened that Mr. Glentworth, the American consul, was just then passing from his door to a carriage. He was assaulted and menaced, and believed he owed his life to the interposition of a French officer who was with him. A short distance above the consulate two other Americans, William Hall and Adams Hill, were also assaulted, one of them being cut on the brow. These acts were at once disavowed on the part of the papal government and full apology made. In view of the belief that there was no intention of attacking American citizens, since among the wounded were two French officers in citizen dress, and a relative of the French commander, Stockton felt, after so prompt and full disclaimer on the part of the papal authorities, that to make pecuniary demand would be taking low ground and would be putting the United States in the position of asking a few dollars for the healing of national honor.

The movement for unification did not cease with the treaty of Zurich,

November 10, 1859, which substantially repeated the terms of the armistice of Villafranca. At the beginning of the following year Cavour, certain of Austrian impotence and assured of English approval, declared that Victor Emmanuel could no longer resist the wishes of the Italian people to unite under his leadership. This time the States of the Church did not escape dismemberment. In the end only the territory of Rome remained of the patrimony of St. Peter, and this survived because of French protection.

The existing state of affairs led many to believe that the Holy Father was preparing to leave Rome. Stockton adverted to this rumor in an interview with Antonelli, but the papal secretary denied that any such move had been seriously considered, although circumstances might arise to make it necessary, as, for example, abandonment by the French. "In that case," said Stockton, "Your Eminence has too much sagacity to believe that the Pope's departure would be a good move . . . that is the time to make terms with Victor Emmanuel." "Make terms with the robbers who have despoiled us," replied the Cardinal Secretary, "what terms could we make with them." The American minister rejoined that "it is necessary to make terms with the devil sometimes". In the course of the conversation, Antonelli, predicting the final success of the republican party in Italy, remarked that "the United States was the only free country in the world".

After the entry of Victor Emmanuel into Naples, Francis II and the royal family came to Rome. Subsequently the king requested that the U. S. *Iroquois,* then in port, carry an officer with a despatch which would save the city of Messina and prevent the useless sacrifice of life. Stockton urged Captain Palmer to accede to his request, but the commander refused to divert his vessel from his orders, especially in view of the fact that there were steamers running to Naples, that a French man-of-war was in the harbor, as well as the papal vessel, the *Immaculate Conception.* Although the minister pledged himself to assume full responsibility, Palmer still refused and the despatch was entrusted to the French ship which, however, broke a rudder and could not leave. The captain of the *Iroquois* was again appealed to; he was told that if history should record the destruction of Messina, it would also record the fact that the fastest ship in the Mediterranean, and belonging to the United States, was lying idly by and refused to carry an order of mercy which would have prevented the catastrophe. Captain Palmer remained obdurate; the despatch, consenting to make terms, did not arrive until after two days of useless fighting.

On April 2, 1861, Stockton asked for his recall, and Rufus King was appointed to succeed him. Political revolution threatened the life both of the papal government and the American Union. Secretary Seward, calling attention to this kindred situation in each country, instructed King to assure the government of His Holiness that the United States would not violate the friendship of the two countries by any intervention in the domestic affairs of the States of the Church. "Intrusion by a foreign nation anywhere tends only to embarrass rather than aid the best designs

of the friends of freedom, religion and humanity, by impairing the unity of the State exclusively interested." As to the attitude of Rome toward the United States, it was expected that the Pope's government would take a similar position. "We could not ask or consent to receive more, and the Government of His Holiness will not propose to do less, for he is a friend to peace, to good order, and to the cause of human nature, which is now, as it always has been, our cause." But King did not go to Rome at this time, having resigned his commission to accept one as brigadier-general in the federal army; the above instructions, therefore, were carried out by Stockton who had not yet left his post.

Alexander W. Randall, also of Wisconsin, was appointed, apparently at the suggestion of King, to fill the vacancy at Rome. Reporting his first interview with Antonelli, through an interpreter, Randall wrote: "I was careful in what I said to him, because I became satisfied, in a few minutes after the interview commenced, that he could understand and speak the English language." The new minister very early concluded that he was not fitted for the post. He wrote his chief that he was unaccustomed to the formalities and ceremonies of courts; they were distasteful to him; he understood neither Italian, French, nor German, and was on this account likely to be imposed upon; and he was not versed in the history of European politics, a knowledge of which he deemed necessary in such a position. He appears to have been distrustful of his interpreter, the Rev. Dr. Smith, pro-rector of the College of the Propaganda, for in sending to the Department of State copies of his address to the Holy Father and the latter's reply, he wrote: "The two lines struck out in the reply, contain what was actually said; but for reasons of his own, Dr. Smith drew his pen across them. I think both my remarks and the reply have suffered, some in the translation, from the fact, that in the reply, I am assumed to have said, what is not warranted by my address."

Randall was not unobservant of the political movements about him; nor did he lack candor in writing of the situation and estimating the characteristics of the principal leaders. Victor Emmanuel he thought not a great man, "and far from being a wise one". He was "gross and licentious in his habits". Garibaldi was a brave, patriotic man, loving liberty, and a good soldier, but he was no statesman, and because of his greater popularity gave constant annoyance to the king. Louis Napoleon was an enigma; sagacious as a statesman, he was nevertheless in a predicament, and to preserve his consistency must be constantly inconsistent. Randall proved himself a prophet when he wrote: "He will have trouble, bye and bye."

Randall was succeeded, in August, 1862, by Richard M. Blatchford who resigned in October, 1863, when King, for the second time, was given the appointment. In the meantime the political situation in Italy had been influenced by several circumstances. Cavour was dead, Austria had been defeated in several battles, and only Venetia and Rome stood in

the way of complete unification. But success had been too rapid; party divergencies, personal interests, and regional jealousies bred discontent, factionalism and open quarrels. Garibaldi attacked the Cavour party, and when he led a movement to have Victor Emmanuel crowned King of Italy in Rome, he was arrested.

Rome remained comparatively quiet during these years. The arrest of Ludovico Fausti, Antonelli's servant, on the charge of conspiracy was followed by the Cardinal Secretary's temporary resignation; there were occasional political demonstrations, and rumors were rife of the Pope's intended departure from the Eternal City, but little occurred to cause the American ministers to believe that Pius IX would be dispossessed of his temporal authority.

Then came the announcement of the Convention of September 15, 1864, between Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel, according to the terms of which the former agreed to withdraw the French troops from Rome on condition that the papal dominions would not be invaded by the latter. By some the news of this agreement was looked upon as the first step towards making Rome the capital of a united Italy, for it was expected that the withdrawal of French support would at once be followed by a revolution. In other quarters it aroused protest and was regarded as a betrayal of the cause, since it apparently would exclude Rome from the united kingdom. Rufus King reported that "the supporters of the Pope's temporal power look with distrust, if not with apprehension, upon the threatened change in the existing condition of affairs." France withdrew her troops, and in June, 1865, the capital of the kingdom of Italy was removed from Turin to Florence.

If the Pope could view these political changes with equanimity, as supreme Pontiff of his Church he could not disregard the religious issues involved. In March, 1865, he invited Victor Emmanuel "to send to Rome persons in whom he trusted, so that means might be found to remove all obstacles impeding the relief of great religious necessities". Francesco Vegezzi came to Rome bringing instructions that made agreement impossible. These were: a modification of diocesan boundaries, the appointment of new bishops, and the obligation of taking the oath of fealty to the king, without exception or distinction. Two years later negotiations were reopened between Rome and Italy. This second mission was confided to Michelangelo Tonello who yielded all former points of controversy excepting the right of veto in episcopal appointments. Antonelli finally accepted this condition, but the Italian Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify the agreement.

In 1866, as a result of the Seven Weeks' War, in which Italy allied herself with Prussia against Austria, Venetia was added to the Italian kingdom. It was now evident that it would be only a question of time when the occupation of Rome would make the unification of Italy complete. Anticipating this probability, the American minister requested

instructions from his home government as to the course he should pursue. Seward directed King to " remain in the same political relations hereafter as heretofore, so long as you receive no countervailing instruction. . . ." In the event of a change in government diplomatic functions were to be suspended. If the papal government removed to some other place, King was not to follow it, but was to take up his residence in Rome or in some adjacent country and await further instructions.

Rumors persisted that when the French finally withdrew from Rome the Pope would seek temporary residence elsewhere. There was much speculation as to the probable location of such an asylum. In 1863 the English government suggested that he retire to Malta where he would be provided " a mansion fit for his reception ". " There ", wrote Earl Russell, British Prime Minister, " His Holiness might be surrounded by his chief Cardinals and most trusty counsellors. He would not be asked to subscribe to any conditions repugnant to his conscience." At the same time an order was sent to the Admiralty " to accede to any request of the Pope to send a ship to Civita Vecchia to convey him to Malta ". In 1866 this invitation was renewed. Before a consistory of cardinals, late in October of that year, Pius intimated his purpose to remain in Rome unless compelled by force to leave, when he would seek " that region where he can best fulfil his supreme Apostolic Mission ". On November 20 King wrote that several officials of the papal government had intimated to him " that the presence of the American Ship of War at Civita Vecchia was highly desirable and that if the Pope felt compelled to abandon Rome *he might seek a refuge in the United States* ". General Kanzler, Minister of War, and Monsignor Nardi, domestic chaplain to the Pope, each expressed very explicitly to the American minister the opinion " that the only country in which the Pope could seek and find a suitable and secure Asylum was the great Republic of America ". King was certain that " his Holiness himself had spoken of it more than once and in terms that seemed to imply approval ". To Kanzler's inquiry as to how, in King's opinion, the Holy Father would be received in the United States, the minister replied that " our country was the home of civil and religious liberty, as well as the refuge to all who fled from political, and other troubles in the old world; and that his Holiness, should he see fit to go to the United States, would no doubt meet with a kind welcome and be left to pursue unquestioned and unmolested, his great work as Head of the Catholic Church ". Under these circumstances, and after consultation with Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who was then in Rome, King telegraphed Minister Harvey at Lisbon asking him to inform Admiral Goldsborough, commanding the Mediterranean fleet, " that important matters seemed to call for the immediate presence of one of his ships at Civita Vecchia ". The *Swatara* and *Frolic* were sent. Seward approved the minister's course but thought it would be indiscreet and disrespectful to the Holy Father to assume,

in the absence of more definite information, that it was in the Pope's mind to come to America. There was no American minister at Rome when the city fell.

The withdrawal of the French troops from Rome and the substitution of the papal for the French flag over the city brought no immediate disturbance. "Every day of quiet is a day gained", remarked the Holy Father to King. "They tell me the Republicans are coming to Rome . . . that Garibaldi, Mazzini, are coming and mean to make Rome the capital of Italy. Well, we will wait and see. This (pointing to a crucifix on his table) is all *my* artillery."

Toward the close of 1867 Garibaldi was within fifteen miles of Rome. Cushman, the American consul, accompanied the pontifical troops for four days and witnessed the battle which resulted in the capture of Garibaldi's garrison at Nerola. Serious charges were made by Richard Rothwell, an English artist, that the American consul, armed with his rifle, had joined the papal troops and had participated in the fighting. Cushman, designating his accuser as "an old man of eccentric habits and very little reputation as an artist", insisted that he had accompanied the troops merely as a spectator; that during the fighting he found himself under fire, and picked up a gun for his own protection. Cushman's explanation, while it modified the exaggeration of the complaint in the eyes of his government, did not save him from official reprimand for his participation in the affair. Armstrong, the last of the American consuls to the Papal States, was in Rome little more than a year when he witnessed the fall of the temporal power, September 20, 1870.

Intervention in Italian affairs had more or less alienated from Louis Napoleon both the Clericals, who resented the encroachment upon the papal dominions, and the Liberals, who thought he should have gone further. His plan to reestablish a French colonial empire in America seemed to offer the opportunity of regaining the support of both factions. Besides, his choice of Maximilian to rule over this dominion would mollify the Austrians for their disappointments in Italy.

Before assuming the imperial crown, Maximilian and Charlotte visited Rome to receive the parting benediction of the Holy Father. In the Eternal City the royal couple were the guests of Gutierrez d'Estrade who for his anti-republican leanings had suffered much under the presidency of Bustamente, and who had been chairman of the commission which had waited upon the archduke to tender him the crown. "By command of the Emperor and Empress of Mexico", the diplomatic corps attending the papal court, members of the Roman nobility, and distinguished foreigners were invited by Estrada to visit "their Majesties". The American minister, Rufus King, was embarrassed. He was not ignorant of his government's attitude toward the Mexican business. On the other hand a false step might undo the success of his mission in thus far preventing recognition by the papal government of the Confederacy. In the absence

of instructions and in view of the fact that all members of the diplomatic corps proposed to unite in paying this "visit of courtesy", King finally decided to attend the reception.

Nearby, in the Academia Ecclesiastica dei Nobili, was a young American, Robert Seton, later titular Archbishop of Heliopolis, who, under threat of dismissal, refused to accompany his companions to this affair. "Monsignor", he said to his superior, "I mean no disrespect, but my country is opposed to the setting up of this Empire." When this "insult" was reported to the Holy Father, Pius replied: "He is my only American; he shall remain." Seton is authority for the statement that on the afternoon before the reception King told him he was determined not to attend.

To the American minister Maximilian appeared "an accomplished gentleman, conversing in French, Italian, and English", although not seeming to possess "sufficient force of character or strength of intellect to deal successfully with the difficult questions" which he would find surrounding the Mexican throne. But he was cordiality itself, inquiring very particularly about the health of President Lincoln and the news of the war. Nor did the French ambassador at Rome lose this opportunity to speak to the government and people of the United States through their minister. He thought American opinion regarding foreign rule in Mexico not unnatural, but he felt certain that when the French protectorate came to be fully understood these jealousies would disappear. "Mexico", he said, "under a stable government and settled rule, will become not only one of the richest and most prosperous countries in the world, but the very best customer the United States can have; and as for our protectorate we shall be only too glad to withdraw the moment that Maximilian, accepted by the people of Mexico, assumes the crown and enters upon the discharge of his imperial duties."

If the American minister thought it not improper to join the diplomatic society in these ceremonials, he was soon to be informed of the contrary opinion of his home government. "You will", wrote Seward, "quietly discontinue official relations with the representatives of the Archduke at Rome, and will be expected to bear in mind hereafter that you can know no government of any State but the one which is recognized by this Department, and that only agents of governments which are acknowledged here can be treated by you as representative of foreign powers." With this reprimand went the reminder that it was not customary for the United States to abandon old friends, nor did she make haste in acknowledging new revolutionary powers. Maximilian and Charlotte were forgotten at the American legation in Rome, as many questions arising from the Civil War pressed for action.

Early in 1866 Napoleon announced his intention of withdrawing his forces which had been supporting the Mexican scheme. Maximilian, seeing the end, turned in vain for support of the Mexican Clericals, then

he favored abdication. But it was not for this that Charlotte ("the better man of the two", as her father, Leopold of Belgium, often teased her) had carried the elaborate etiquette of the Court of Vienna to Mexico, surrounding herself with native ladies-in-waiting whose graceful mantilla and becoming *rebozo* had given way to the clumsy crinoline of the '60s and the unbecoming large bonnets imported by French and Belgian milliners. She did so much desire to play the queen. She would plead first with the Emperor of the French; if he remained obdurate she would again go to Rome to appeal to the Pope to force the Clericals in Mexico to come to terms with her husband.

Charlotte was not yet twenty-seven when she denounced Napoleon in that stormy interview at Saint-Cloud. At Rome, French and Roman soldiers escorted her on her frequent visits to the Vatican. Rufus King was at this time out of the city, having gone to Switzerland and Germany to escape the fever. Hooker, secretary of the legation, had not forgotten Charlotte's first visit. "She had while here", he wrote to Seward, "a reception of the diplomatic corps. I, of course, did not attend." This same despatch reports the end of her dream. His Holiness did not give her any satisfaction. "One morning the Pope was surprised by her appearing at the Vatican at a very early hour demanding his protection, saying that those around her wished to poison her, and showing her mind affected." Her brother was sent for and took her away. Only in the pitiable surroundings of the madhouse could she continue her royal rôle.

It was Father John Bannon, Confederate agent to Ireland, who first proposed the possible advantages to the Confederacy of enlisting the sympathies of the Holy Father, through whose direct influence and that of his legates and hierarchy the attitude of the Catholic governments of France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Bavaria, and the opinions of Catholics everywhere might be directed. The presence of an American minister at the papal court was favorable to the federal cause. The efforts that were made to impress the Holy Father with the belief that the services of Archbishop Hughes in behalf of the Union had injured the Church in the United States, were unavailing. To Randall, the Pope expressed pride that at this critical juncture the archbishop had been singled out by his country for such an important mission. Antonelli told the same minister that if he had the honor of being an American citizen, he would do all in his power to preserve the nation undivided. To Blatchford the Holy Father indirectly proposed mediation. Such a proposal, he intimated, should be tendered by a government so unimportant as to irritate neither the pride nor the sensitiveness of the American nation; that it should be offered by some smaller country which had no interest in diminishing the power of the American government, a country that had neither army nor navy, and whose very humbleness might make the offer acceptable. He then added that he had but a few bat-

talions of soldiers and no navy except a single corvette which was then useless. To Rufus King Antonelli expressed the conviction that the Confederate States had sought an unconstitutional remedy; and to Stillman, the American consul, he said there was but one course for the federal government to pursue, it could act only as it had acted, and that it could not treat with the South save on submission. The Pope told King that much as he deprecated the war, he could never lend any sanction to the system of African slavery.

But the Holy See, of course, desired peace and did not now forsake its customary policy of attempting to bring this about. To the Archbishops of New York and New Orleans he sent open communications urging their efforts towards reconciliation. These letters offered to the Southern leaders a pretext for inaugurating relations with Pius IX. To A. Dudley Mann was entrusted a letter to the Pope expressing the thanks of President Davis for the kindly feeling displayed. Mann had several interviews with Cardinal Antonelli and was later received by the Holy Father. These favors were much appreciated by Mann who wrote: " How strikingly majestic the conduct of the Government of the Papal States in its bearing toward me when contrasted with the sneaking subterfuges to which some of the Governments of western Europe have had recourse in order to evade intercourse with our Commissioners! "

In December, 1863, the Pope wrote a reply to Davis which Mann accepted as a positive recognition of his government, and at once sent his congratulations to all his " countrymen and countrywomen upon this benign event ". Mann's superiors did not regard the Pope's letter in the same light. Slidell thought it " not worth while printing "; Benjamin held it of little value and considered the Holy Father's address of Davis as " President of the Confederate States " a mere formula of courtesy to his correspondent and not a political acknowledgment of the fact.

In this connection Odo Russell tells a curious story of the Pope's " wonderful ignorance of ordinary names and things ". They were speaking of the Civil War and deploring the waste of life. Pope Pius said: " J'ai écrit une lettre à M. Davis, le Président du Sud, et j'ai aussi écrit *à l'autre monsieur,* qui est le Président du Nord." Russell suggested that " l'autre monsieur's " name was Lincoln, to which the Pope replied " that he believed it was so." [2]

Another Confederate agent appeared in Rome in the person of Mr. James T. Soutter, a native of Virginia, but for several years president of the Bank of the Republic, New York. Soutter also carried a letter addressed by Jefferson Davis to the Pope, thanking the Holy Father for his former letter, expressing the satisfaction which that letter had given to the Southern people, and remarking upon the fact that the Pope was the

[2] Sir Arthur Hardinge, *Life of Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, Fourth Earl of Carnarvon, 1831-1890,* I, 267.

only potentate in Europe who had uttered a word of sympathy for the Confederates in the day of their distress. Soutter had interviews with Antonelli and the Holy Father, but King reported that the Confederate representative received no encouragement in the matter of recognition.

Rumor persisted that the Pope had recognized the Southern Confederacy; in fact Seward wrote the American minister that the Department of State had been informed "by a gentleman of high standing" in Canada that a person in Montreal had in his possession a document signed by Pius giving recognition to the Confederate government. Seward did not believe this story, but asked King to make inquiries of the Cardinal Secretary concerning it, and if the statement was confirmed the minister was to request his passport and retire to Switzerland or elsewhere and await further instructions. Without hesitation and in the frankest manner Antonelli assured King that "there was nothing whatever in the report": the only letter written by the Pope on the subject was the acknowledgment of the letter addressed by Davis to the Holy Father. "The Cardinal's denial of the story was as full, explicit and satisfactory as language could make it."

In the spring of 1864 Bishop Lynch of Charleston was appointed Confederate commissioner to the States of the Church. Combining the advantages of ecclesiastical and political position, his appointment was thought to offer unusual opportunities of molding public opinion at Paris, Madrid, Vienna, and Rome. He was instructed to press for the recognition of the Confederate States by the Holy See if that seemed possible; otherwise, he was to maintain such informal relations as might prove fruitful.

The Bishop's first stop was at Halifax where he was the guest of Archbishop Connolly, and where he was given a public dinner. He then visited Ireland, where he was joined by Father Bannon who accompanied his suite as chaplain. In Paris he paid his respects to the papal nuncio and the archbishop, and had interviews with the emperor and the foreign secretary. From Paris he proceded to Rome. His mission there was a failure. He had frequent interviews with Antonelli and several audiences with the Pope, but his cause was given neither recognition nor encouragement. He was received at the Vatican only in his episcopal position, never as an accredited representative of Davis or of the Confederacy.

After the war Lynch applied to the American minister to learn upon what conditions he would be allowed to return to South Carolina. He was told first to take the oath of allegiance, then to make his peace with the federal government. This he was ready and willing to do, but he feared he would be held to account for his actions as an avowed Confederate agent. He left Rome for Havana, from which place he expected to make his appeal to the government at Washington. "I judge", wrote King, "that Bishop Lynch is effectually cured of his secession. The

supplies, I suspect, have given out, and the Bishop who entertained a good deal last year by way of creating a public opinion in favor of the South, is now a guest of the Propaganda, and without 'visible means of support'." Commenting on his case, Antonelli told King it was the Bishop's bounden duty, as it was the duty of every Catholic, "to honor, respect and obey the constituted authorities of the Government, under whose protection he lived."

After the assassination of President Lincoln, John H. Surratt who was accused of implication in the conspiracy to murder the President, made his escape from the United States, by way of Canada and England, to Rome where he enlisted in the Papal Zouaves under the name of "Watson". He was recognized by H. B. Ste. Marie, a Canadian also in the papal guards. King was instructed to verify Ste. Marie's statement; to ask the Cardinal Secretary if, in the absence of an extradition treaty between the two countries, the Holy Father would be willing to deliver Surratt upon authentic indictment and at the request of the American government; and to request the papal government not to discharge Surratt nor his informer until further communication on the subject could be made. The wishes of the United States government were readily agreed to by the papal authorities who, acting on their own initiative, confined Surratt until definite instructions should be received from Washington. Surratt made his escape from the prison, narrowly missed death by leaping from a high precipice, made his way to Naples, but was later captured at Alexandria and brought back to the United States. His subsequent trial ended in the disagreement of the jury.

In 1867 the American mission to Rome came to an official end, but through no fault or action of the papal government. The pretext offered by Congress for refusing to continue the appropriation for the mission was the erroneous charge that the American Protestant Church had been ordered outside the walls of Rome. There were several in the House to object to the proposed action. It was asked whether the argument advanced for the closing of the mission would not apply with equal force to Constantinople and Spain, and whether the rule had not existed at the time the mission was established; it was urged that the United States should be adequately represented at Rome for the purpose of extending protection to the large number of Americans who visited the city; Congress was reminded that the Pope had unconditionally surrendered Surratt, whereas the Italian government refused to accede to the same request except upon condition that Surratt should not be visited with capital punishment; and it was pointed out that each nation regulates the matter of religion for itself. On the other side it was thought that since Rome had no minister here the United States should not send one there; that since the territory of the Pope was now restricted to the city of Rome a consul would answer every purpose; and it was charged,

but not without denial, that Pope Pius was the only foreign power that formally recognized the Confederacy.

The facts in the case as reported by King were as follows. In the beginning services were held in the minister's house, which custom was thoroughly in accord with diplomatic rights and practice. As the number of Protestant visitors to Rome increased, the available room in the minister's quarters became inadequate for this purpose and an apartment outside the legation was rented, where services were continued regularly and without interruption. In the meantime the English Church was ordered outside the walls; the Scottish Church, after its division, was also required to leave the city proper. King to guard against any such action in the case of the American Church had the arms of the legation placed over the building in which services were held. The American minister insisted that this arrangement was satisfactory to the papal authorities who permitted it in order to show the good feeling of the government towards the United States. He emphatically denied the statements made in Congress and maintained that only in the event of the closing of the legation would the American Church be forced to leave the city, in which case the cause of removal must be laid to Congress and not to the Holy See.

It is evident that several motives influenced the action of Congress in failing to support the mission. Religious feeling certainly played its part; a reading of the congressional debates on the question leaves no doubt as to this. The domestic political situation which had led to open quarrel between the President and Congress also contributed to the opposition of the latter to the mission. Finally, as King intimated, there was much sympathy for the aspirations of the Italians for a united Italy. In closing diplomatic relations with what remained of the Papal States the way was cleared for the early recognition of the government of Victor Emmanuel.

It is to be regretted that the United States was not more candid in terminating the mission. Legally, the action of Congress, wrote Seward, left the mission "still existing, but without compensation". But no explanation was given the papal government. The American minister protested that he could not tell the Holy Father that the United States was withdrawing its representative for the alleged but erroneous reason that the Pope had refused to permit Protestant worship within the walls of Rome. Even the official letter of recall was not sent King, so that he could not take formal leave of the papal authorities. It was not a courteous exit nor a dignified ending of this chapter of American diplomacy. Small wonder King was given to understand that the Holy Father felt hurt "by the hasty and apparently groundless action of Congress", and thought it "an unkind and ungenerous return for the good will" he had always manifested towards the American government and its people.

UNITED STATES MINISTERS TO THE PAPAL STATES:

INSTRUCTIONS AND DESPATCHES.

JACOB L. MARTIN.[1]

(April 1–August 26, 1848.)

JAMES BUCHANAN TO JACOB L. MARTIN. No. 1.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, 1st April, 1848.

Sir:

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you Chargé d'Affaires near the Government of The Papal States,[2] I transmit herewith, the following papers:

1. Your Commission.
2. A Letter of Credence addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Papal States,[3] and an office copy of the same.
3. A Special Passport for yourself and suite.
4. A letter of credit on the Bankers of the United States in London, authorising them to pay your drafts for your salary, as this shall come due, and, also, those for the contingent expenses of the Legation. The latter credit is to be used only for expenses actually incurred, and these are not to exceed the sum of $500 per annum. In availing yourself of this authority, you will be careful to conform strictly to the rules laid down in the printed " Personal Instructions ", referred to below, and in

[1] Martin was a native of North Carolina, chief clerk of the Department of State, 1840-1841, Secretary of State *ad interim,* March 3-4, 1841. He was secretary of the American Legation in France 1844-1847, acting as chargé for several months. In a letter printed in the *Boston Transcript,* Sept. 27, 1848, it is stated that Martin became a Catholic before his death.

[2] For President Polk's recommendation for opening diplomatic relations with the Papal States, see his message of December 7, 1847; James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897* (Washington, 1897), IV, 551; Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy* (N. Y., 1932), pp. 17-24. For the prolonged and bitter debate in both Houses of Congress upon this recommendation see the *Congressional Globe,* XVII (13 Cong., 1 sess.), pp. 57, 418, 430, 439-445, 476-477, 509, 514, 520-521; Appendix, pp. 403-410, 437-445. In the House of Representatives where the opposition was led by the Native Americanist, Lewis C. Levin of Pennsylvania, the proposal was sustained by a vote of 137 to 15; in the Senate, where Dix of N. Y., Foote of Miss., and Hannegan of Ind., upheld the proposal against objections made by Senators Badger of N. C., Benton of Mo., and Hale of N. H., the vote was 36 to 7 in favor of establishing the diplomatic relations.

[3] Cardinal Antonelli succeeded Cardinal Bofondi in March of this year.

the printed letter giving directions on the subject of drafts drawn by Diplomatic Agents of the United States.

For your outfit you will also draw upon the Bankers in London.

5. A printed copy of "Personal Instructions to the Diplomatic Agents of the United States in foreign countries," with the "Supplement" thereto; to both which your attention is specially directed. Also, (marked A and B,) two printed Circulars: the one, giving certain directions to be observed by the Diplomatic Agents of the United States in drawing bills on public account; the other establishing a rule respecting the salaries of those Agents, when absent from their posts on leave.

6. A printed List of the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States in Foreign Countries.

Your salary, as fixed by law, is at the rate of $4.500 per annum, with an outfit equal to a year's salary, and an amount equal to one quarter's salary for your return to this country. By a general rule the salary of Ministers to Foreign Courts commences on the day of their leaving their residence to prepare for their departure on their mission, and ceases on their taking leave of the Courts to which they are accredited, after having received orders or permission to return home. In your case it will commence from and after the receipt of your commission; of which, you will give notice to the Bankers in London, and to this Department.

Special instructions will be forwarded to you by the Steamer, from New-York, of the 8th of April.

James Buchanan to Jacob L. Martin. No. 2.

Department of State, Washington, 5th April, 1848.

Sir:

Informal intimations had reached the Department from different quarters, that Pope Pius IX would be pleased to open diplomatic relations with this Government: and the President did not hesitate, upon my suggestion to recommend to Congress, in his annual message of December last, to provide for the outfit and salary of a Chargé d'Affaires to the Papal States. Hence the origin of your highly honorable and important mission.

There is one consideration which you ought always to keep in view in your intercourse with the Papal authorities. Most, if not all the Governments which have Diplomatic Representatives at Rome are connected with the Pope as the head of the Catholic Church. In this respect the Government of the United States occupies an entirely different position. It possesses no power whatever over the question of religion. All denominations of Christians stand on the same footing in this country,—and every man enjoys the inestimable right of worshiping his God according to the dictates of his own conscience. Your efforts therefore,

will be devoted exclusively to the cultivation of the most friendly civil relations with the Papal Government, and to the extension of the commerce between the two countries. You will carefully avoid even the appearance of interfering in ecclesiastical questions, whether these relate to the United States or any other portion of the world. It might be proper, should you deem it advisable, to make these views known, on some suitable occasion, to the Papal Government; so that there may be no mistake or misunderstanding on this subject.

The President and people of the United States have observed, with great satisfaction, the wise and judicious measures of the Pope to reform ancient abuses in his Government, and promote the welfare of his people.[4] Whilst our established policy renders it impossible that we should interfere with the forms of government or the domestic institutions of other independent States, the American people can never be indifferent to the cause of Constitutional freedom and liberal reform in any portion of the world.

We have watched with anxiety the course of Pius IX in the difficult and dangerous position of a reformer in Italy; and we believe it has thus far been marked with consummate wisdom and prudence. Firm, without rashness,—liberal, without proceeding too rapidly to results which might endanger his final success, we ardently hope that he may be the chosen instrument of Providence to accomplish the political regeneration of his country. The cordial sympathy and the kindest wishes of the President and people of the United States are enlisted in his favor.[5]

In re-modeling and liberalising his own Government within his own States, the Pope can give no just cause of offence to any European Power. The Papal States and the other independent sovereignties of Italy, have the inherent right to reform their institutions and improve the condition of their people without the interference of any foreign Power. It belongs to them and their people alone to decide, what reforms are practicable and are best adapted to secure the liberty, prosperity and union of Italy. You will take with you to Rome a copy of my despatch to Mr. Rush of the 31st ultimo,[6] in which the views of the President on this subject are more fully developed.

[4] Among the early reforms of Pius IX were the granting of a constitution, greater freedom to the press, the creation of a national guard, the release of political prisoners, and internal improvements. Department of State, Consular Despatches, Rome, Nov. 1, 1846, July 17, Aug. 8, 20, 1847, Feb. 1, 1849.

[5] American rejoicing in the election of Pope Pius found expression in a demonstration held in Broadway Tabernacle, N. Y., at which appropriate resolutions were adopted and ordered to be sent to the Secretary of State for transmission to Rome. L. F. Stock in *Catholic Historical Review,* XV, pp. 245-246; fuller details of this meeting are given in *Proceedings of the Public Demonstration of Sympathy with Pope Pius IX, and with Italy* (N. Y., 1847). This pamphlet was translated into Italian by H. Nelson Gay. See also Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy,* pp. 5-11.

[6] Richard Rush, who was minister to France, 1847-1851. Buchanan's letter to Rush,

Our direct relations with the Papal States can only be of a commercial character. The spirit of reform which is now abroad in Italy will doubtless lead to the removal or reduction of those ancient restrictions upon trade which are opposed to the genius of the age and the true interests of the people. We have learned already that a more liberal commercial policy begins to pervade Italy.[7] On this subject you are instructed to report to the Department the most full and accurate information which you can obtain. What is the rate of duties imposed in the Papal States on our cotton, rice, tobacco, grain and other productions? What is the amount of American productions annually consumed in these States? What measures would you suggest to increase the navigation and commerce between the two countries? Have any of the States of Italy united or do they propose to unite in a Commercial League, and what is the character and constitution of such league? Will it have power to conclude commercial Treaties with Foreign nations? In short,—we desire all the information you can procure relative to the best mode of increasing our commerce, not only with Papal, but with the other independent States of Northern Italy. The President desires to conclude Commercial Treaties with the Papal States separately, or with the Commercial League of which they may form a part: and only awaits the necessary information to confer upon you full instructions and powers for this purpose.

You will repair to your post and enter upon the duties of your mission with as little delay as may be practicable.

JACOB L. MARTIN TO JAMES BUCHANAN, SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 1.

PARIS, 1 May 1848

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge your Despatch No. 1, apprizing me of my appointment as Chargé d'Affaires to the Papal States accompanied by my Commission and other documents from 1 to 6 inclusive. For this mark of the President's kindness I am sincerely grateful, and I trust that it will be my good fortune to prove myself not altogether unworthy of the confidence which he has been good enough to repose in me. Permit me to add that the gratification which I feel is enhanced by the circumstance that no one has been displaced to make room for me, and that my advancement is not founded upon the pain or depression of another.

I have also received your Despatch No. 2 containing the instructions

Mar. 31, contained an exposition of the policy of the United States respecting the recognition of foreign governments and interference in their domestic concerns. J. Buchanan, *Works* (Phila., 1909), VIII, 32-37.

[7] Among the proposals of Pius IX was the formation of a commercial league which would combine the competition of the separate states of Italy with the growth of national unity.

which are to guide my conduct in the new and responsible duties upon which I am about to enter. Independently of their authoritative character, their justice and propriety are confirmed by my own reason and observation. Religion not being among the attributes of the American Government, my relations can only be with the political sovereign of the Roman states, and not with the head and supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church, which, as its name implies, embraces the world. I am fully aware of the interest which is felt by the President and the People of the United States, in the efforts of the present Pope to introduce wise and judicious reforms in the country over which Providence has called him to rule. Averse as are the American Government and people to interfering with the domestic institutions or affairs of other nations, their moral sympathies are never withheld from the cause of a well-ordered liberty, throughout the world.

A struggle is now going on, perhaps a doubtful one, in which Rome takes a part, for the independence of Italy, which has the lively sympathies of France, but on which England is supposed to look with no friendly eye. Should Austria through superiority of numbers and arms, sustained by British influence if not aid, prevail, it will be difficult to repress the enthusiasm of the French people for the Italian cause. Here, then, may lie the germ of a European war, which might prove a great and general conflagration. In these delicate circumstances, the part of an American diplomatic agent, representing a country far from the scene, and whose wise and cherished policy has ever been that of non intervention, is one requiring no ordinary prudence and skill. While taking no active or prominent part in these controversies, I shall deem it my duty, as far as that policy and obvious discretion will allow, to throw my humble weight in the scale of Italian independence, and of the rights of the governments and people of Italy, " to decide ", as you justly express it, " what reforms are practicable and are best adapted to secure their liberty, prosperity and union."

There is another question which will require the exercise of peculiar caution. You are aware that among the Italians themselves, there are several parties, one being in favor of uniting all or a large portion of Italy under one of its existing sovereigns; another desiring only a confederation, political and commercial; and a third striving strenuously for the establishment of one or more republics. These parties are waiting only for the expulsion of the Austrians,[8] to commence a fierce and doubtful struggle. The contest has, indeed, begun already, and is paralyzing somewhat the common efforts to drive out the stranger. In these circumstances the position of an American representative in Italy, becomes delicate and difficult. The party in favor of institutions like his own, will look to him for countenance, if not support. Already have I been

[8] During the pontificate of Gregory XVI, there were uprisings in Italy, in 1831-1832, which brought the Austrian troops to the support of the Pope.

waited upon by several agents of the republican party in Lombardy and the Venetian States, urging me to manifest a decided sympathy for their cause, and even to take Milan on my way to Rome that the presence of the representative of the great American Republic might be turned to account against the King of Sardinia,[9] who has rushed to the rescue of Italian independence, and whom public opinion designates as the future sovereign of northern Italy. I replied promptly but courteously, that while the republican cause all over the world, had my undisguised sympathy and preference, I did not think it consistent with my public duty and official position, or, indeed, with the proper respect due to the independence of nations, to make myself a propagandist in such a controversy, much less to seek to put myself in a hostile attitude towards a prince who heads the struggle for the independence of Italy, and with whom the United States have formed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce. Wherever it is practicable and desirable to establish a republic it shall have my humble voice as far as duty and position will permit, but for an American representative to espouse its cause officially and in advance, is not only to violate our cherished principle of non-intervention, but to justify others, in employing their exertions to defeat that cause.

Pius the Ninth was at first regarded in the light, rather of a philanthropist than of a political reformer; but the boldness and originality displayed in some of his recent acts, and in publications issued by his sanction, seem to indicate that his views are as expansive as his benevolence. He has certainly a difficult and dangerous part to perform, and one, which, as you observe, requires consummate wisdom and prudence, in moderating and directing the movement which he originated for the political regeneration of Italy. But I shall reserve until my arrival in Rome, my judgment of this remarkable man who seems to be an instrument in the hand of Providence for the accomplishment of great purposes, and from whom came the impulse which is probably to end in the reorganization of Europe. Strictly adhering to the doctrines and discipline of the church of which he is the recognized head, he seems resolved to invigorate that ancient establishment with the animating principle of liberty, and in a recent authorized publication, declared that it must hereafter look to the people for that support which it formerly derived from thrones and principalities. In accordance with your instructions, I shall not fail to impress upon the Papal authorities, on all suitable occasions, our inestimable principles of perfect liberty of conscience and of the responsibility of man to his Maker alone, for his religious belief, and I am sure that there never was a period when these principles could have been so advantageously recommended, or could have met with a readier acceptance.

[9] Charles Albert, 1831 to 1849, who not only granted his people a parliamentary government but suppressed feudal jurisdictions and made many liberal reforms.

The commerce and productions not only of the Roman but of the Italian States, generally, will command my special attention. The meditated commercial league will make Rome, in all probability the centre of these interests, and I shall endeavour, in obedience to your directions, to obtain all such materials as may lead to the promotion of our interests in that quarter, or to the negotiation, either with the Papal States, separately, or with the commercial league of which they may form a part, of Treaties mutually advantageous to the contracting parties.

Not to expose Mr. Rush to inconvenience by the immediate cessation of my official functions here, I consented to remain with him a short time, until the appointment of my successor, and until he could be familiarized somewhat with his new, and at this moment, delicate duties. This I thought due, in the present critical juncture, not only to a sense of public duty, but to the great regard which I entertain for that gentleman. I shall leave him, however, in about a week, and probably proceed to England for a few days, where I am called by interesting business, and where I shall endeavour to procure such publications and information as may shed light upon the duties and interests of my new mission. I have been in Paris now four years, and in all that time, I have not left my post for twenty four hours.

Permit me to suggest that among the books and documents with which the Legation at Rome is to be supplied, the Department will be good enough not to include those bulky volumes containing the journals, reports of Committees &c., &c. of the Senate and House of Representatives, which are never by any chance referred to, which are expensive to transport, and which serve only to cumber and confuse the archives. This is so much the case in Paris, that there is actually no houseroom for them, and they have to be stowed away like old lumber in receptacles hired and detached from the Legation. This seems a small matter, but Mr. Rush and probably, General Cass,[10] will bear me out in the assertion that the inconvenience caused thereby is very great. I cannot refrain from adding the suggestion, which I do with all due diffidence, that their places would be richly supplied by registers and similar publications, a complete collection of American Treaties and the published correspondence of American diplomatists, Kents and Story's Commentaries, a few elementary treatises of international law, and a complete set and digest of the laws of the United States. These are the tools of the diplomatist, and are hardly to be procured in foreign or remote countries. Questions of marriage, of succession, of maritime, civil or municipal law, are often referred to him, and when we consider the number of our citizens abroad, with the amount of American interests, as well as the important part which our country is beginning to play, it seems hardly prudent to leave its representatives without the elementary authorities and indispensable instruments of their high and responsible calling.

[10] Lewis Cass, father of Martin's successor, was minister to France, 1836-1842.

James Buchanan to Jacob L. Martin. No. 4.[11]

Department of State, Washington, 7th. July, 1848.

Sir:

I have had the honor to receive your despatch, No. 1, dated at Paris on the 1st. May. It is presumed that you have already reached Rome, and entered upon the duties of your new and interesting mission.

I transmit, herewith, an extract of a despatch, dated at Canton, on the 20th. of March, from the Revd. Peter Parker, then in charge of the U. S. Legation in China; which, with the accompanying correspondence, (copy of which is also sent,) will acquaint you with the circumstances to which they relate, connected with the release of two Italian Bishops, and a Spanish Missionary, who had been arrested by the Chinese Government, in the Province of Hoo-Pih, and conveyed as prisoners to the City of Canton.[12]

These documents are communicated for your own information, and to enable you, if you should deem this proper, to make the facts known to the Papal Government. The conduct of Mr. Parker, on the occasion, evinces an enlightened humanity, and has received the cordial approbation of the President.

Jacob L. Martin to James Buchanan. No. 2.

Legation of the United States, Rome, 20 August 1848.

Sir:

When I received my commission as Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Rome, I did not wait for the request of Mr. Rush to determine, in the critical circumstances of the moment, to remain with him some time, before repairing to my post. I thought this alike due to him and to the interests and convenience of the Legation. In about a month, when I thought I would with propriety leave Paris, I proceeded, for a few weeks to England, to recruit my health, after an uninterrupted confinement of more than four years as well as to derive useful information from a personal acquaintance with the public men and affairs of that great country, which plays the leading part in the drama of the world.

[11] Instruction No. 3, John Appleton, Acting Secretary of State, to Martin, April 11, 1848, is not here printed, since it merely transmits a second commission, the first having erroneously been made out in the name "Joshua" instead of "Jacob".

[12] Parker was a native of Massachusetts, secretary of the American Legation in China, 1845-1855, and commissioner to the same country, 1855-1857. His despatch to Buchanan, in the archives in the Department of State, identifies the prisoners as Bishops Rizzolati and Novella, and Fr. Paul Nâ F. Michael Navarro, who had been arrested for alleged violation of an established treaty which forbade foreigners to enter the interior and permitted places of worship only at the five free ports. It was also stated that the Lieutenant Governor of Canton accused the men of "necromancy", they being "able at will to emit silver crosses from their mouths".

I trust that my brief visit was not without instruction from the men and things which it brought under my observation. Returning to Paris on my way to Italy, I arrived there on the last day of the dreadful insurrection of June, a much more formidable one than that which in February swept away the throne of July as with a whirlwind.[13] I was detained in Paris three weeks more winding up some personal affaires and connected with the Legation as well as making out the accounts from the commencement of the mission of Mr. Rush to the close of the second quarter of 1848.

On the 17th July, I finally set out for my post, and travelling, night and day, reached Marseilles on the evening of the 19th. But here a disappointment awaited me, for the regular trips of the steamers had been interrupted by the seizure of the Sardinian and Neapolitan boats, by their respective sovereigns, for military purposes, so that I was detained about ten days, partly at Marseilles, and partly at Florence and Leghorn, before I could obtain a passage for Civita Vecchia, the port of entering the papal states. Finally I reached Rome, after all these annoying delays and obstructions on the 2d. August, in the midst of a canicular heat, and at a season when even the most acclimated think it hazardous to encounter the scourge of the malaria.

After waiting a few days I addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of State a copy of my letter of credence, with a request that he would be good enough to inform me, when I might have the honor to present the original. The stirring events of the hour caused a further delay. Rome was in the greatest agitation, and threatened with riot if not revolution, on account of the popular dissatisfaction caused by the disastrous intelligence from the seat of war. The Minister in consequence, begged me to excuse him for a few days, and it was not until yesterday, that I had the honor to present to him my letter of credence. My interview was brief and confined to the cordial interchange of the customary civilities. I made on the occasion in French, the substance of an address, a copy of which I communicated, to which His Eminence replied in corresponding terms. It is to be published in the official journal, and I have the honor to subjoin a copy of it to this despatch.[14]

On the same day, I had the honor of being received by His Holiness, Pius IX. His reception was cordial in a high degree. He took me by the hand, both coming and going, and assured me of the great pleasure which it gave him to enter into diplomatic relations with a country for which he entertained so high a regard. He spoke with warm satisfaction of the state of the Catholic church in the United States, and of the character of its clergy, several of whom, he observed, he had the gratifi-

[13] The best account of the February Revolution will be found in Albert Crémieux, *La révolution de février: étude critique sur les journées de 21, 22, 23 et 24 février, 1848* (Paris, 1912).

[14] The copy of Martin's address was not found.

cation to know personally. He alluded frankly to his efforts to introduce liberal reforms into his states, and to the difficulties which he encountered, observing that it required prudence and patience to prepare his people for an order of things to which they had not been accustomed. On this topic he spoke with evident emotion, yet with a serenity of countenance and suavity of manner, very touching and impressive.

In replying to the observations of His Holiness, I took occasion to say, that the President in opening diplomatic relations with his government had but cordially represented the wishes of the American people who were much gratified by the wise and liberal policy which he had adopted, and who appreciated the difficulties which beset his path; that the Catholic church with us, was not simply tolerated or protected but enjoyed the same rights, and was on precisely the same footing with other denominations, and that if it had grown in numbers and respectability it had done so under the auspices of freedom and equality; and finally that I would be happy to do everything in my humble power, to promote the cordial sympathies for his person and country which had so fortunately sprung up since his accession to the pontifical throne. The interview was to me, a very pleasant one, and impressed me vividly with that benevolence of character and gentleness of demeanour for which Pius IX is proverbial. Before retiring I ventured to say to His Holiness that some officers of the American squadron had come to Rome, chiefly with the hope of having the honor of being presented to him upon which he kindly promised to grant me an early audience for that purpose. Accordingly this morning I received official notice that I might present these gentlemen, this afternoon. I may remark that although he speaks French tolerably well, His Holiness prefers, as he told me, to converse in Italian, and I was happy to find, that notwithstanding a timidity arising from my long want of practice, I was able to conform to his wishes in this matter.

I have already mentioned that I arrived in Rome, at a very critical moment, that of the disastrous news from the army of the King of Sardinia, Charles Albert. He has been utterly discomfited, the Austrians have once more entered Milan, by capitulation, and the cause of Italian independence to be achieved by Italian efforts is utterly lost. The Austrians remained inactive, or in the defensive, for some months only to wait for reinforcements and when these had increased the force of Radetsky to nearly a hundred thousand men, resuming the offensive, he attacked the Sardinian army with great vigor and perseverance, until it was, in a short time, fairly destroyed or demoralized by superior numbers and skill.[15]

[15] On the revolutionary movements of 1848-1849 in the Italian states see R. M. Johnston, *The Roman Theocracy and the Republic, 1846-1849* (London and N. Y., 1901), chs. IX-XX *passim,* and the valuable bibliography, pp. 317-341; Luigi C. Farini, *The Roman State from 1815-1850* (tr. by W. E. Gladstone, London, 1851-1854), III-IV, *passim*; also appropriate chapters in Giuseppe Spada, *Storia della Revoluzione di Roma e della Restaurazione del*

The popularity of Pius IX, so great at one time, at home as well as abroad, has rapidly waned since some months. He himself, began to feel alarm at the course upon which he had entered, when he found that the movement was going far beyond the bounds which he had prescribed unto himself. Reform not revolution had been his policy. The spirit of change was much stimulated by the revolutions in France and on the continent generally, which precipitated rapidly the march of events in Italy. The passion of the people was first directed against the Jesuits, not on account of any specific offence, but because it was supposed they were secretly hostile to the new order of things, and the cry " down with the Jesuits["], was the watchword of the ultra-liberal party. Their expulsion distressed the benevolent heart of the Pope, not because he was particularly friendly to their order, but because it seemed to him a cruel injustice, especially on the part of those, whose leaders or friends he had so recently recalled from exile.[16] That the first act of an emancipated people, should be a violation of the first principles of liberty and justice, was to him a disenchanting experience, if not an ominous warning.

The other governments of Italy had been constrained to grant constitutions to their subjects. The Pope, thought sincerely, I have reason to believe, that the time had not yet come to establish one, in Rome, and that perhaps, for some years, the public prosperity, and even the cause of reform, would be best promoted by the assembly of *notables,* whom he had called together from all parts of the country for the purpose of consultation upon the wants of the state. The public clamor was so great, however, that he was obliged to grant a constitution, guarding as well as he could, the rights of the church which he thought, should be independent of the control of the Chambers.[17]

Another popular demand was that the Pope should join the crusade for national independence, and declare war against Austria. Sympathizing naturally with the feelings of his people for the Italian cause, he was convinced that his mediating influence would do more for that cause, than the active aid of a state without military power or experience and with dilapidated finances. Above all, his conscience as a Christian pastor, and the head of the Catholic Church did not permit him to declare an offensive war against a brother sovereign, and the children of that church. Such was his expressive language in the famous " allocution " which he delivered on the occasion to the College of Cardinals. " But as many desire, that together with the other people and princes of Italy, we should under-

Governo Pontificio, 1846-1849 (Florence, 1868-1869). The bibliography on this subject is too extensive for further enumeration; see later references.

[16] See Johnston, *op. cit.,* ch. IX. The Pope's notification of the retirement of the Jesuits, Mar. 30, 1848, is there printed (p. 131). See also *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. 1, Vol. II, 122-124.

[17] This constitution, of Mar. 14, 1848, is given in full in *Atti del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX,* Pt. II, Vol. 1, 222 *et seq.* For a translation see Johnston, *op. cit.,* pp. 345-355.

take war against the Germans, we have deemed it our duty to declare openly, that this is far from our determination; since we, although unworthy, stand in the place of Him who is the author of peace and lover of Charity, and by virtue of our supreme Apostolic Office, love and embrace, in the same paternal affection, all people, kindred, and nations." [18] It must be acknowledged that this is the language of conscience, if not of worldly policy.

The publication of this " allocution ", excited great popular indignation. The Roman volunteers in spite of the injunction of their sovereign, had crossed the frontier, and taken part in the war for independence. Popular anger was exacerbated by the report that some Roman prisoners had been ignominiously put to death by the Austrians upon the ground that their government had not sanctioned the state of war. It was even proposed in some of the political conclaves, for Rome has her clubs, as well as Paris, to depose the Pope, and establish, after the approved fashion of the day, a provisional government, since the scruples of the Pontiff were incompatible with the duties of the sovereign. This was renounced, however, through the influence of the more prudent of the liberal party, and to pacify the people, the minstry with Count Mamiani at its head, undertook to carry on a *quasi* war without the sanction of the Pope, who was upon this head, immovable. Thus, there were, for some time, as it were, two governments, that of His Holiness, with the Cardinal Secretary of State, whom alone he recognized as his Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that of Count Mamiani, who assumed to himself the direction of external relations.[19]

The Austrians, you are aware, are by the Treaty of Vienna, authorized to maintain a garrison in the city of Ferrara. Some time ago, an Austrian Corps, entered that city, but retired upon a remonstrance of the Papal government, alleging that their sole object had been to victual the garrison. After the recent turn of the tide in favor of the Imperial arms, a body of Austrians again entered the Papal States and their Commander issued a proclamation, declaring that as the Romans had taken part in the war against the orders of their sovereign, he had come to enforce the observance of their duty. He ordered the people to supply his troops with provisions, and threatened to shoot all those found in arms against them, as " he did not wish to make any prisoners." The contingency stipulated by the Pope, had now arrived. He remonstrated promptly and firmly against the violation of his territory, sent a deputation to the Austrian commander to enforce that remonstrance, and called out his troops to

[18] This Allocution addressed by Pius IX to the College of Cardinals, April 29, 1848, is printed in translation from the British State Papers as Appendix F in Johnston, *The Roman Theocracy and the Republic,* pp. 357-361; for its original Latin version see *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. I, Vol. I, 92-98.

[19] Count Terenzio Mamiani, Minister of the Interior, whose ministry, May 4-Aug. 3, 1848, represented a moderate, liberal, and nationalist opinion. Johnston, *op. cit.,* pp. 147 *et seq.*

repel the invasion, giving his benediction to the volunteers who were about to leave Rome for that purpose. In the mean time, however, the people of Bologna, had risen against the invaders, who had entered their city in no great force, and driven them out, without much difficulty. They have retired beyond the frontier, and it is understood that they will not return.[20]

Since the departure of the Austrians and the capitulation of Milan, the public mind, though distressed and humiliated, has become more tranquil. It is obvious that Italy cannot suffice unto herself, and there is a universal clamor for that French intervention which but recently, was so deprecated. But in France, there is great apprehension that such intervention might lead to a general war, involving bankruptcy and the permanent establishment of military power. The French government, therefore, has preferred mediation in combination with England.[21] The terms are not yet positively known; but they are believed to be these; that Austria should give up Lombardy, retaining the line of the Adige, including the Venetian States, Lombardy assuming a part of the Austrian debt. Terms similar to these were offered by Austria, two months ago, but whether she will consent to them now, when victory has once more perched upon her standard, and the war is over, is somewhat doubtful. Any arrangement, too, which leaves Venice that Italian capital of so much historical interest, to Austria, will occasion much heartburning, and leave open a permanent source of irritation. Another version is, that the proposition of the mediators will be to form Lombardy and the Venetian States into an independent constitutional monarchy under a prince of the imperial family of Austria.

In Rome, the ministerial crisis is over. After a long agony, the Mamiani ministry which had not the hearty concurrence of the Pope, has given up the ghost, and been replaced by one, with Count Fabbri at the head, which enjoys the confidence of His Holiness.[22] Yet things are by no means in a satisfactory condition. The people hardly understand yet, their new born liberties, and may endanger them by imprudence. The leaders of the reform or radical party in the Chamber, and its organs in the press do much to inflame the popular discontent, to alarm the moderate, and realize the forebodings of the retrograde party. This is, from the necessity of things, to a certain extent, a theocratic government, maintained by religious reverence for the sovereign, who cannot be replaced until death, except by revolutionary violence. Rome is not only the capital of a small

[20] On the Ferrara question and the Austrian intervention, see Johnston, pp. 84-88, 172-177.

[21] England had been anti-Austrian. In 1847 Lord Minto was sent to Italy with instructions " to praise both the Pope and Charles Albert, and to encourage them to continue in the path of moderation and reform ". Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98. Concerning Lord Minto's mission see also the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919,* Ward and Gooch, ed. (Cambridge, 1923), II, 302-304.

[22] On Aug. 2, Count Odoardo Fabbri, pro-legate of Urbino, succeeded to the ministry of the Interior; he was at this time " over 70 years of age, stone deaf, and had had little if any experience of any matters of state ". He was succeeded in September by Count Rossi. Johnston, pp. 171-178.

state, but of the Catholic world, and from this circumstance it derives chiefly, its dignity, its importance, and whatever of prosperity it enjoys. Without its spiritual preeminence, it were but the corpse or skeleton of departed greatness and glory. The Pope might leave it again, as he abandoned it in former times when, it sank into comparative insignificance, and lost even a great portion of its population.[23] In applying to it, therefore, the forms and administration of constitutional government, these peculiar and exceptional circumstances, must be permitted to have their due weight; otherwise the state or the constitution must perish. The builder must consider his materials of construction. He is not called upon to build a city in a desert with materials brought from abroad. Putting aside the religious view, the Papacy is not only a great, but venerable fact, around which the shadows of nearly twenty centuries gather in awful array; which has witnessed the rise and fall of many empires; which has survived thrones, and principalities and powers. Young liberty should not exhaust her efforts against this rock of ages. She should conciliate what is an immense if not irresistible moral power. The alliance of freedom and religion were wiser than their conflict. This is the obvious dictate of prudence, of common sense, of necessity. Sincere men, not unfriendly to freedom, think that it would have been wiser to leave power for some time longer in the hands of the Pope, who was effecting many important reforms and gradually preparing the people for the practice of constitutional government. Yet not to exercise freedom until altogether prepared for it, seems like not going into the water until we know how to swim. Practice teaches and finally makes perfect. Still, candour requires me to state that the imprudent attacks upon the character and office of Pius IX by those who so lately lauded him with almost irreverent eulogy as their benefactor; the hostility of many to the persons and property of the clergy, which has even gone to the length of assassination; and the subversive projects imputed to the ultra liberal party, have united with the stagnation of business and consequent general distress to cool the minds of many for the cause of reform, and may even end by producing a reaction towards the ancient order of things. I have everywhere remarked that when the middle classes, who make revolutions or favor them in the beginning, begin to suffer from them in their business or comfort, a reaction in favor of authority commences. I may be mistaken, but I think I already see symptoms of this revulsion of the public mind.

It is generally admitted that the patriotic efforts of the Italians to achieve their national independence, have failed, in no small degree, from the want of unity, practical sense, and a wise moderation which should have concentrated all the energies of the country upon the common enemy, instead of disputing about forms of government, appropriation of territory or provincial supremacy. The republican minority in

[23] The reference is, of course, to Avignon.

Milan and majority in Venice, excited the distrust of the King of Sardinia; the design of a party to establish a universal monarchy in Italy, aroused the jealousy of the other nations and princes of the peninsula; the attacks upon the clergy and the religious orders, indisposed to the cause a large and influential part of the community, finally, the ill-timed outbreak of the revolutionary party in Naples, and the separation of Sicily, induced the Neapolitan King to withdraw his army and fleet from the "holy war." All these elements of discord produced weakness, division, delay and finally defeat. I make these remarks in sincere sorrow, for my heart was with the Italians in their patriotic struggle, and it sank within me, when I heard of the capitulation of Milan.

Of course in the din of war and the confusion of popular agitation, there will not be an early chance to enter into a commercial arrangement with this government, intent now only upon questions affecting its very existence. Nor is there much probability of an early union of the Italian States, for commercial or other purposes. Such a league was one of the cherished designs of Pius IX, in order to combine the activity and emulation of separate states with the power and prosperity of national unity. That is the true scheme for the regeneration of Italy, if practicable. Yet it is curious that the only positive result yet effected by a movement commencing in an avowed tendency towards consolidation, has been the separation of Sicily from Naples.

In the meantime, I am glad to know that by the understanding which prevails, the vessels of the United and Roman States, are admitted into each others' ports on equal terms. If anything can be done, by treaty or otherwise, to promote their intercourse, it shall not be omitted.

I have the honor to acknowledge your despatch No. 4[24] with accompanying papers, upon the subject of the liberation from imprisonment of Italian missionaries, through the intervention of the American Consul and acting Chargé d'Affaires at Canton; and I shall have great pleasure in obeying your instructions, by communicating the facts to the government of His Holiness.

J. C. Hooker to James Buchanan.

Rome, 26 June [Aug.] 1848[25]

Sir:

It becomes my painful duty to inform you of the death of J. L. Martin my *chargé des affaires* to the court of Rome. He died this morning about 10 1/2 with what we supposed a stroke of apoplexy. He reached here some three weeks ago. He brought with him a credit from Messrs.

[24] *Ante*, p. 8.

[25] Since Martin's death occurred Aug. 26, the date of this letter is obviously a mistake. Hooker, the writer, was secretary of the legation.

Greene and Co. on the house of which I am a partner—for three thousand francs. His presentation was a little retarded, by the change of ministry which took place on his arrival.

He lodged at No. 3 Maison Serny—on the ground floor, overlooking a garden on the side of the Pincian Hill. It was a pleasant, but unhealthy situation, and I urged him several times to move out and get Lodgings with better air. On Thursday morning He spent considerable time with me. On Friday last evening I called on him, and found him in bed with a fever—knowing the danger of Roman fevers, I urged the necessity of his calling a Doctor—and sent for Dr. Pantaleoni who gave him some medicine. I called on him this morning between 8. and 9. and He told me he felt better. I staid with him some half hour and He spoke about the Despatch, which I now enclose you, and said He desired to send it by the Post of today or Monday.[26]

I proposed to him to remove to my lodgings, where there was good air—But He replied He would change his room, but that He had every attention He could desire.

I left him telling him to send for me if there was any occasion, and that I would look in again in the course of the day.

The *Doctor* visited him soon after, and left him a medicine to take every hour.

He told his servant that He would try to sleep a little, and to wake him at the proper hour. The servant went, and found him a *corpse.* He had risen from the bed, but retired again, and appeared as if he had fallen asleep. He has with him several cupping glasses—which leads us to suppose He might have been subject to apoplexy, and his neck shows they have often been applied there. The *Vice Consul* Mr. *Ardisson*[27] is now taking an Inventory of his effects, and will in due season forward his report. There are some six or seven Americans in Rome and his funeral will be attended to properly.

He brought many letters with him to the Principal personages of Rome, and had already endeared many to him by his gentlemanly manners, pleasing address, with his knowledge of the French and Italian languages. The *Prince Borghese* had been particularly attentive to him.[28]

I write you a rather detailed letter thinking you may know some of his friends in America who would be pleased to know about his death.

[*P. S.*] The present despatch was found in his trunk where are many other papers—which no one here knows anything about.

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[26] Undoubtedly referring to the preceding despatch, No. 2.

[27] Antoine Ardisson was appointed in 1846. He acted as assistant secretary of the legation during the missions of Martin, Cass and Stockton.

[28] Incidents respecting Prince Marcantonio Borghese and his family will be found in R. de Cesare, *The Last Days of Papal Rome, 1850-1870* (abridged and translated by Helen Zimmern, London, 1909), 9, 58-63, 75, 83, 173, 296.

LEWIS CASS, JR.[1]

(January 6, 1849–November 27, 1858.)

James Buchanan to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 2.

Department of State, Washington, 16th February, 1849.

Sir:

I communicate, herewith, a Letter of Credence addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of The Papal States,—and an office copy of the same.

From the political condition of The Papal States, at the present time, it is not deemed proper that you should deliver this letter either to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pius IX, or of the existing Government at Rome, without further instructions. The Pope, by our last advices, still remains at Gaeta, within the territories of the King of Naples;[2] and it is only as a temporal Prince, exercising actual authority within his own Dominions, that the Government of the United States can have any relations with His Holiness. This, you have already learned from my instructions to Mr. Martin, your lamented predecessor, dated on the 5th April, 1848.

In regard to the present Government at Rome;—although it has been the constant policy and practice of this Government to recognize existing Governments, without inquiring into their legitimacy; yet with this exception, that they shall have first afforded evidence of their will and their power to maintain their independence. This cannot yet be asserted in regard to the existing Government at Rome. Its recent origin and the almost insuperable difficulties by which it is surrounded, render it extremely doubtful whether it will be able to maintain itself. Indeed, I

[1] On Jan. 6, Buchanan transmitted a commission to Cass, as chargé, to succeed Martin. On Feb. 10, he sent him a passport and credit for contingent expenses not exceeding $500. He advised him that his salary would be $4500 with an outfit equal to a year's salary, and an equivalent of a quarter year's salary for his return to the country. Cass had spent some time in France while his father was minister there, and had been commissioned Major of Cavalry in a regiment raised for service in the Mexican War. He died in Paris about 1879. Palmer, *Early Days in Detroit,* pp. 383, 780. A later American Consul, W. J. Stillman, says that the Pope always referred to Cass as "quel Cass" who "could not be quiet of nights". Stillman, *Autobiography of a Journalist* (Boston and N. Y., 1901), I, 353. Stockton, the next minister, had already been appointed when Cass delivered his recall to His Holiness, Nov. 27, 1858.

[2] Pius had left Rome for Gaeta on the night of Nov. 24, 1848. Carlo Tesi-Passerini, *Pio Nono e il suo tempo* (Florence, 1877), I, 394 *et seq.*; see also L. F. Stock, "The United States at the Court of Pius IX" in *Catholic Historical Review,* III, n. s., pp. 5-8. Pius, accompanied by the College of Cardinals returned from Gaeta, April 12, 1850. *Ibid.,* pp. 8-9; Johnston, *op. cit.,* chs. XIII-XX; R. de Cesare, *The Last Days of Papal Rome, 1850-1870,* ch. I; L. F. Stock in *Current History,* XXX, 12. The most vivid account of the Pope's flight is that given by an "eye-witness" in the *Metropolitan* (Balto.), I, 49-62.

consider the speedy restoration of the Pope highly probable, if not absolutely certain.

Under these circumstances, you are instructed to withhold the Letter of Credence which you bear with you, until you shall have received specific directions from this Department, designating the Minister of Foreign Affairs to whom it shall be delivered. These will be given to you as soon as the Department shall have obtained the information necessary to decide the question.

The President considers it expedient, however, that you should proceed immediately to Rome. The present disturbed condition of the Papal States, and of Italy generally, renders it important that the Department should obtain, as speedily as possible, all the information which you can procure in regard to their actual political condition and future prospects. This you will not fail to communicate by every opportunity.

I would, also, refer you to the concluding paragraph, but one, of my instructions to Mr. Martin; and you will consider this as specially addressed to yourself.[3] All the information thereby sought, you will procure and communicate as soon as possible.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON, SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 1.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, April 9, '49.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you, that I arrived in this city on the 2d inst. With the exception of a week spent in Paris, during which time I was engaged in necessary preparations, there has been no delay or interruption in my journey, other than those incidental to traveling. On my way hither, while passing through several of the Italian States, and since my arrival, I have availed myself, in compliance with my instructions, of every means in my power, to procure such information, in regard to the condition of Italy, generally, but especially concerning the Papal States, as I consider may be interesting to you.

Italy is in a state of confusion and misery she has not witnessed since the middle ages.[4] Throughout the melancholy annals of this distracted country, in every age and in every part of the peninsula, domestic oppression and foreign occupation have alternately cursed the land. At this moment, Naples and Sicily, in addition to intestine commotions, are at war with each other; and the atrocities committed on either side are said never to have been exceeded.[5] The South of Italy is thus lost, and worst than lost, to the great cause of national independence. Sardinia is con-

[3] Ante, p. 4.

[4] Good accounts of these disorders will be found in Farini's *Roman State*; and in W. R. Thayer, *The Dawn of Italian Independence* (Boston and N. Y., 1893), II, *passim*. The latter authority is too anti-papal for general reference.

[5] See Thayer, *op. cit.*, II, 136-137.

tending, at the same moment, with Austria and two of her revolted provinces. Venice is in a state of siege.[6] Genoa is on the eve of a revolution; meditating a declaration of republican independence.[7] The republic of Florence, at the last accounts, was abandoned to all the excesses of a turbulent mob, who had repudiated the deliberations of the Assembly.[8] From occurrences like these, I fear the chances for Italian freedom are but few; and the possibility of that most beautiful of all dreams—the independence of a united country—as far from realisation as ever. Revolution has almost everywhere compromised itself by acts of the greatest barbarity. It would really seem, in many instances, which have come under my own observation, as if the people were bent on making democracy appear ridiculous; and the recent conduct of the populace and authorities of Genoa and Leghorn and Ancona, are fitter for the records of a lunatic asylum than those of history. Such proceedings have hurt the cause of freedom more than all the French revolutions of a century. Reaction has already commenced, and republicanism, as the word is here understood, is already at a discount. The identification of this name with anti-social doctrines, popular violence, and excesses of various kinds, has naturally enough discredited a republic in many minds, although, as we know, from happy experience, these things are not more necessarily connected with that form of government than with an absolute monarchy. With every predilection in favor of a republic, and sympathising warmly with a people striving for it, I confess, judging from appearances as they are presented at this moment, to entertain the opinion, that it cannot exist for any length of time in Italy. But whether eventually realised or not, the mere promulgation of this idea of a republic must certainly meliorate the condition of the people, by serving as a subject of comparison with monarchy; by showing to the Italian Princes, that if they wish to prevent their subjects from becoming revolutionists, they must themselves become more liberal. Indeed it has already accomplished much. A year ago there was probably scarcely such a thing in the country as public opinion. But recent events have shown, that however dormant, it still possesses a vital and irresistible power, and the government which outrages it is no longer secure from the sudden spring—its powers of opportunity and vengeance. To an American there can scarcely be presented a spectacle more disgusting and contemptible, than the sight of a people who cannot settle their domestic quarrels, organise their own form of government, or maintain the indispensable requisites of law and order in their own streets, without the help of foreign politi-

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 389-409. The siege, lasting 146 days, resulted in the capitulation of the city to Austria, August 28, 1849.

[7] The attempted revolution at Genoa was suppressed by Alphonso La Mormora. *Ibid.*, pp. 235, 265, 330, 347.

[8] Liberty poles, dancing, dining, and oratory, marked the enthusiasm of the Florentines. Thayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-307.

cans [*sic*] or foreign soldiers. This is emphatically the case with this country at this unfortunate period; and indeed it may almost be asserted of it, that it never was otherwise, for with but one or two exceptions, I can recal no Italian government which possesses, or has ever possessed, adequate means of self defence, without the direct or indirect support of foreign troops, either mercenaries or allies. As a consequence, events are but too visibly pointing towards a consummation most painful to any one who desires the freedom and prosperity of Italy—foreign intervention.

At the present moment, Austria is chiefly occupied by the Hungarian war—its armies having been engaged now for two months on or beyond the Theiss without any satisfactory result. It is even thought she cannot terminate the war without the assistance of Russia—an event, the mere rumor of which, it is stated, has created a kind of moral revolt in all germans against the government, and may possibly, in consequence, give the imperial crown to Prussia. The active aims and energies of French policy are, in the meantime, absorbed in the fortunes of Louis Napoleon. He and his government are engaged in the preparing for the election of a new assembly. If, in this preoccupation of these, the great Continental Powers, the four chief Italian sovereigns could compose their difficulties, and come to an agreement—make such concessions, or follow such a line of policy as would content their subjects—even using force and salutary coercion to suppress the extravagance of the lawless rabble, such as has been displayed in Leghorn and Genoa and Florence, they might yet save Italy from becoming, what I fear it is likely to be, the stalking horse or the battle field, for the selfish ambition of other powers. A congress composed of representatives of the Catholic powers has been appointed to sit at Brussels, on the 5th of this month, for the adjustment of Italian Affairs.[9] By this, I understand, is meant, to restore the sovereigns to their former rights, placing them on their old territories. If this be done, it is to be hoped the Congress will also establish, at the same time, as a universal condition, the grant of such representative government and popular institutions, as may content, and allow the development of, a people aspiring to constitutional freedom.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to the more immediate object of my mission.

The question raised by the affairs of Rome is one of the gravest which can arise in Europe: it comprises the political interest of this entire country, and the religious interest, which is likewise the political interest of the great Catholic nations of Europe. It is not, therefore, surprising, that several of these governments, to whom the Pontiff addressed an earnest invitation, to co-operate in the re-establishment of his temporal

[9] On these conferences see Farini, *op. cit.*, III, 283-290. Some documents relating thereto are printed in Nicomede Bianchi, *Storia Documentata della Diplomazia Europea in Italia dall' anno 1814 all' anno 1861* (Turin and Naples, 1869), V, 529-534.

authority, should under the plea that they have not had time to decide upon and combine their common action, have refused to enter upon any of those premature engagements, which subsequent events so often prove to be wrong. By some, an armed intervention—by other, negociation is proposed: the latter being recommended as the best means of resolving the question without violence, as it would leave to the Roman people, in their temporal and municipal règime, all the liberty deemed essential to them, and at the same time it would preserve to the Pope the guarantees of dignity and independence so necessary in the estimation of the nations of whom he is the spiritual chief.

The course of the Spanish government, however, has been prompt and decided. The cabinet of Spain, in a note addressed to all the Catholic courts of Europe, has declared its intention to respond to this appeal, by doing all in its power to replace the " visible Head of the Church " in the state of authority and command; which it conceives to be essential to the exercise of its sacred functions. Orders for preparations to be made for an expedition have already been issued, and several thousand Spanish troops are said to be nearly in a state of readiness for embarcation.[10]

The Austrian government, by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, has likewise annonuced its determination to support the temporal sway of the Pope; the more particularly that it has been guaranteed by the treaty of Vienna, signed by all the Powers of Europe.[11] It argues, with much plausibility, certainly, that as there is no power in Europe in whose dominions are not to be found members of the Catholic Church, of which the Pope is the head, it is the imperative duty of these governments, who are parties to this convention, to enforce its execution. But inasmuch as the fulfilment of the promises made in common, on that occasion, to Italy, would result in an almost unlimited extension of the domination or influence of Austria in the Peninsula; and inasmuch as we know of several infractions of that convention (in the instances of Belgium, Poland, etc.) which were not succeeded by any warlike demonstration on the part of Austria, I think it may be reasonably doubted whether consideration for the treaty is the real motive which urges her to an intervention. In the same spirit in which the Vienna Congress is quoted, much is said of the necessity of interference, for the purpose of maintaining " the interest of the Catholic religion and the integrity of the Holy See ". But in what manner the interest of the Catholic religion is endangered, when between the temporal and spiritual power of the Pontiff exists a distinction, which should never be forgotten in the discussions upon this

[10] May 17, 5000 Spaniards, under Gen. Cordova, landed at Fiumicino. Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

[11] By Section 103 of the Treaty of Vienna, the Pope was restored to the temporal possession of the Marches, Camerino and its dependencies, Benevento and Ponte Corvo, and of the Legations, Ravenna, Bologna, Forli, and Ferrara.

subject—the latter being wholly independent of the former, it is difficult to comprehend. In this connection, for the purpose of showing the difference of opinion in Catholic minds respecting this question, I will quote a remark which I heard made in the French Chambers, by a member of distinguished reputation, while the proposal of intervention was under discussion. M. Debretonne, said in these words, " it was impossible to imagine that a war was possible for the benefit of the Catholic religion; that if Pius IX preserved his Christian sentiments, and were to know that a war was about to be waged for the re-establishment of his temporal authority, he would and should blame those engaged in such a contention ". I am well aware that the spiritual office of the Pontiff, whether dethroned or at the head of the Papal States, concerns in no manner whatever a diplomatic mission to Rome. Our relations with him were as a temporal prince, and in conformity to a well established principle of our government, are, it may be, terminated for ever. I only advert to this aspect of the subject to show you the tone and temper of European governments; and to express my belief, that the spiritual office of the Pope is used to a great extent as a pretext. The real question, I am persuaded, is, on the one hand, to prevent in Italy the development of the democratic principle, which, having overturned the governments of Tuscany and Rome, may also overturn those of other states; on the other to maintain the supremacy of Austria in Italy, both points being summed up in this one common to all aristocracies—to arrest the progress of republican doctrines in Europe, and to strengthen all the monarchies.

The French government, about six weeks ago, published a manifesto, declaring that the Italian States should be free to decide on their own political organisation, and that, if necessary, France would take up arms to oppose all intervention contrary to their liberty and nationality. Since the date of that paper, however, an entirely different policy appears to have been adopted; and if the public press may be regarded as the organ of public opinion, the change will have the support of the body of the nation. It is perfectly well understood, that the French government has refused to recognise the " Constituente Assembly " of Rome, and satisfaction is warmly expressed at the general determination not to regard their proceedings as an evidence of the free, calm and judicious exercise of popular sovereignty. It would thus appear, that however dear to a portion of the French people a republic may be, it nevertheless has not sufficient power to lead them into interference in favor of republics elsewhere.

The Sardinian government has energetically protested against the offers of assistance made by the Court of Spain, alleging that it is to the Italian Princes that it belongs to intervene in the Roman question. In proposing his pacific, and, if necessary, his armed mediation, the King of Sardinia certainly removes from foreign courts all pretexts of intervention. But the question is singularly aggravated by the fact, that the Pope, far from

accepting the conclusions of the Sardinian cabinet, and having apparently little confidence in the efficaciousness of Spanish intervention, demands that of Austria. And with such a pretext, it is almost reduced to a certainty that the Austrian government will exert itself to the utmost to prevent the permanent establishment of a Roman Republic.

The Pope still remains at Gaeta, the guest of the King of Naples. The Grand Duke of Tuscany is residing there also, likewise a fugitive from his dominions.[12] About ten days ago, the Pontiff published a second protest, repeating to all the world his determination to defend his temporal rights as a temporal prince; and again declaring all the acts of the new government, which has usurped his authority, void.[13] In an encyclic letter, he excommunicates all persons who have taken part in the public proceedings during his absence. There is still a large party in the city anxious for his return, but it is too timorous or indolent to act, and his cause is thus hazarded for the want of a few bold, active leaders to give his adherents a proper direction. As nearly as I can ascertain, about one third of the citizens are united in the determination that the temporal and spiritual power shall no longer co-exist in his person. They appear grateful to him for his good heart, but they speak slightingly of his understanding. Their opposition is not to him, personally, but to the system of an ecclesiastical oligarchy, under which, they say, they have long groaned. If he were to come back as spiritual Pontiff, I believe, from all I see and hear, that the whole population would go forth to greet him. During the last two or three days a rumor is current to the effect, that an attempt is about to be made to induce him to return, and that the actual Ministers offer to sacrifice their immediate interests to accomplish this object. But I place little confidence in this report.

The Constituent Assembly, or Roman Junta, as the existing government is called, is in the full exercise of executive authority. I have just read the "Fundamental Decree", which may be considered the Republican constitution.[14] The following are the only articles which possess any particular interest. Art. I. states, that the Papal See is, by deed and right, forever deprived of the government of the Roman States. Art. 2d. that the Pontiff shall have all necessary guarantees for independence in the exercise of his spiritual power. Art. 3d. that the form of government shall be democratic, and assume the title of republic. All privileges of clergy are abolished: and all functionaries who shall not give in their adhesion to the new republic before the expiration of the present month,

[12] Leopold II, Grand Duke 1824-1859. He met the revolutionary movement of 1848 by granting a constitution, but unable to cope with the situation, fled his dominions in February, 1849. He abdicated his throne in 1859, and Tuscany was united to Sardinia.

[13] For documents dated Jan. 1, Feb. 14, 19, 27, on this general subject, see *Atti del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX,* Pt. II, Vol. I, 258-270.

[14] For a full account of the proceedings and debates of the Assembly on this decree, see Farini, *op. cit.,* III, 213-228; Giovanni Conti, *La Repubblica Romana del 1849* (Rome, 1920), pp. 52-63.

shall be dismissed from office. The military force at the disposal of the government amounts, nominally, to forty four thousand men. There are besides twelve hundred mobilised National Guards, a university battalion, and many Neapolitan and Milanese emigrants, who are in process of incorporation. The national treasury is nearly exhausted, and the last resource of an embarrassed government—the issue of inconvertible paper—has been already largely resorted to. Specie is at 20 per ct. premium, and rare even at that. A new financial measure has just been devised, which has excited much bad feeling against the government. A decree of the 28th ult. having for preamble, that the late clerical government, improvident of the future, and administered for the sole benefit of a privileged caste, had for a series of twenty years wasted the finances of the country in the most shameless and profligate expenditure, proceeds to levy a forced loan of one fourth on all incomes above two thousand dollars, until those of twelve thousand dollars are reached.[15] On them the taxation is fixed at two thirds of the receipts. The revenues of the state are said to be dried up, and the confiscation of church property to offer the only means by which the government can hope to supply the necessities of the people. If this state of things continues, the galleries will be spoliated of their renown'd treasures. Englishmen and Russians are here in great numbers, anxious to purchase the works of art—the paintings and statues—which are the wonder of the world: and it is feared that the government, in its great want of money, will listen to their proposals. Simultaneously with the decree I speak of, appeared a paper, in which the Ministry declared, that the Republic has risen bloodless from the ancient order of things, the only object being the welfare of Italy. It announces its intention to restore the finances to their normal state, to modify the codes, organise the liberty of the municipal bodies, give due consideration to the social questions, and place property under the safeguard of the State. This is well, and must afford satisfaction to every one who approves of attempts at improvement. But, unfortunately, being without strength and credit, the professions of the government appear to inspire but little confidence, even in the minds of the well disposed, who are in constant apprehension of the excesses which may take place from any one moment to another. Fevered with excitement, restless and discontented, and menaced with starvation by the stoppage of the ordinary channels of employment, the Roman population may at any time turn upon those who have made the greatest sacrifices, for the sake of their emancipation. Between the inhabitants of the city and those of the country there exists a great difference of sentiments, in regard to the revolution. To the latter it has been unacceptable from its commencement. It has shocked their religious prejudices; for like all rural populations, whose habits, whether moral or physical are not easily changed,

[15] For the discussion on this decree and its terms, see Farini, III, 257-267.

the old faith is still strong among them. But both in town and country, the people are beginning to associate the idea of the Pope's government with prosperity and good order; and to connect the notion of his dethronement with the distress and discontent, the stagnation of industry and dessication of the sources of wealth, under which they are now suffering. The issue, whatever it may be, must soon come. Such a critical state cannot possibly continue many weeks longer.

At this early period of my arrival, I can scarcely undertake to express an opinion respecting the stability or probable continuance of the existing government. In the best informed circles, among those whose judgments are entitled to weight, every variety of sentiment prevails. By some, the revolution is called a temporary insurrection—a mere momentary effervescence. By others, on the contrary, it is regarded as a serious movement, rooted in the soil, and assured of support from all the Roman States. In my next despatch, I hope to be able to communicate more precise information on this point.

While in the act of closing this despatch, intelligence, so well authenticated as to admit of no doubt of its correctness, has arrived, of the defeat of the Sardinian troops, with Charles Albert at their head, by the Austrians, at Novarra, near Milan. The King has abdicated, in favor of his oldest son, the Duke of Savoy.[16] This is a most unfortunate event for the Roman Republic, for not only by the new government, but by all the friends of the new order of things, throughout Italy, generally, the King of Sardinia was regarded as the champion of freedom—the Marcellus of Italy. There is now every probability that in the course of a month the Pontiff will be restored to the Vatican.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 2.

Legation of the United States, Rome, April 21, 1849.

Sir:

In moments of disturbance and excitement a thousand rumors occupy public attention, and it becomes difficult to sift facts from the exaggerated additions of falsehood. It is therefore with a certain degree of reserve, that I beg leave to submit a statement of the present condition of affairs at Rome, such as I have been able to procure, as well from personal observation, as from the relations of well-informed persons, and the comments of the leading Roman journals.

The situation of Italy, generally, at the present moment, is so highly critical, that the very opposite result to that constantly aimed at by the

[16] Victor Emmanuel II. The battle of Novara occurred March 23. The unfortunate Charles Albert died four months later in a monastery in Portugal. Thayer, II, 323-329; Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249; L. C. Bollea, "Il mistero dell'abdicazione del re Carlo Alberto", in *Il Risorgimento Italiano*, VIII, 188-202.

Italian progressists, as they call themselves, seems not unlikely to be the conclusion of the recent political movements. While union has been always the motto and object of the liberal party, they have been irresistibly compelled, by the opposition of their rulers, and by the force of unfavorable events, to divide their peninsula into still more minute portions, and nothing but universal democracy or unlimited absolutism appears now likely to reduce the country under one sway. Sicily repudiates Neapolitan dominion. Venice stands alone. Genoa separates from Piedmont. Savoy threatens to do the same. Tuscany refuses to unite with Rome; and Bologna, the chief of the Roman states, nourishes a party ready to abjure the republic and recal the papal form of government.

As I intimated in my despatch of the 9th inst, the consequences of the defeat and overthrow of the King of Sardinia are by no means confined to his dominions. Even at this early moment, the victory of the Austrians is producing, in central and southern Italy, unfavorable effects upon the republican cause. Already it has encouraged the King at Naples [17] to undertake to suppress the representative system, and very probably will defeat the hope of the Pope coming to an amicable arrangement with the Roman people. The demands of the papal party have risen since that event, and it is said nothing will now content them but the unconditional submission of the republicans, who will have to return under the domination, not of a moderate or constitutional, but, it is feared, an offended and re-actionary party. This certainly appears to be a hard fate for the Roman population—a population, among whom the desire is very strong to escape from the temporal domination of the Pope, not as Pope, but as the Head of the College of Cardinals. The journals say, and such is likewise the language I hear on all sides, that they have had abundant proof that no Pontiff, however liberal and well-disposed, can, surrounded by a cardinalate, free either them or himself. Pius IX, it is universally admitted, did his best. And had he had the power to carry into execution the constitution which he granted, much would have been effected, it is believed, towards Roman liberalism. But it is well known, that the constitution remained nearly a dead letter in his hands, that he was able to accomplish few or no reforms in the police, Courts of Justice, or administration of municipal authority, solely because the sacerdotal functionaries around him possessed sufficient power to nullify every act which struck at their privileges. Communications have been made to me, from sources of the highest respectability, of the authority exercised by this ecclesiastical oligarchy, almost too monstrous for belief. But with every allowance for misrepresentation, arising from ignorance or the re-action of popular sentiment, the power wielded by the cardinal college must unquestionably have been immense. Being in complete possession of the

[17] Ferdinand II.

courts of justice (if they deserve the name) and of the confessional, this body were enabled to convert all and every influence to their own personal and class aggrandisement, as they are accused of having done. In illustration of this system, I will quote the law of fiducia, which is matter of record, and familiar to every Roman. By this law a dying man can give his property in trust to the priest attending his last moments, the secret words which the priest declares were uttered by him being considered his valid testament. Of course, such a law alone gives the priesthood the power of disinheriting any family and succeeding to any heritage.

The belief prevails, especially, I think, in the United States, that the party which insisted on reform, and which showed its discontent of the Pope's government, is merely an ultra-democratic faction, in the unfavorable sense of these words.[18] But such is far from being the case. This supposition is combatted with vehement indignation; and I have learned to my surprise, that there is a lage party of moderate, educated and comparatively wealthy men in the Assembly, who care nothing whatever for a republic—who abhor communisme, who desire more than all things protection to property, and who express the conviction, that no right or freedom or happiness is possible under the sway of the Cardinals, whom they have always regarded as the real government. If that règime be restored, this class of the inhabitants will probably withdraw from the Roman territories, or, if forced to remain, submit with Italian determination to avenge themselves at the first opportunity.

Among the many events of these eventful times, there is not one which has excited more comment and astonishment among the citizens of the republic, than the departure and continued absence of the highest class of the nobility of Rome. With the exception of two individuals, who have resolved to participate in the lot of the people, all of the Princes abandoned the city shortly after the flight of the Pope.[19] Conjecture has been exhausted as to the cause. It can hardly be ascribed to regard for the temporal government of the Pope, or devotion to his cause; for it is notorious that in no country has the race of Princes ever been held in less favor than under the papal sway. Honors, dignities, military, civil and political offices, have always been enjoyed by the priesthood; to the Princes nothing was conceded save the barren office of Senator of Rome, which had dwindled down to a mere shadow of its original importance. On the other hand, fear of the people, of personal consequences to themselves, during the tumults which ensued is likewise an inadequate explanation; for they could have had no cause to fear those whom they never offended—whom, on the contrary, they have always been ready, in times

[18] American opinion on this subject is admirably set forth in Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861,* especially ch. IV.

[19] For an account of the attitude of the foreign ministers towards the Pope and his flight, see Farini, III, ch. 2, and Alfred O. Legge, *Pius IX, the Story of His Life to the Restoration in 1850* (London, 1875), ch. 3.

of distress, to befriend, with a generous and cordial patronage. Why then they should have abandoned Rome, is a question I hear discussed on all sides. The only solution which presents itself to my mind is, the repugnance which must have existed among them, as the possessors of hereditary rights and aristocratic privileges, to the introduction of a new order of things, which would deprive them of these distinctions, and place them on an equality with the residue of the citizens. But be the cause what it may, the effect of their absence is disastrous in the extreme. All of those classes, and they are very numerous, which have been accustomed to derive their means of support from the munificence of the higher order of Romans, are now deprived of their usual occupations, and distress, consequently, prevails among the artizans and artists to an extent never before known—while such is the conduct of the nobility, whose relations with the government have never been intimate, it is not perhaps, less surprising, that the course of a large portion of the clergy should be such as to elicit from the existing authorities repeated expressions of commendation. With the exception of the Cardinals, who are derisively called, in allusion to the etymology of their appellation, the hinges on which the Pontiff turns himself, nearly all of the inferior clergy have remained in Rome, and are daily furnishing proof of their attachment to the national cause, by undertaking extensive works of various kinds, for the purpose of affording employment to the laboring classes, and thus removing one great cause of disaffection to the government. In addition, several eminent preachers are regularly engaged in addressing, from the pulpit, their congregations, in favor of the republic, urging upon their hearers to take up arms and range themselves under its banner. Although it is entirely contrary to our idea of the uses of consecrated edifices to hear discourses more political than religious in them, something must be allowed for the general excitement of the times, and for the natural, if not laudable, desire of a sincere minister of religion to guide aright, and, if possible, sanctify, a political movement which points towards improvement.

The Roman republic has not yet been recognised by any sovereign government whatever. The diplomatic body, accredited to the papal power, accompanied the Pope in his flight to Gaeta, where it remains in attendance upon his court. Four days ago the Minister from Prussia, and the Secretary of the French Legation [20] made a visit to this city, for the prosecution, as announced in the public journals, of private business. Having heard of my arrival, they did me the honor to pay me a visit. The object of it was soon made manifest. It was to dissuade me from presenting my credentials to the party in power. By an elaborate argument, the substance of which was, that intervention, for the conservation of the peace of Europe, by arresting the factious spirit which under the name of democ-

[20] M. de Forbin-Janson. For his efforts on behalf of Pius, see Farini, *op. cit.*, III, 352.

racy was doing so much evil, was unavoidable, they endeavor'd to demonstrate the certainty of the speedy restoration of the Pope. I cannot avoid suspecting that this was the real purpose of the visit of these gentlemen to Rome, and their private affairs a pretext. The existing government, as they are well aware, is in such a precarious condition, that the effect of recognition by the United States would be to give it no inconsiderable strength. The friends of the republic entertain the same view, apparently, for I have been solicited, to a degree amounting to importunity, by the President of the Assembly,[21] by Mazzini, one of the triumvirate,[22] and by other individuals connected with the Executive Department, to present my credentials, and establish diplomatic relations with the new republic. Dinners, seats at the opera, and similar civilities are offered to me in abundance. But I have uniformly declined them all, as they evidently proceed from an erroneous idea of my position. On one or two occasions, when reply became necessary, in order to avoid giving umbrage or cause of offence towards the United States, I have replied, that my government, being so far removed from the scene of action as to be deprived of the usual means of information, had seen fit to send me here, without discretionary powers, to report upon the state of Affairs, preliminarily to the course it would pursue. And I am happy to add, that this reply was received with entire satisfaction. Although, in these interviews, (which have never been of my seeking) I have been subjected, in consequence of the peculiarity of my position and the nature of the applications made to me, to much that was unpleasant and embarrassing, I cannot deny that they have afforded great satisfaction also, arising from the conviction that the power and importance of the United States are most favorably regarded, if not justly appreciated, by the European governments.

Although no foreign power has extended to it the slightest sympathy or countenance, yet by the friends of the regeneration of Italy there is a cheering view taken of the Roman republic; and it is, that the government should have passed thro' its first trials as bravely as it has done, weathering the storm with comparatively so little damage, and manifesting a buoyancy beyond the most sanguine hope. There has been and still is, much distress, much suffering, but, perhaps, it is only surprising that there have not been more, in such a complication of evils and embarrassments; and the tendency to improvement, even before the renewal of international relations (which have been nearly all severed) certainly denotes a wonderful elastic energy, bearing up against all depression. Want of money is unquestionably a sufficient evil to ruin any govern-

[21] Giuseppe Galletti who had twice been Minister of Police and later Minister of the Interior under the old regime.

[22] Giuseppe Mazzini with Aurelio Saffi and Carlo Armellini formed a triumvirate to exercise executive power over the Republic which had been declared by the Constitutional Assembly, Feb. 5, 1849. Thayer says that Mazzini "was henceforth the autocrat of the Roman Republic". His *Life and Writings,* and autobiographical compilations, have been variously published.

ment. It is against this great rock of political navigation that the Republic seems to be driving its course; and although no country in Europe possesses so proportionally large a fund of State property, if we consider that of the Church as belonging to the State, yet the distrust and want of confidence attendant on a new and, as yet, unrecognized form of government, as well as the prejudices and opposition of the old règime, render it very difficult to make such property available; whilst the collection of the forced loan, (the character of which I stated in my previous communication) a hazardous measure to be proposed even by a vigorous administration, daily excites discontent among the influential classes. In the meanwhile agents have been sent to Paris and London, to negotiate, each, a loan, if possible, for five millions of dollars, offering church property as security. The general impression, however, even in this city, is that they will not succeed. Without foreign pecuniary aid, the government will not be able, as I was yesterday informed by Charles Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, an ardent supporter of the liberal cause, and a prominent member of the Assembly, to carry on its operations three months longer.

The present Ministry, which is composed of, and called, a triumvirate, will, one week from this time, in accordance with the terms of their election, resign the authority which they have exercised for two months, under circumstances as trying probably as have ever fallen to the lot of state rulers. It is admitted by all parties that they have discharged their duties with ability and honesty. That they should have succeeded in maintaining peace alone, in spite of the struggles of parties and the machinations of external enemies, is certainly a proof of their influence as well in the capital as in the provinces. I cannot avoid believing, had similar ministries been placed at the head of the various Italian governments, at the commencement of the national revolution, that that union which has been for centuries the cherished hope of patriotic Italians, and the idea of which has elicited at one time or another the admiration of candid politicians of all nations, would at this moment be fully established. Be this as it may, however, the present Ministry, will retire from office with the happy reflection, that they have adopted many measures, the utility and propriety of which are fully admitted. I will enumerate a few of their acts, which have been passed since my arrival. The laws of primogeniture have been abolished. Sundry severe taxes, such as those upon salt, and the grinding of corn, which weighed heavily upon the poor and the laboring classes, have been remitted. The Roman States, like the districts of Italy, generally are filled with small proprietors; and when it is known that each had to pay in coin about twenty per cent on the estimated production of his farm, and twelve per cent on the value of the grain sent to the district mill to be ground, and that all were engaged in constant litigation with the valuers and collectors, it may be imagined what relief has been afforded by the remission of this impost. The Inquisition has been suppressed, as well as several secondary and

arbitrary tribunals, and, to a certain extent, others, of a more simple form, established.[23] Among the inmates of the inquisition, who have been set at liberty, were several priests and nuns, who have been in confinement, for ecclesiastical offences, from periods extending from seven to twenty years. By measures such as these the government is acquiring popularity. But it remains to be seen whether the efforts of the re-actionary party, and the weight of foreign intervention will not be able to overwhelm this liberal tendency of the Roman Republic. In the meanwhile, hopes are entertained, both from the respectable character and moderate principles of the majority of the deputies, and from their lingering regard for the virtues of Pius IX, and their veneration for his sacred office, that negociations will yet be undertaken for a reconciliation between the Pope and his subjects, upon the basis of strict guarantees for the constitutional rights of the Sovereign, on the one hand, and the inviolable liberty of the people, on the other.

Briefly, in a few words, the position of the Roman affairs I believe to be this—A majority of the inhabitants wish for the rule of Pius IX, but with a constitutional government, allowing liberty of discussion, and right of representation. These privileges are guaranteed to them by the constitution of the new government; but however well affected they may feel towards it, they can have but little confidence in its stability, so long as there exists a possibility of intervention. In every circle—in every society, this forms the great topic of conversation. Until this question is disposed of, there can be no public repose. Resistance, in case of intervention by any one of the great powers, is not for a moment contemplated. Every occurrence, however trivial and insignificant, is construed, thro' the medium of fears or wishes, into an indication of this event. Yesterday a Spanish fleet was reported off Ancona. Today Austrian troops are announced as having landed at that port; and tomorrow will as certainly proclaim the advent of some other foreign force. No period of twenty four hours since my arrival has passed, during which such rumors have not been current. That they will be verified, before long, in the shape of an armed intervention or a pacific mediation, I entertain no doubt. The continuance of the diplomatic corps at Gaeta alone warrants this belief. But in addition, the vote of the French Assembly, as contained in the Journals of the 8th inst, and which reached here the day before yesterday, empowering the Ministry to intervene in the Italian States, if necessary, naturally creates expectation of the arrival of a French force at Civita Vecchia; a measure certainly calculated to produce less irritation and opposition than an invasion of the country by the Austrians, and intended, I hope, to guarantee, under whatever arrangement may be subsequently entered into, the maintenance of those liberal institutions, whose inauguration has already cost so much blood.

[23] Concerning these various acts see Giovanni Conti, *La Repubblica Romana del 1849, studio storico politico,* pp. 94-103.

I am referred, in my instructions, by the late Secretary of State, to the concluding paragraph, but one, of the instructions furnished to Mr. Martin, my predecessor, and directed to procure and communicate to the Department all the information therein desired. But I learn, on application at the Consulate, that no records, of whatever description, appertaining to Mr. Martins mission, remain in Rome. Before he had fully entered on the duties of his office he was seized with sickness and died very suddenly; and his effects, including his correspondence, public as well as private, sealed up and sent to the Department of State. Under these circumstances, I would respectfully request to be furnished with further information in relation to the subject to which my attention is thus specially directed.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. NO. 3.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Apl. 27, 1849

Sir,

The mails are in such a deranged state, leaving Rome so irregularly, that I take advantage of the present departure, rather than wait till the next opportunity, which will be a week hence, to give you a brief account of the progress of events, although compelled to close my despatch at a very interesting point. The little time at my disposal, previous to the departure of the mail, obliges me to write *currente calamo*, without being able to give to this communication the care and attention which otherwise I would desire to bestow upon it. I have the honor herewith to transmit a copy, marked A, of a despatch which I received yesterday from the Acting Vice Consul at Civita Vecchia, the principal seaport of the Roman States, and the nearest to the Capital, from which it is distant about sixty miles. It announces, as you will perceive, the arrival at that port of a French force, for the purpose of " intervention ".[24] The excitement, occasioned by this event, in the city, is very great, and I presume will not be less in the provinces, when the intelligence is disseminated. The government appears embarrassed, and undecided as to what course to pursue. This vacillation, at such a moment, has elicited from the people several riotous expressions of contempt and aversion. The Ministry have at length issued a bulletin, in which they protest against this movement on the part of the French Republic, and call upon the citizens, at the same time ordering the military, to present themselves, with arms in their hands, at the city gates, to oppose the entrance of foreign troops.[25] But I do not think the idea of resistance is seriously entertained for a single

[24] The fullest account of French participation in Roman affairs this year is given by René Bittard des Portes, *L'Expédition Française de Rome sous la deuxième République* (Paris, 1905); see also *Précis Historique et Militaire de l'Expédition Française en Italie*, by " Un Officier d'État Major."

[25] Conti, *La Repubblica Romana del 1849*, p. 113.

moment, either by the authorities or the people. The hopelessness of a contest with France is apparent to all, and if I am not much mistaken in the national character, the Romans of the present day are not disposed to strike, even for honor and for right, without very good prospect of success. In the attitude they have thus taken, after the first moments of consternation, the Ministry have not been supported by a concurrent spirit in the Assembly. The debates today have ranged from the most opposite extremes, propositions for unqualified submission, on the one hand, and of war to the knife, on the other, having been severally submitted, discussed and rejected. Some of the deputies, in apprehension of personal violence, have withdrawn, and retired to their homes in the country. When I left the Assembly, which was about three hours since, a motion was under discussion to despatch a deputation to Civita Vecchia, to confer with General Oudinot, and ascertain, as far as possible, his intentions. Although there is much excitement and commotion, there are fewer demonstrations of hostility, on the part of the people, at this vicinity of the French troops, than I had expected to see. This is owing, I think, in a great degree to the pacific character of the proclamation, (a copy and translation of which, marked B, are appended) published by the French Commander immediately on landing at Civita Vecchia.

On occasions like the present, the requirements of etiquette and, more, the observances of official propriety are very apt to be disregarded. Although I have had, as a matter of course, no official communication with the existing government, and have strenuously endeavored, as far as was compatible with delicacy and dignity, to avoid any such intercourse, nevertheless, as I had the honor to inform you, in my despatch of the 21st inst, repeated applications have been made to me by the Ministry, to which, looking to my instructions, I have been unable to accede. I added, in explanation, to save ill feeling, and to prevent a repetition of similar overtures, which, it seems to me, are characterised by a great want of dignity and self respect, that I was awaiting instructions from my government, based upon more precise information than it possessed at the period of my departure. This declaration was received with entire satisfaction, and put an end, as I supposed, to further intercourse, for the present. But at a late hour of last night, and again this morning, I have been requested by the President of the Assembly (Prince Canino) and by other individuals, at the instance of the Ministry, to proceed to Civita Vecchia, and solicit an interview with the French Commanding Officer; for the purpose of submitting the ultimatum of the government. That ultimatum is as follows—the Ministry demand an armistice of fifteen days. Within that time they engage to submit the question of the papal restoration to the vote of the people, and if that be in the affirmative, to remodel the constitution conformably. At the expiration of that period, the French to withdraw from Roman territory,

no farther cause or necessity existing for their remaining, the people having expressed their wishes. In the event of refusal, war to be declared. It is hoped, from the tenor of the proclamation issued by Genl. Oudinot that these terms will be favorably regarded by him. I think differently, however. I think, from information I have received from Gaeta, that the expedition has been undertaken with the determination to restore the Pope, without regard to the sentiments of the nation, and that no proposal, in the nature of a compromise, will be entertained for a moment. I am urged, by the common considerations of humanity, to prevent the effusion of blood, to promote the cause of liberty, to be the bearer of these terms. But, however willingly, under other circumstances, I would undertake to serve such interests, the present occasion is not one when I could assume a mission of this character with propriety, or even, if unattended with objections, with any prospect of efficaciousness, and I have therefore declined it.[26] Of the real motives of the Ministry, in demanding of me this office, I am perfectly well aware. Their object was to create the impression, for the sake of whatever benefit may ensue to them from such a belief, that their cause is favored and countenanced by the government of the United States. Whether such be the case or not, I have expressed no opinion on the subject; neither have I considered it necessary, in declining, to enter into political reasons, or to refer to the established principles of our government, which regulate our foreign relations. I merely replied, that to present myself to the Commanding officer of the French forces, without the sanction of official character, which could alone give value to my services, might very justly be regarded by him as an act of impertinent interference, calculated to prejudice rather than benefit their cause. More than this it appeared to me it would be superfluous and unnecessary to say, in my present position.

The Consul has just sent me word, that the mail will close in a half of an hour, and I am therefore compelled to break off at this point. I trust, Sir, actuated as I have been by what I conceive to have been my duty, that the course I have pursued will receive your approbation.

[26] But De Lesseps, who headed the French mission, says that Cass did intercede in behalf of the Roman Republic. General Oudinot reported to Lesseps that Cass had left a paper with him embodying three proposals in the handwriting of Charles Bonaparte, vice president of the Roman Assembly, to which Cass had added a fourth "in which it was proposed that he should sign the agreement as Minister of the United States"; Ferdinand de Lesseps, *Recollections of Forty Years* (N. Y., 1888), I, 40-41. Farini (*op. cit.*, IV, 111-112) agrees with Lesseps and says: "The General [Oudinot], scarcely casting a glance on these articles, so contrary to the commission given to M. Lesseps, and so entirely at variance with his own ideas, answered Mr. Cass, that, on the score of humanity, he was desirous of peace, but that beyond all he desired an honourable peace, and a speedy conclusion; and then, without saying anything further, he took leave of the Ambassador, and gave no account of the interview to M. Lesseps." Legge, in his *Pius IX*, p. 277, states that Cass visited Lesseps, "and volunteered his assistance in framing terms of agreement". Thayer makes a similar statement, but no authorities are cited by these two writers.

A.

U. S. CONSULATE, CIVITA VECCHIA April 24, 1849.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you of the arrival off this port this morning of the French Steam Frigate *Panama,* having on board General Oudinot, his Staff, and 1320 men, destined to form part of an armed intervention on the part of the French Govt. The number of troops destined for this port is 10,000 men. The authorities here have come to an arrangement, for the peaceful occupation of this city by the French troops—which arrangement having been accomplished, the *Panama* proceeded to sea with the intention of bringing back the remaining portions of the expedition, which is reported to be on board of a fleet of sailing vessels, lying off a short distance from the coast.

I have the honor to be

etc. etc.

A. LOWE

Act. Vice Consul.

To Lewis Cass Esq.

B.

Dichiarazione del Corpo di Truppa Francese al Preside di Civitavecchia

Il Governo della Repubblica Francese animato da Spirito liberale dichiara dovere rispettare il voto della maggioranza delle Popolazioni Romane e di venire amichevolmente nello scopo di mantenere le sua legittima influenza, e deciso ancora di non imporre a queste popolazioni alcuna forma di Governo she non sia da esse bramate

Perciò che riguarda il Governatore di Civitavecchia Sarà conservato in tutte le Sue attribuzioni, e il Governo francese provvederà, all' aumento delle sue Spese derivanti dall' aurescimento del lavoro che produrrà il Corpo de Spedizione

Tutte le derrate; tutte le requisizioni necessarie al mantenimento del Corpo di Spedizione Saranno pagate a moneta contante

Civitavecchia
24 Aprile 1849
Il Capo Squadrone Ajutante di Campo del Comandante in Capo
ESPIVENT

(*Translation.*)

Declaration of the Commander in chief of the French Division to the Governor of Civita Vecchia.

The government of the French Republic, animated by liberal and friendly motives, declares that it will respect the wishes of the majority of the Roman nation—it comes as their friend, with the view of maintaining their legitimate influence, and will not suffer to be imposed upon them a form of government they do not desire.

As regards the governor of Civita Vecchia, he will be maintained in his functions, and the french government will provide for the augmentation of his expenses occasioned by the arrival of the expeditionary corps. All provisions, all requisitions necessary for the support of the French troops will be paid for in cash.

[Signature, etc., as above.]

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. No. 4.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, May 8, 1849.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that on the 28th ult. the French army of intervention, reported at fifteen thousand men, quitted Civita Vecchia, and on the 29th, the advanced guard, amounting to seven thousand, arrived within sight of Rome. During these two days the Roman army, twenty thousand strong, had taken position outside of the walls. Upon all the heights which could be occupied to advantage, batteries were erected, from which a heavy cannonade was opened, as the head of the French column made its appearance. The column however, continued to advance until it reached the walls of the Vatican, when it was checked by a severe fire of musketry, under the command of Gen. Garibaldi, whose force at this point consisted of seventeen thousand regular troops—more than double the number of the enemy to whom he was opposed. The engagement lasted several hours, and finally terminated in the repulse of the French, who were compelled to fall back, after suffering considerable loss. On the succeeding day, the 30th ult., a second engagement took place, in which the French were again driven from their position, with the additional loss of three hundred prisoners, among whom were nineteen officers. Since that period, there has been a cessation of active hostilities. But it is expected they will be resumed tomorrow, as Gen. Oudinot is reported to have concentrated his entire force at Palo, a distance of four hours march from the city, preparatory to a new attack.

Contrary to all expectation, the Romans have made a brave and gallant resistance. These actions have infused a spirit into the population, the effect of which it is impossible to predict. The appearance of a foreign enemy has accomplished for the republic what its own measures, papal abuses and the cause of liberty have hitherto failed to effect. It has converted thousands, who were indifferent as to its existence, into warm and strong supporters. National pride identified them with a government, to overthrow which a foreign enemy has invaded their country, and daily the determination gains strength and extent to defend it to the last extremity. I am not apt to exaggerate popular demonstrations in Europe—to regard them as ominous of very serious or stable consequences. But the present indications show too clearly the feeling which is around. Of seventy thousand men who sleep habitually in the city, it is computed there remain but nineteen thousand within the walls—all, old and young, capable of bearing arms, having resorted to the field. The sums daily levied, by decree of the Assembly, upon every family, for the aid of the government, in the erection of fortifications, construction of barricades, purchase of ammunition—and for the other innumerable wants occasioned by the present state of affairs, are contributed with cheerfulness and alacrity. Nor is this spirit confined to the city. I was informed last night by Signor Mazzini,

the principal member of the triumvirate, in an unofficial visit, which he paid me, that the same enthusiasm was manifested throughout the Roman States, generally—that from any city, village and hamlet, the government was hourly receiving offers of men, means and money. In addition to the hostility towards a foreign foe, which has thus aroused the patriotism of the Romans, a new element has made its appearance, to stimulate them to arms. A Neapolitan army, reported at thirty thousand, and commanded by the King of Naples in person, has entered the papal states, and encamped within eighteen miles of the city.[27] This event has exasperated the people to the highest degree. All questions, all considerations, seem now to be merged in the one resolution, to avenge themselves upon a nation, which overlooking common ties and affinities, has thus espoused, against their own brethren, as it were, the cause of a foreign power, to regulate domestic concerns, in which they had no right to interfere, above all, adversely. Whatever the result, the conduct of the Romans has certainly redeemed, to a great extent, their degenerated reputation for bravery and courage. Of this fact they seem to be well aware themselves, and the reflection appears to incite to additional exertion. The city is in a state of siege—or rather, the authorities have proclaimed such to be the case, to prevent communication with the enemy. Barricades are thrown across every street—shops closed—business arrested—in short—all the usual functions of city life suspended. Women and children are at work upon the ramparts, repairing breaches, and every sight and every sound indicate preparations for resistance. All attempts at negotiation have signally failed. To every proposal on the part of the Romans, Gen. Oudinot has briefly returned for answer, that he would talk of terms, when he was in the city of Rome, not before. And to this the Romans now retort, that he will only enter the city of Rome as prisoner, when he will find to his regret that the time for terms has expired.

Most of the foreigners, comprising French, German and Russian residents, have left the city. Three days ago, Lord Napier, the English Secretary of Legation at Naples, arrived here, to tender to British subjects, who were desirous of departing, the use of the steamer *Bulldog,* which brought him to Civita Vecchia, to convey them to Naples. I understand they have all availed themselves of this offer. Several American families, upon the first indications of hostility, took their departure, but the majority have remained. So much favor has been shown to them by the existing government, for which, in various shapes, they have expressed their sympathy, that probably they have hitherto entertained fewer apprehensions of personal inconvenience than persons belonging to other nations. On these different occasions, the Legislative Assembly has passed resolutions, expressive of thanks to American citizens, for their offers of assistance, and

[27] Further account of the advance of the Neapolitan troops under Ferdinand II will be found in Johnston, *op. cit.,* pp. 290-292; Farini, IV, 85 *et seq.*

contributions in money. But now that the city is menaced with bombardment, many are anxious to withdraw. By land this has become impossible, the roads being infested by parties of lawless plunderers, who are committing outrages of every description. A large proportion of the Americans present consists of ladies, with their children—families of fortune and of the highest respectability—whose alarm is becoming painful. Under these circumstances, entertaining no doubt of your approval, I have yielded to their solicitations, and written to Capt. Hunter commanding the U. S. Steamer *Alleghany,* now lying at Leghorn, requesting him to bring his ship to Civita Vecchia, without delay. The government has offered to provide them with a guard until they reach that place. Thence, on board of the *Alleghany,* they can pass, in a few hours, to any of the adjacent ports, where no obstructions exist to traveling.

John M. Clayton to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 4.[28]

Department of State, Washington, 23rd. May, 1849.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches Nos. 1 and 2, of the 9th and 21st. ultimo, respectively,—the first on the 7th, the last on the 18th. instant. They present interesting views of the affairs of The Papal States. The restoration of His Holiness will now scarcely admit of doubt. It is not deemed necessary, however, to give you any new instructions in regard to the delivery of your Credential Letter, which will, accordingly, be still withheld until further orders; and in the interim the Department will expect from you prompt and full information in regard to every thing that transpires at Rome.

I have directed copies of the instructions of this Department to your predecessor, and of his despatches to it, to be made for your use. They will, in conformity, with your request, be transmitted with this communication and be filed by you in the Legation.

We are so remote from the theatre of Italian revolutions, that the political events of that part of the world, however interesting, can exercise very little influence, upon the United States except so far as they may affect our commerce and trade. On this point, also, it will be your duty to give the Department all the information of interest which you can procure—*viz.,* the rate of duty imposed on our staples, and the amount of their annual consumption in the Papal States—the best measures for enlarging the commerce and navigation of the two countries—the present prospect of carrying out the plan of a commercial League, or Italian *Zoll-verein,*—and whether such an association, if affected, will probably be invested with the faculty to form commercial Treaties with Foreign Powers.

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[28] No. 3, Mar. 8, 1849, informs Cass of Clayton's appointment as Secretary of State.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. No. 5.

Sir, LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, May 23, 1849.

I have the honor to inform you, that since the date of my last communication—the 8th inst—there has been no very material change in the posture of affairs at Rome. A Special Envoy, charged with negociations, from the French government, arrived here on the 17th inst.[29] On the succeeding day an armistice was announced, which continued until yesterday. During this interval repeated propositions, in the nature of compromise, had been alternately submitted by the Triumvirate and the representative of the French government; and the negociation had advanced so far as to create strong hopes of an amicable arrangement. The recognition of the legislative Assembly, as a legitimately constituted body, and the deposal of the Triumvirs, or Ministers who appear to be especially obnoxious to the French Cabinet, had been alternately demanded and yielded. But at this stage of the proceedings arose a point of honor, which has rendered the probability of adjustment more remote than ever. On the part of France unqualified admission of the Army into Rome was required. But this demand was rejected with vehement indignation. Negotiations were forthwith declared to be at an end; and as soon as the conference terminated, an official announcement appeared, stating that hostilities were resumed. The city is in a state of siege, surrounded by french troops. The Neapolitan army, after two engagements, in which their loss was very severe, has retired to the frontier, to await re-inforcements. A Division of Austrian troops, thirty two thousand strong, is on the march hither, and by this morning's intelligence reported to be only forty miles distant from the city.

While external dangers are thus augmenting, the unanimity of the people in support of the government appears to advance proportionably. The various factions, which were in existence a few weeks previously, have coalesced into one attitude, that of defence of the republic; and expressions of patriotism and resolutions to suffer to the last extremity, is the only language heard in the streets. In Rome's best days, when the Capital was menaced by a foreign foe, no better or braver spirit was ever manifested, than the same scenes now exhibit. To meet the extraordinary expenses of the government, not a few citizens, embracing every condition, have placed their entire fortunes, unreservedly, at the disposal of the Ministry. And in conduct of this nature the women have borne their part—their contribution consisting of jewelry and ornaments—gold, silver and precious stones—some of which are reported to be of enormous value.

[29] This was Ferdinand de Lesseps who gives his own version of this mission in his *Recollections of Forty Years,* I, 1-118; see also Giuseppe Spada, *Storia della Revoluzione di Roma,* III, ch. 15.

Since the termination of the armistice they have resumed their posts at the barricades, and the citizens, with arms in their hands, are again upon the ramparts. I have not, until now, realized how deeply the Roman heart and soul are engaged in the cause, and how united the whole country is to resist foreign dictation. The exasperation of all classes at the violation of the national territory transcends the mere sense of a personal insult. To levies and exactions, oftentimes of an exorbitant, and, occasionally, invidious character, they cheerfully submit. They have fought bravely and well, securing to themselves the proud reflection, that if they fail, the failure will be owing to their weakness, physically, not morally. If the government is really doomed to fall, the republican cause—the cause of liberty, in Italian hearts, will receive a shock, to recover from which long years will be required. This city is the last foothold of thousands, who have been fighting, for years, from Milan in the North to Palermo in the South, for independence and constitutional government. Of Italians alone, refugees from other parts of the country, it is computed there are eighteen thousand present, who have been expelled in turn from every state in Italy, till Rome has become their last rallying point, and may be their final resting place. Among them is to be found every variety of age, sentiment and conviction—wild visionary enthusiasts, sober, respectable citizens, ruffians and unprincipled adventurers. If defeat again overtakes them, the homes of those who survive must be under a foreign sky, for no government in Europe will receive such propagandists within its dominions. It is difficult to remain an indifferent spectator of such a struggle. Mindful, however, of our peculiar policy, I have carefully abstained, altho' possessing no official position before this government, from all participation in passing events. During the recently pending negociations I was strongly solicited to appear as the representative of the Roman Republic, which request, although the Commander in Chief of the French forces united in it likewise, I felt it my duty to decline.[30] To our countrymen here, several of whom are known to you as persons of distinction and fortune, it is a subject of some regret, that our government has not deemed it advisable to recognise at once the new republic. In the warm sympathy they feel for it—*frater in terris alienis*—their hearts, perhaps, more than their judgment, suggest this expression. Without entering into political considerations, yielding to natural feelings springing from education and associations, they have evinced their partiality for the republican cause, by contributing pecuniary aid to the Ministry, since the commencement of military operations; and so gratefully is this conduct regarded, that the Assembly have passed a resolution, declaring American citizens to be under the immediate protection of the State, their persons inviolable, and that a military commission will instantly judge the first act of violence of which they may complain.

[30] *Cf.* note 26, *ante.*

It appears to be generally admitted that the French Cabinet has committed a grave error in undertaking the present expedition. And to the misconception which evidently existed in regard to the extent and nature of the Roman Revolution, must be added another mistake—*viz*—that reaction would ensue on the first landing of their troops. Not only is there no symptom of any fraction of the inhabitants calling for the Pope, but the intensity of abhorrence in which the return of clerical government was hitherto held by a mere party, is now changed into a universal determination to fight knee deep in blood, to resist that event. The French Commander is in a position of great embarrassment. He is evidently taken by suprise at the perfect unanimity of the population. With his comparatively small force he hesitates to advance. Reinforcements are landing at Civita Vecchia, but until his battering train arrives, he will hardly risk another attack. As matters stand Rome cannot easily be surprised or carried, for all the gates are barricaded, and the walls, well manned, can resist an ordinary attacking force. But the case I imagine will be different, when the breaching artillery begins to play; and when once a space in the walls is battered down, possession will be taken of that point, and from it the whole town will probably be gained. A sort of mad enthusiasm at present prevails within the city, and the Triumvirate, intoxicated with the idea of repulsing a french army, conceives that their raw levies are invincible. But I fear the first fire of heavy guns will convince them of their error. It is impossible at this juncture to foretell what will be the result. That the Roman States can contend successfully with a power of the first magnitude, like France, no one has the effrontery to assert. On the other hand, that Rome, with its immortal works of art, in the preservation of which the whole civilized world is interested, will be exposed to bombardment, and its citizens, against whom no real cause of enmity exists, to all the horrors and calamities of war, in order to accomplish the purpose of the intervention—*viz,* the restoration of the Pope, seems to me to be a supposition equally violent and improbable. The question will probably be settled in a few days by the arrival of the Austrians. The circumstances of the intervention will then be made known. If it shall appear to have been undertaken conjointly by the three Powers, France, Austria and Naples, a new form of government, or, again, the rule of Pius IX, will probably be imposed upon the Roman people. But if there has been no concert of action, and it has originated in french interests alone, strong hopes are entertained that, in her jealousy of Austrian power in Italy France will take under her protection the very government she is now endeavoring to subvert.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 6.

Sir, Legation of the United States, Rome, June 14, 1849.

All the usual mail conveyances, in the present state of the siege of this city, are necessarily suspended, and I avail myself, on this occasion, of the opportunity afforded by the departure of Signor Rosconi, the Minister of the Interior, who is returning to London, for the purpose of again soliciting the interference of the British government, to give you a hurried account of the state of affairs at Rome. I am compelled to write hastily, as Signor R. has notified me that he will leave in the course of three hours.

The French army, twenty five thousand strong, is stationed within a mile and a half of the city, occupying posts, in five equal divisions, opposite to the five principal gates, supported by heavy batteries. They have won this position after fourteen days of fighting, commencing on the 1st of June and continued to the present moment. The loss of the Romans, in killed and wounded, is officially reported at four thousand seven hundred. The casualities in the French army we have no means of knowing. With the exception of a slight advance on the part of the latter, the position of the parties is not much changed since the renewal of hostilities. The moral advantage is certainly with the Romans. The confidence arising from the successful resistance thus repeatedly opposed to the entrance of the French into the Capital, the unanimity and enthusiasm, which increases every hour, in favor of the republican cause, combine to render the permanent establishment of the existing government highly probable. Probable, I mean, on the supposition that it is the design of those Powers, who have intervened on the Roman question, to regard in the slightest degree, the sentiments of the Roman people—old traditions of glory are revived. From dawn to the close of day, the domes, cathedrals and parapets, are crowded with spectators, whose acclamation at every gallant action incites to deeds of most extraordinary daring. On the whole, the recent conduct of the Romans, giving the lie to much in their past history, is not unworthy of the scenes which look upon their present struggle. The work of the defences is pushed with unremitting labor. The roads leading from the gates are planted with iron spears, rendering the movements of cavalry impossible. The adjacent houses are pierced for musketry, and the gates are raked by pieces of cannon planted on the neighboring bastions. The gates themselves are mined, should all other obstacles be overcome. Every house in the streets through which the enemy must pass, after having forced the outworks, is provided with oil and stones, the former of which is directed to be kept boiling hot, to be cast from the windows. So extensive and complete are the preparations for defence, that if the people continue resolved to keep out the French army, the means are certainly within their power. Since the attack of the 1st of June, the National Guards have been unable to preserve order within the city, and the work

of pillage has commenced. Assassinations have become frequent. The lives of those who hold opinions opposed to the Republic are not secure, and though it is difficult to believe it, I am assured that five priests, known to be retrogrades, as they are called, were murdered night before last.[31] The number, within the walls, of foreign vagabonds, robbers and plunderers—that class peculiar to Italy—is so very great, that the respectable portion of society is living in a state of most painful alarm, night and day. Repeated applications have been made to me, by Roman families of the highest distinction, whose names and titles are familiar to you from historic associations, for the protection of the American flag, to guard them against greater outrages than robbery or plunder. Among those who have preferred these requests is the President of the Assembly. Than this, no fact can more clearly expose the deplorable state of the city. All egress from the walls is prohibited. The hardships of the siege are beginning to be felt by all classes. Yesterday and the day before the market supplies failed, having been intercepted by the French cavalry, and no food now, of a vegetable character, can be procured. This deprivation imposes much additional suffering on the poorer classes, whose diet, as in most European cities, is chiefly a vegetable one. A still greater calamity is the threatened scarcity of water. The aqueducts, leading from the Sabine hills, by which the principal reservoirs are fed, have been sundered by Gen. Oudinot. In that quarter of the city, near the Coliseum, where the actions have been most numerous, the atmosphere has become so corrupted by the exposure of the unburied bodies, that a pestilence is apprehended, and the inhabitants, by order of the government, are removing to other districts, already, during this warm weather, too circumscribed and limited for the dense populations they contain. Under these circumstances, with our conceptions of the national character, it is amazing to note the fortitude and spirit of the Romans. Compared with foreign dictation, all other evils appear to sink into insignificance.

That the French expedition originated in a great political error is now generally conceded. Thus far it has produced nothing but mortification and perplexity to its authors, and nothing but discredit to France. Repulse has followed repulse. Whatever may be the character of the new Roman Republic—worse than questionable as the Powers of Europe profess to deem its pretensions to an introduction into their circle—its virtue has proved sufficient to resist the specious offers of diplomacy and severe assaults of arms. It is impossible to foresee how the French government, in the event, either of military success or defeat, will extricate itself from its embarrassing situation. The sickly season is fast approaching, when even the hardy herdsmen of the Campana shrink from sleeping in the open air. Already the malaria has carried off great numbers of the

[31] An account of the assassinations instigated by Zambianchi will be found in Farini, IV, 153-154. Fathers Sghirla and Pelliciajo, Dominicans, were among his 14 victims.

French troops. There is one line of action, and but one, which France can honorably and consistently adopt. That, I fear, however, is out of the question—*viz,* to retrace the step, which she, a republic, ought never to have taken, to recal her troops, and leave the solution of this question, so far as it is a local one, to the Romans, and so far as it is an Italian one to the Italian Powers. She can afford to do this, without fearing that her magnanimity will not be extolled. Hitherto the Roman question has been a political one, but it is now assuming a religious character. The contest is no longer between one army and another, nor between one class of men and another; but it is a struggle that embraces a whole moral world of ideas, hopes and faith, that may have an echo in the most distant generations. The actual object of the intervention is shaking the edifice of the Catholic religion to its very foundations, crushing that faith in thousands of hearts. Almost the entire state of Rome has declared the downfall of the temporal power of the Pontiff; and though under the menace of a French, an Austrian and a Neapolitan invasion, nearly every municipality has protested against its restoration. This can hardly be called the voice of a mere faction. The consequence, naturally, is that many are now asking themselves whether he who represents a religion of peace has a right to reassert temporal power by force of arms; and as it is very easy to confound the doctrine with the apostle, not a few begin to doubt of the truth of the Catholic religion, in consequence of the acts of its head. They cannot conceive how a religion, which claims to have redeemed the world from slavery, is now changed into a weapon intended to transform free men into slaves. Such sentiments I have heard expressed in many quarters.

[*P. S.*] I am just informed that a considerable breach has been affected in the walls, near the Flaminian Gate. Shells and balls are falling throughout the city, day is closing, and it is expected that the grand attack will be made tomorrow.

John M. Clayton to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 5.

Department of State, Washington, 25th June, 1849.

Sir:

When I last addressed you, on the 23rd ultimo, the early restoration of the Pope appeared morally certain, and for this reason, among others, it was not thought expedient, or necessary, to give you any other instructions, on the subject of presenting your Credential Letter to the Provisional Government, than those with which you had been furnished by the late Administration.

Your despatches to No. 5, inclusive, have been received,—the last on the 22nd Instant. It would appear, from them, that the affairs of The Papal States have become more and more complicated and entangled. It has always been the policy and practice of the United States to acknowl-

edge new Governments; and the delay in recognising that of Rome, has arisen entirely from the opinion, (which may be an erroneous one,) that it did not possess the proper elements of stability.

The President, however, is unwilling to keep you bound by instructions too stringent for the occasion, and thereby, to prevent you from doing that, at a proper time, which ought to be done; whether in reference to the Government now in apparent authority, or to any other which may be substituted for it, possessing the necessary requisite of stability. Of the exact nature of the circumstances, and of the condition of affairs, which would warrant and even make it desirable, as well as proper, that such a step should be taken, we can not so well nor so promptly judge, at this distance, as you may, who are on the spot. But, after duly weighing the matter, the President has directed me to say, that he leaves it entirely to your discretion to present, whenever you shall deem it best, your Letter of Credence to the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Provisional Government; or to withhold it some time longer, if the latter course should seem to your judgment preferable. Although we have not yet learned that the Provisional Government has received the recognition of any other Government, we certainly do not desire to be behind any in this Act of Grace and Courtesy.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 7.

Legation of the United States, Rome. July 6, 1849

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, bearing date the 23: of May, and also of copies of the instructions furnished to Mr. Martin, and of his despatches to the Department.

The French army entered Rome on the 3rd. inst. For a day or two previously all fighting had ceased, the ammunition of the Romans having been entirely expended. The Assembly has been dissolved by force; the members were expelled from their seats at the point of the bayonet. The offices of the government are filled by French functionaries, who conduct likewise the administration of municipal affairs. The gates are closed, material law proclaimed, and all egress from the city forbidden. The inhabitants, civil and military, have been ordered to render up their arms, and are moreover required to retire within doors at nine oclock in the evening. This regulation, more than all of the events which have yet taken place, appears to excite the discontent of the people. It is a deprivation of their greatest pleasure. With their soft, effeminate habits, the night, especially at this hot period of the year, is their principal season of enjoyment. The streets, cafes, gardens and other places of resort are more thronged at that time than at any other portion of the twenty four

hours. With the wonderful versatility, however, possessed by all Italians, they are becoming reconciled to this new order of things, and already all classes of the Romans are to be seen mingling with the foreign troops—some fraternising, and others looking with childish wonder upon the habits of the strangers.

The French army, twenty three thousand strong, bivouack in the squares and market places. The cavalry of which there are five regiments, are picketted along the curb stones, and kindle their fires in the centre of the streets. Genl. Oudinot appears to be uninformed of the intentions of his government, with respect to the farther management of Roman Affairs, and until he receives additional instructions, it is understood he will adopt no important measure, beyond securing the tranquility of the city.

July 8

I had written thus far, Sir, when an event, of a grave character, occurred, which caused me to suspend, for a short period the immediate prosecution of this despatch. The circumstances I allude to are as follows—

On the 6 inst. about seven oclock in the evening, a party of French soldiers, more than twenty in number, forcibly entered the residence of Mr. Brown, the American Consul at Rome.[32] Notwithstanding they were immediately notified of the character of the house, and in utter disregard of the American flag which was suspended above the door, they persisted in entering, ascended the stairs, and advanced to the parlor, in which the wife of the Consul was sitting at the moment. She rose and opposed their further approach, remonstrating with much indignation upon this intrusion. After remaining a few minutes in this position, during which time one of the soldiers drew his sword, and the conduct of all was violent and menacing, they withdrew, taking with them, from the roof of the Consul, two individuals, Italians, who were applying for passports.

A few moments after this occurrence had taken place, I happened to call at the Consulate, and to my astonishment and indignation received from Mr. Brown the preceding statement. I found Mr. Brown on the eve of leaving Rome. His trunks were packed—traveling carriage ordered, and other final arrangements completed. I urged him to remain a few days, in order to secure a proper reparation for this affront. But he insisted upon departing. At length, however, he consented to represent the case to General Oudinot, and dressing himself in his uniform, he proceeded, attended by Mr. Freeman,[33] our Consul at Ancona, to the

[32] This was Nicholas Browne, in charge of the American Legation before the arrival of Cass, who at once recognized the Roman Republic and who in his official uniform joined in the procession of the Constituent Assembly. See Leo F. Stock, "American Consuls to the Papal States, 1797-1870", in *Catholic Hist. Rev.*, XV, 247-248.

[33] James E. Freeman. For his part in this episode see Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy*, pp. 79-80.

Headquarters of the Army. The Gen. in Chief listened to his statement with due courtesy and attention, accompanied with expressions of regret, and in conclusion directed the Chief of the Staff to return with Mr. Brown to the Consulate, in order to collect, from witnesses of the scene, full information of the affair. Feeling much anxiety to know the result of the interview with Gen. Oudinot, I again called at Mr. Brown's residence, where I found this examination in progress. A few minutes after I had entered the room, Mr. Brown announced his speedy departure, when I withdrew, accompanied a short distance by the French officer in question, who added, at parting, that he would renew the conversation in the morning. The next day a military court was called, which sat during nine hours, eliciting all the facts of the case. It appeared in the course of the examination, which was conducted in the most impartial manner, (for I have been allowed to hear the testimony read) that two of Mr. Brown's servants had repeatedly, during the day, insulted French soldiers, while passing, and that an individual, belonging to a large crowd of Italians, which, in defiance of a general order, issued the day previously, was assembled, to the number of a hundred or a hundred and fifty, at the door of the Consul's house, had drawn a poignard upon the guard. A patrol, passing at the moment, entered the house, not being apprised of its character, made prisoner of the individual in question, and of another, who was recognised as a deserter from the French army, and then withdrew. It was further testified, upon oath, that the patrol deported themselves without menace, and were not informed of the character of the premises until in the act of retiring. From my own knowledge of the conduct of Mr. Brown's servants, who are Italians, I have not the slightest doubt that their behavior was of the character represented. In the vicinity of the Consulate their rudeness and insolence, I regret to say, have long been notorious. The day after this investigation closed, I received a communication from Gen. Oudinot, a copy and translation of which, marked A are hereto attached.[34] In addressing it to me Gen. Oudinot was no doubt under the impression, that, by Mr. Brown's absence, the Consulate was left without an agent. But I have been informed by Mr. Freeman that he is now discharging its duties, temporarily, by authority from Mr. Brown. Mr. Freeman is a man of integrity and good abilities. As an artist, his reputation stands very high in Rome, and he is respected by all who know him.

I have been previously addressed by Gen. Oudinot as Chargé d'Affaires of the United States; he is aware, however, that I abstain from the exercise of any official act, and that my instructions direct me to withhold until further orders, the delivery of my letters of credence. This information I felt bound to give to him, some weeks since, during the existence of the siege, when declining his overtures, as I had declined those of the late government, to negotiate for an adjustment of difficulties.

[34] See below for translation. The French original is not copied.

I cannot but believe that you will regard General Oudinot's communications as satisfactory. It appears to me to offer as ample and honorable amends as the case demanded. I will add, in this place, as bearing closely upon this subject, that the city is in a most excited state, and that the task of the authorities, in restoring order and expelling the foreign population, is attended with no ordinary difficulty. In such a condition of affairs, as General Oudinot correctly observes, errors are almost unavoidable.

You will perceive, Sir, that General Oudinot classes Consuls with diplomatic functionaries, and appears to consider them entitled, by the general law of nations, to the immunities of foreign ministers, of whatever grade. Such is not the case, as you are well aware, but by the usages, though not the laws, of the Continental States, generally, and of Italy, in particular, they are regarded as possessing the same privileges.

A.

EXPEDITIONARY CORPS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN HEADQUARTERS.

ROME. July. 8. 1849.

To the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America.

Sir:

Already I have had the honor to express to the American Consul and Vice Consul the profound regret which I have experienced at the error which has been committed. I immediately sent to the place of occurrence the chief of the staff to give to them (these gentlemen) all the satisfaction which they could desire. I take pleasure in renewing here to you the assurance that no one in the French army has harbored the design of disregarding your rights.

No one in the French army questions the inviolability of domicile of diplomatic functionaries or refuses just satisfaction to demands well founded. But the facts which these gentlemen dwell upon with so much force, do not bear out, in my opinion, the charge of the insult offered to American honor.

What has been done, in fact? Some French soldiers are insulted by three men before the door of the Consulate; one of these individuals even draws his poignard upon them; another is a deserter from the French army; a patrol pursues the offenders into the house where they are arrested before the chief of the patrol is informed that he is in a privileged dwelling. As soon as he is informed of this fact, he retires without menacing any one whomsoever.

You must reflect, Sir, that only a few days after the entrance of French troops into Rome, while efforts are making to secure general safety in the midst of excited passions, some irregularities must naturally be committed. It belongs to men as enlightened as the agents of foreign governments to facilitate the task which we have to discharge. The means of accomplishing this object and of establishing here social order, is by admitting, through mutual relations, everything which can simplify the state of affairs, without compromising national rights. Our respect for these rights will always be inviolate.

I have caused the two prisoners to be released, and I renew the expression of my regret.

You will see, I hope, in the preceding, a sufficient satisfaction for the error so excusable which has been committed, and which cannot happen again.

I seise this occasion to offer you the expression of my high consideration, and of my most distinguished regard.

The General in Chief

OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. NO. 8.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES ROME July 19, 1849.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that although the French government has accomplished the military object of the intervention, nothing has yet transpired to indicate the precise use it intends to make of its present position. So imperfectly are the intentions of France known here, that we can only reason upon conjectures. After the expenditure of so much treasure and blood, it is scarcely possible to suppose the Army will be withdrawn without some arrangement for the restoration of the Papal authority. It is generally assumed that the desire of the French Ministers is to restore Pius IX to Rome as the head of the Catholic Church, and as the sovereign of the papal states, taking the liberal concessions of last year as the basis of his secular administration, and lending him the protection of a foreign garrison. On the other hand, the consent of the Pope to these conditions is considered doubtful. He has professed his resolution not to return to Rome as a potentate whose dominion is imposed by foreign arms. Many of his supporters declare that he has seen enough of the consequences of liberal concessions, and too much of the consequences of intervention to trust the assurances of a Power so formidable as that of France—that if a political intervention is now to take place in his behalf, to pronounce the terms of his return, it should be that of all the Catholic powers, and not the exclusive, arbitrary dictation of any one of them. Thus it will be seen that the great diplomatic question which France has undertaken to solve yet remains in its difficulty. The Pope is represented to be principally swayed by the counsels of Austria, which are widely opposed to the interests of France; but Rome is in the hands of the French, and if the question of the pontificate be the more important, that of the condition of the city, he must feel, is the more immediate. A further cause of complication may arise from the temper of the Roman population in reference to this subject. With them, no doubt, rests the only satisfactory mode of getting rid of the difficulty. If they can be induced to join cordially for the restoration of their sovereign there would be hope for the permanent security of order in Rome, and an opportunity for France to retire with honor. We may anticipate this will be the case, if any reliance is to be placed upon popular demonstrations. A few days ago, by order of the Commander in Chief of the

French Army, a *Te Deum* was celebrated in the Cathedral of St. Peter, in acknowledgment of the re-establishment of the papal authority. Vast as is that magnificent structure, capable of holding forty seven thousand persons, it is said to have been completely filled, on this occasion, for the first time. When this ceremony was concluded, the banner of the Pope was "lifted", as it is technically termed, and borne in state through the city. It was followed by the acclamations of thousands. From almost every window scarlet and purple drapery, (papal insignia) was suspended, as the procession passed, while the facades of the palaces and residences of the nobles were decorated with expensive splendor.[35]

It is apparent from the whole tenor of the late declarations of the French government that they are resolved neither to recognise a Roman republic, not to tolerate the presence of the foreigners who have crowded to Rome. The first act of the military authorities has been to expel the foreign troops. When Rome is entirely delivered from this population, which has fled hither from other revolutionary conflicts, her citizens may surely demand with equal right to be likewise delivered from some at least of the ancient abuses of that clerical government, which this convulsion has overthrown.

A deputation of Cardinals is expected to arrive in a few days from Gaeta which will probably make known the sentiments of the Pope.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. NO. 10.[36]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, July 29th 1849.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 5,—bearing date June 25th which arrived yesterday.

You are undoubtedly aware, ere this, of the overthrow of the Provisional Government, and the ruin of the republican cause in the Roman States. The French army continues in occupation of this city and of part of the Legations. The Pope still remains at Gaeta whence he has issued a manifesto, announcing his intention to return to Rome, without, however, fixing any period for that event.[37] On the 26th inst., a papal commission arrived from Gaeta, and immediately published an edict, containing the rules to be followed in the reorganisation of the Pontifical government. I enumerate a few of them to show how radical and fundamental are the initiatory proceedings of this body. All acts in future are to be in the name of the Pope. Every Province shall have a Prolegate,

[35] Further account of this celebration in Rome will be found in Farini, IV, 251-252.

[36] Despatch No. 9 was merely a covering letter enclosing the chargé's accounts of compensation and contingent expenses.

[37] This paper, dated July 17, will be found in *Atti del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX,* Part II, Vol. I, pp. 269-270. A translation is given in Farini, IV, 254-255.

and Council, composed as it was before the 16th of Nov. 1848. The Police officers are to be governed by the Pontifical laws. The former postal regulations are revived. All publications are to be subjected as before to the censorship of the ecclesiastical authority. All promotions and nominations by the late government are cancelled, and those anterior to the revolution restored. The alienations of Church property are declared null and void; and the ancient tribunals are empowered to resume their functions.

Diplomatic negociations are still going on. The views of the French Government, and the manner in which they are to affect the restoration of the Pope, have only partially been made public. I am credibly informed that a thorough understanding subsists between the governments of Austria and of France upon this question. They are agreed, I learn, that the Head of the Catholic Church must be replaced in the free exercise of his temporal and spiritual rights, either according to the moderate constitution—which he himself gave—or with the full constitutional forms prepared by his Minister, who was subsequently assassinated. The Pope is represented as being unwilling to accept these conditions. He demands to be restored invested with the same privileges which he received on his elevation to the papal dignity.[38] But his remonstrances will most probably be in vain, as the two great powers are reported to be resolved on this line of policy. As they admit, however, that his apprehensions and scruples are not altogether without foundation, they propose, in common with other nations of Europe, to guarantee the integrity of the Roman States both from internal and external enemies, and to maintain, by force of arms if necessary, the system which may now be adopted. It is farther contemplated, that the Papal States shall be declared neutral in all questions of war; and that a kind of common protectorate be exercised over them, which will for the future save them from a repetition of those internal commotions, which of late have agitated all Italy. Any such arrangement as this, it appears to me, which should connect the integrity of the Pope's temporal sovereignty with the guarantee of all or any of the European Powers, would be in the highest degree unjust and objectionable; and, so far as it tended to curtail the imprescriptible right of the Roman people to modify their form of government at pleasure, would be null and void by maxims of public right, which no rule of international Jurisprudence can supersede, no treaty can override, no precedents overturn. But whatever may be the result of the pending negociations, I cannot refrain from believing, that the ancient abuses for the abandonment of which Pius IX has been alternately extolled and condemned, can never be restored again. The interests and inclinations of France,

[38] These negotiations are discussed in Nicomede Bianchi, *Storia Documentata della Diplomazia Europea in Italia,* VI, ch. 5; see also Farini, *op. cit.,* IV, 278-283, 286-288; G. Mollat, *La Question Romaine de Pie VI à Pie XI* (Paris, 1932), pp. 272 *et seq.*

and the general public opinion of Europe, must henceforth secure to the Romans an amount of civil liberty which, rightly used, will enable them, sooner or later, to obtain all that they can reasonably desire.

I am in doubt, Sir, whether, upon one point, I correctly understand your communication of the 25th ult.—whether the discretion, of which I am therein notified, was intended to be confined to the Provisional government, (which is no longer in existence) or whether it extends to the reestablishment of the Papal government. The latter construction appears to be warranted by the following language, "The President, however, is unwilling to keep you bound by instructions too stringent for the occasion, and, thereby, to prevent you from doing that, at a proper time which ought to be done; whether in reference to the Government now in apparent authority, or to any other which may be substituted for it—possessing the necessary requisite of stability." A subsequent passage, however, seems at variance with this view; and as considerable doubt exists in my mind upon this point, I would respectfully request further information, the more especially as there is every appearance of the speedy restoration of the Pontifical sovereignty.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. No. 12.[39]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, August 14, 1849.

Sir,

Since the communication which I had the honor to transmit to you on the 29th ult., no event of importance has occurred in the affairs of the Roman States.

The overthrow of the republican party, not only in Rome, but throughout Italy, and the entire prostration of the liberal cause as a barrier against the inroads of despotic power, must now be taken as a fact. The late issue was not, as the European press has so constantly insinuated, between anarchy and order; it was between constitutional, representative government, and the most benumbing despotism, whose rule, protracted through a few more years, at the cost of debt, poverty, ignorance and the paralyzation of all improvement, must again result in a universal uproar, as the natural fruit of arbitrary misgovernment. When this Revolution is set before us in the exact proportions with which history will adjust it, it will be seen that, in the principle involved, something more was at stake than the independence of Rome, or the ascendency of the Triumvirate; *viz.* the peace, liberties, progress and civilization of Europe against the very existence of irresponsible and despotic government. And there will also be seen the ravages of popular enthusiasm, which tended not a little to check the progress of reform in this instance. The impulse given

[39] There was no despatch No. 11.

to the people of Italy escaped from all control, and advanced with increasing precipitation, until it broke down all barriers, and degenerated into the excesses of faction.

It is reported, that the Pope will re-enter the Capital in the first week in September, and that four Powers, Austria, France, Naples, and Spain, will send detachments from their armies to be present at this solemnity. In the meanwhile the duties of government are discharged by a commission of Cardinals, who have called to their assistance two able and eminent citizens of Rome, distinguished for their republican principles and for the prominent part they bore in the late revolution.[40] Certainly, it appears to me, much honor is due to the courage and patriotism of these two statesmen, who have thus assumed a part in the government of the nation under such adverse circumstances, and not the less so because under the pressure of such perils and difficulties they have surrendered—what it is hardest for public men to surrender—their own consistency in order to do good to their country.

The ordinary course of reaction after a great popular convulsion is taking place. The obstructions to commerce and to business of every nature—the dissipation of destructive elements throughout the country—the losses and sufferings—have all been so extensive, that I am not surprised at the great conversion which these events are effecting in the principles of those who were the stoutest supporters of the late Republic. These are painful but instructive events. They demonstrate that of all the methods of extending the liberties of the people, the most fatal of those very liberties is to rise up violently and recklessly against the laws by which they are determined.

A striking characteristic of the present time is the studied and labored manner in which the feelings and position of Pius IX are continually kept before the people with every mark of sympathy and deference for his misfortunes. In a recent address to the inhabitants of the Roman States, the Pope announces his intention to give the nation as much of practical freedom as is compatible with public safety and the existence of a government.[41] If this disposition be entertained as sincerely as it is emphatically professed—and, judging his assurances by the liberal acts which accompanied his installation, I see no reason to think otherwise—the Romans may congratulate themselves upon a contemplated improvement of their condition.

The ministry, it is expected, will be named next week.

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[40] The commissioners were Cardinals Della Genga Sermattei, Vannicelli Casoni, and Altiere. Their official proclamations will be found in *Atti del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX,* Part II, Vol. I, pp. 270-285, 290-326. Their counsellors were Teodolfo Mertel, auditor of the Rota, the consistorial advocate Bartoli, Prince Barberini, and Giuseppe Vannutelli. Leti, *Roma e lo Stato Pontificio dal 1849 al 1870,* I, 161-162; Farini, IV, 262.

[41] This refers no doubt to the Manifesto of July 17. *Atti del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX,* Pt. II, Vol. I, 269; translation in Farini, *op. cit.,* IV, 254.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 13.

Legation of the United States Rome, September 4th, 1849

Sir,

I had the honor of a visit yesterday from Cardinal Della Genga, the President of the Commission, charged with the formation of the Ministry,[42] as well as the temporary execution of the ordinary duties of the government. In the course of the conversation, which, to me, was a very interesting one, the Cardinal adverted to the late party in power, and observed, that the course pursued by the government of the United States in refraining from hastily recognising the republic, had afforded great satisfaction to the Pope, who is an euthusiastic admirer of America, and its institutions. He stated it to be the intention of the Pontiff to make a liberal concession to the just demands of the people. A general amnesty, with few exceptions, has been pronounced, and an edict is in process of publication, designed to disabuse the minds of the people of all apprehensions of retributive proceedings. The return of the Pope, he said, to the Vatican, would take place in the course of this month; and he expressed the belief, that on that occasion, the liberal constitution, prepared previously to his flight, by Signor Rossi, late Secretary of State, and subsequently assassinated, would be formally adopted.[43] This opinion is corroborated by official intelligence received this morning from Gaeta, which represents His Holiness as cordially acquiescing in the views expressed by the Ambassadors of France and Austria, recommending the adoption of mild and lenient measures. The same intelligence announces that on the 6th inst. he will repair to Naples, to thank the King for the hospitality enjoyed in his dominions, and after a sojourn of a few weeks, return to Rome.

I have repeatedly noticed, not only in Italy, on this occasion, but in my experience of other countries in Europe, that when those classes, by which revolutions are commenced and encouraged, begin to feel their consequences disastrously in their pursuits and avocations, a reaction, oftentimes without sound cause, rapidly succeeds in favor of the very authorities whom they deposed. Indications of such a change are very

[42] See note 40, *ante.*

[43] Count Pellegrino Rossi, who had once acted as an envoy for Louis Philippe, was a naturalized Frenchman, having been born a papal subject. On Nov. 15, 1848, as he was leaving his carriage to enter the Assembly, he was assassinated. A man named Cesare Constantini was condemned and executed in 1854 as the actual murderer. Another conspirator, one Grandone, was also sentenced to death, but committed suicide before the day of his execution. A good account of Rossi's ministry and of the conspiracy which brought about his assassination will be found in Johnston, *Roman Theocracy and the Republic,* chs. XII, XIII. See also E. Michel, " L'assassinio di Pellegrino Rossi ", in *Nuova Antologia,* May 16, 1914, pp. 271-276; " Storia dell' assassinio di Pellegrino Rossi tratta dei processi ", in *La Civiltà Cattolica,* VIII, ser. 2, pp. 5-24, 129-153, 374-389, 505-516, 593-610; R. Giovagnoli, *Pellegrino Rossi e la Rivoluzione romana* (Rome, 1898-1911), 3 vols.

apparent. Rarely, I presume, in her modern history, has the laboring portion of the population of Rome suffered more severely than during the last eight months. Business, however, is reviving. An improvement in the state of trade, generally, and as respects this city in particular, the renewal of a demand in those branches which before the revolution gave occupation to twenty thousand workmen, who have for months remained unemployed, or engaged in labor which scarcely yielded the means of purchasing bread—and which enabled thousands of tradesmen, many of whom are now reduced to bankruptcy, to maintain their families in respectability, is doing much towards reconciling the most hostile to the idea of the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical authority. This improvement in the state of trade is, undoubtedly, owing, in a great degree, to the conviction, based on the assurances given by the French authorities, that the restoration of the Pope will be followed by an entire reform of the abuses which have so long existed in the temporal government of the Papal States. Pius IX possesses advantages at this time for establishing liberal institutions, such as no Italian ruler has hitherto enjoyed. The people are sick of revolution, and the provincial municipalities are reported to contain large conservative majorities.

Cardinal Della Genga alluded to commercial relations with the United States, and informed me that within the last two years, during a portion of which time he filled the post of Minister of the Interior, the import and consumption of American products in the Papal States had largely increased. He remarked that the unfortunate jealousies and dissensions existing between most of the Italian governments, together with the resolution solemnly expressed by the municipalities of many large towns, to abstain in future from the use of all articles of French manufacture, are opening a new and extensive market to the commodities of the United States. As he spoke freely and frankly of the absurd restrictions, ruinous monopolies and frivolous impediments, with which commerce in Italy is fettered, and which operate as a complete interdict to it, I took the liberty of calling his attention to the enormous duties laid upon several of our staples. The subject of tobacco in particular I pressed upon his notice. I added, that duties carried to excess equally impoverished the revenue and the subject. That in such cases, as shown by all experience, the consumption is so materially diminished, that the small quantity used produces far less under an extravagant tax, than a large quantity would under a moderate one; not to mention the temptation to smuggling, the expense of keeping a check upon it, and the impossibility of entirely preventing it. The Cardinal assented to these views, and replied that the subject should receive an immediate examination. He added, that the entire commercial policy of the papal states was about to undergo revision, and he would take occasion, at an early date, to resume this conversation.

A great proportion of the tobacco exported from the United States is

consumed in Italy. In this country it is in universal use, all classes, from the highest to the lowest, including both sexes, indulging in smoking, and many in the use of snuff. Under the present laws, the culture of tobacco is retrained, and a *regie,* or monopoly, controls the disposal of it. This system is not found to be profitable; and the changes about to take place in the organization of the government, will, I have reason to believe, from information which can be depended upon, afford unusual facilities for negotiating, at a suitable time, a favorable commercial treaty, or amelioration, at least, of the existing restrictive policy, by which means not only tobacco but others of our great staples will be admitted on more equitable terms.

A commercial League, in the nature of the German Zoll Verein, I hold to be entirely impossible in Italy. For no purpose whatever, social, political or commercial, has it ever been found practicable to unite the different kingdoms of Italy into one association. The fact is, Sir, the Italians hate each other with a hatred surpassing that of common Christians, and the nearer the neighborhood, the more inveterate the animosity. Rome and Naples—Pisa and Florence,—Siena and Rome—Modena and Bologna—in short, wherever there are two cities within a reasonable distance of each other, it is proverbial that the most cordial detestation reigns between them. A man, from a little town, or village, ten miles off, calls himself a foreigner, and is so considered by the people amongst whom he comes, just as much as if he came from the remotest part of the world. A man's Patria, in Italy, is the most limited thing imaginable. It is confined to the village which gave him birth.

John M. Clayton to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 7.[44]

Department of State. Washington, 19th September 1849.

Sir,

I have had the honor to receive your despatches to No. 11, inclusive.

In your No. 10, you ask an explanation of my instructions of the 25th of June. This request on your part, was no doubt made in consequence of the peculiar position of public affairs at Rome, at the moment they happened to be received, and not from any obscurity in the instructions themselves, which left it discretionary with you to acknowledge the Provisional Government, which was (as far as we knew at the time,) then in existence, or any other Government which might, in the interim, have been substituted for it, possessing, of course, the necessary requisite of at least apparent stability. The latter was the only limitation that was

[44] No. 6 from Clayton transmitted to Cass the commission of Joseph Mozier, of N. Y., as consul for the Port of Ancona with instructions to apply to the Papal States for an *exequatur* for the consul.

meant. The scruple that arose in your mind, appears, however, under the circumstances to have been natural and judicious. The Provisional Government has, it now appears, been expelled, and that of the Pope has not taken effect by the return of His Holiness to Rome, and the entire resumption, by him, of the reins of Government. We do not yet know that his restoration has been completed, and until that event does occur, you may, perhaps, in the exercise of the discretion with which you are invested, deem it advisable still, to withhold your credentials. This is left to your own good judgment. The President's object and wish are, that you should place yourself, at the earliest practicable moment, in diplomatic intercourse with any stable Government of the Papal States, which may exist. This would naturally be for the interest of both countries, and you are aware that it has always been our policy and practice to recognise any Government which appeared to be able to maintain itself.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 14.

Legation of the United States Rome, Sept. 20th 1849.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt on the 19th inst. of Despatch No. 6.—bearing date August 1, 1849. The unusual delay in its arrival has probably been owing to the quarantine regulations, recently established at several of the Mediterranean ports, in apprehension of the cholera, in consequence of which all mail communications are much retarded.

In compliance with the instructions therein contained, I shall make immediate application to the Secretary of State for the Exequatur for the Consul at Ancona, and transmit it accordingly, as soon as obtained.

An official publication appeared on the 16th inst, announcing formally the re-establishment of the Pontifical Government.[45] At the same time a further amnesty was granted to political offenders.[46] A Ministry has been formed, composed of the usual functionaries. Cardinal Antonelli resumes the office of Secretary of State.[47] The Diplomatic Corps, with few exceptions, has returned to Rome. The French authorities no longer participate

[45] Printed in *Atti del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX,* Part II, Vol. 1, pp. 286-290; a translation is given in Farini, IV, 289-292.

[46] Excepting, however, members of the provisional government, the Triumvirate, members of the Republican government, the chiefs of military bodies, those who had broken their parole, and those who had been guilty of crimes contemplated by the existing penal laws. Farini, IV, 296.

[47] In addition to Antonelli, Prince Domenico Orsini was Minister of War, Mgr. Giansanti, Minister of Justice; Camillo Jacobini had charge of the Ministries of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, Public Works and Fine Arts; Mgr. Savelli was Minister of Interior and Police; and Angelo Galli, Accountant General. All were laymen excepting Savelli. De Cesare, *The Last Days of Papal Rome,* pp. 18-21.

in the administration of affairs. They have recognised the entire independence of the Roman Government. The police of the city, which for a time was in their hands, has been surrendered to the papal officers, and the papal laws are now exclusively in operation.

Preparations are making for the return to France of a portion of the army. The residue, together with a Spanish force of five thousand, have been placed at the disposal of the Pope, and, in conformity to his wishes, will remain in occupation of Rome and of two or three of the large towns, until all indications of hostility have disappeared, and tranquility is fully restored.

It is represented in many of the public journals, that much discord and ill feeling exist between the Councellors of Pius IX and the French cabinet, in relation to certain contemplated reforms in the future policy of the Roman States. But I have reason to believe such is no longer the case. A few days ago I was informed by Cardinal Borromeo, one of the confidential advisers of the Pope, that the entire system of government, in all its branches, is undergoing revision by the College of Cardinals—that at these debates the French Envoy, M. de Courcelles,[48] is requested to be present, and, in acknowledgment of the late eminent services rendered by his government, to propose such amendments and alterations in the polity of the Roman States as would be most acceptable to the French Cabinet—and finally, that the Pope is as sincere and ardent to correct abuses and introduce reforms as he was previous to the revolution. And day before yesterday, General Rostolan,[49] Commander in Chief of the French forces, whom I met by accident at the ruins of the Coliseum, remarked to me that his government had just received satisfactory assurances of the disposition of the Pope to make all due concessions to the demands of the people, which rendered further negotiations unnecessary. No doubt whatever exists of the intention of His Holiness to secularize, by degrees, the government, so far as Justice requires and to grant to his subjects a liberal constitution.

His Holiness remains at Portici, from which place, it is announced, he will shortly proceed on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Loretto, distant a day's journey from Rome. When that ceremony is completed, it is understood he will retire to Castel Gandolfo or Albano, the summer seats of the Popes, in the vicinity of Rome, and usually their places of residence until the approach of cold weather, where he will remain a short time previous to returning to the Capital.

P. S. After having enclosed and sealed this Despatch, I have re-opened

[48] The participation of Courcelles in Roman affairs is told by Leti, *op. cit.*, I, 155, 156, 181; Bianchi, *Diplomazia Europea in Italia,* VI, 263-270; Mollat, *La Question Romaine,* pp. 243, 270-275.

[49] Rostolan succeeded General Oudinot as Commander of the Army of Occupation in May; he was succeeded in a few months by General Baraguay d'Hilliers. De Cesare, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

it, in order, to contradict a statement which I have just read in a newspaper, published in New York. It is there asserted, that I have given passports to Italians, in which they are represented as American citizens. I beg leave to say that this is an error. During a few days, immediately succeeding the capture of the city, Mr. Brown, United States Consul, in conjunction with all the other foreign consuls, issued a considerable number of passports to Italians, whose lives were in jeopardy. In that transaction I had no agency whatever; but I am perfectly confident that in no instance was the title of American citizen conferred upon a foreigner. The passports were of a simple form, framed, as I understood, especially for the occasion, praying that the holder might be permitted to pass without molestation. At the same time I gave open letters to four individuals, among whom were Mazzini, one of the Triumvirate,[50] and Charles Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, President of the Assembly, in which I requested the kind offices of our Consuls at two or three of the Mediterranean ports in favor of the bearers, who were compelled to seek safety in a foreign country. I cannot recal the names of the other two individuals. I think, Gen. Avezzana was one of them.[51] But he always claimed to be an American citizen.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 15.[52]

Legation of the United States, Rome, Novr. 15, 1849

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that in consequence of a severe and protracted illness, it has not been in my power, during the last few weeks, to transmit my usual reports.

I have likewise the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Despatch No. 6. In compliance with the instructions therein contained, I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity to present my letters of credence to the Roman Government. That opportunity is evidently very near at hand;

[50] Mazzini received a passport under the name of George Moore, together with an enthusiastic letter of presentation to the American consul at Genoa. "The life interest of Mazzini", wrote Cass, "has always been dedicated to the cause of liberty and independence." H. Nelson Gay, "Le relazione fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti", in *Nuova Antologia,* Feb. 16, 1907.

[51] General Giuseppe Avezzana, who held the chief command under the Triumvirate, first came to New York in 1834, but returned to Italy in 1848 and took part in the insurrection in Genoa the following year. He was carried to Leghorn in the American ship *Princeton,* thence to Civita Vecchia in another American ship, the *Alleghany.* Cass gave him a passport under the name of Everett, by means of which he returned to New York, where he was presented with a sword by the Italians of that city. Marraro, *op. cit.,* pp. 165-166. Garibaldi was also offered the protection of an American corvette but refused it, preferring for the present to remain in Italy. H. Nelson Gay, "Garibaldi's American Contacts and His Claims to American Citizenship", in *American Hist. Rev.,* XXXVIII (Oct. 1932), p. 2.

[52] On October 4, Clayton sent an unnumbered despatch to Cass introducing Mr. Theodore Frelinghuysen McCurdy.

for it is officially announced that, in the course of two weeks from this date, the Cardinal College will return to Rome, and enter upon their accustomed duties.

As soon as they are installed in their former stations, the Pope, it is understood, will make a formal entry into the city, and resume in person the reins of government. As a natural consequence of the French Cabinet having recognised the concessions and amnesty granted by His Holiness as sufficient and satisfactory, the papal functionaries are no longer, in the slightest degree, restrained in the exercise of their official duties by the French military authorities. The latter have entirely withdrawn from all participation in the management of public affairs; and nothing is now wanting but the return of the Pope to complete the formal re-establishment of the Papal Government. The early part of the succeeding month will probably see him here, when the French army, as I have been informed by the French Ambassador, will retire, leaving only a sufficient force to ensure the safety of His Holiness, in the event of any re-actionary movements on the part of the people, which, however, are not apprehended.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 16.

Legation of the United States, Rome, Novr. 21, 1849

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that on the 16th inst. I addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of State a copy of my Letter of Credence, accompanied with a request that he would designate a day when I might have the honor to present the original.

The Minister, in his reply, which I received the next day, appointed the 19th inst. Accordingly, on that day, I proceeded to the Quirinal palace, at the entrance to which I was received by the Pontifical guard, and conducted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. My interview was of considerable duration. I delivered my letter of credence to the Minister who received it on the part of His Holiness, with expressions of gratification and of personal kindness towards the President, accompanied with assurances of the highest regard for the government and people of the United States. I made, on the occasion, a short address, a copy of which is hereto annexed.[53] The Minister's reply was such as, I am sure, will give satisfaction to the President. He said it was highly gratifying to his government to receive a diplomatic officer from the United States, and to resume an intercourse, unhappily interrupted by death.

There is an evident desire to cultivate the most friendly relations with the United States, and I shall endeavor so to comport myself, as to do nothing on my part calculated to diminish this policy.

[53] See *post.*

The Government of the Pope is completely re-established. The Officers of State have resumed their posts, and the administration of affairs appears to be conducted with the regularity of former years. The reforms demanded by the French government, in requital for its services have been complied with, it is understood, to a satisfactory extent. A portion of the army has retired from the Roman territory, and the remainder been placed, temporarily, at the disposal of His Holiness. The diplomatic officers have resumed their residence in Rome, and all classes are looking for the return of the Pope, who has quitted the Neapolitan dominions and entered the Roman States. At present he is at Benevento, where he proposes remaining a few days.

[*Address to Antonelli.*]

Sir,

I feel myself honored in being charged by the President of the United States to convey to the government of the Pope the assurances of the respect entertained by the people and government of the United States for His Holiness, and the interest they feel in the prosperity of the Roman States. This Mission, recently established, and vacated by the death of my lamented predecessor, is a proof of the desire of the American people to extend the relations between the two Countries, and to place their intercommunication upon a surer foundation. Their mutual interests may be promoted by an increase of their commercial intercourse, and they may be brought to a better knowledge of each other by the additional facilities of communication, which accompany it.

And there are associations connected with the history of this interesting country, which give it a peculiar claim to the regard of the civilized world. And this feeling prevails as strongly among my countrymen, as in any other region, and the name and fame of Rome are taught in the pages of her own historians in the schools of the United States, and make part of the treasures of learning spread over the land. The American republic will never be indifferent to the welfare of the Sovereign and the people of this country, and I shall esteem myself happy if, in the discharge of my duties, I can do anything to strengthen the bonds, which already unite the two countries together.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 17.

Legation of the United States, Rome, Decr. 15, 1849.

Sir,

I beg leave to call your attention to the wants of this Legation in the matter of books and public documents. Accompanying my instructions, I received from the Department of State, prior to my leaving Washington, a printed list of the works usually furnished for the use of our foreign Legations, and which, I was informed, would be boxed up and transmitted to Rome. They have not arrived, however, nor have I received any notice of their being on their way hither. On several occasions, in reply to applications from the Roman Government, American citizens, and foreigners, generally, for information of a public character, I have experi-

enced considerable embarrassment from the want of the works in question. I am therefore compelled to call your attention to this subject, and to request, if you do not deem it unadvisable, that measures may be taken to have this deficiency supplied.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. No. 18.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES ROME, Decr. 28, 1849.

Sir,

I have to inform you that on the 25th inst. I received a communication from the Papal Government, apprising me of the death of a citizen of the United States—Charles Haviland Carter—at Viterbo, in the Roman States, on the 19th inst.

From the report of the municipal authorities of Viterbo, it appears that the deceased arrived in that city during the month of June last. He was in ill health, and stated that he had been advised to try the baths of Viterbo, which are celebrated for their sanative properties. He appeared to be in affluent circumstances, and frequently dispensed large sums in charities to the poor. By his conduct and deportment, which are described in terms of warm commendation, he secured the friendship and esteem of many of the principal inhabitants of Viterbo; and the manner in which his death is announced indicates a degree of feeling beyond what is often expressed for a stranger, dying among a people of different habits, and a different creed.

The precise nature of his malady is not stated, but it finally resulted in a congestive fever, and after several relapses, he died on the 19th inst.

The friends of the deceased may derive consolation from the assurance, that nothing of human sympathy was wanting to soothe his last hours. Many were around his death-bed, whose kindness and compassion, throughout his long illness, fulfilled all the offices of love and affection.

The Municipal officers have sealed up the effects of the deceased, including a sum of five thousand dollars in gold, all of which will be transmitted to this Legation.

The report of these functionaries, drawn up after an examination of his papers, states that no information is afforded as to his place of residence in the United States. It is conjectured, however, from a recollection of his conversations, that he was from New York.

Under these circumstances, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of publishing this event in one or more of our newspapers, as a means of communicating it to the friends or relatives of the deceased, and of learning their wishes in relation to the disposal of the effects in question.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. No. 21.[54]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES ROME, Feb. 15, 1850.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, under cover from the Department of State, of a copy of the President's message.[55]

In the affairs of the Papal States there is every reasonable ground for believing, that public tranquility is completely restored. The disastrous effects of the late revolution have been in a great been [*sic*] effaced by the liberal measures adopted since the re-establishment of the Pontifical authority. The tendencies of the previous course of ecclesiastical policy, which were so alarming to the Catholic interests throughout the world, have elicited a joint and earnest remonstrance from Spain and France, whose political views are so widely divergent from each other on all other points, and the Pope, deferring to their demands, has announced his intention to adopt a system of government more in character with the progress of the age, and the wants of his subjects.

A portion of the French Army still remains in Rome, and negociations are still pending, concerning the adoption of such institutions as, in the estimation of the French Govt., will give happiness and a due degree of civil liberty to the Roman people. All idea, however, of forcing the Pope to act as it thought fit, has long since been abandoned by the French Cabinet. The articles required, are pressed with due deference to his authority, and a full acknowledgment of his sovereignty.[56] Up to the present time, the Pontifical Government has not responded to all these demands, objecting that it would be highly imprudent and even dangerous to introduce, abruptly and suddenly, such fundamental reforms. Material concessions, however, intimately affecting the prosperity of the nation, have already been made. In fact, the majority of the measures in question, including the re-organisation of the tribunals, and the almost entire secularisation of the administration, have been granted; and with this guarantee for the future, there is every reason to believe that the residue will soon be obtained.

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[54] No. 19 merely states that a number of coupons are being held in Prince Alessandro Torlonia's bank, to the credit of J. L. Martin, the first chargé. No. 20 is a covering letter, enclosing report of expenses.

[55] President Taylor's message, of Dec. 4, 1849, recounts the state of affairs in the Papal States, on account of which he says that Cass "abides the establishment of a government sufficiently permanent to justify him in opening diplomatic intercourse with it". Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* V, 13.

[56] Bianchi, *op. cit.,* VI, ch. 5; Leti, *op. cit.,* I, 182-204.

John M. Clayton to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 8.

Department of State, Washington, 16th. February 1850.

Sir;

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches from No. 13 to 19 inclusive. No. 11 was dated on the 14th. and No. 13th. on 29th. August. The despatch between those two, No. 12, has not yet reached the Department.

No. 16 informs me of your first official interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, and covers a copy of your address to that dignatary, upon the occasion; but you have not communicated a copy of his reply, which you characterise as one which you are sure will give satisfaction to the President: Be so good as to supply the omission.

I regret the inconvenience, which may have arisen to you from the long and culpable delay of a former Agent of this Department, in New York, in forwarding the official books and documents, sent to your address as early as the 15th. of February, 1849. Since that time other documents have been directed to you, which, with those above alluded to, will be transmitted to you from New York, in a few days, by the Storeship *Erie.*

The information contained in your No. 18, respecting the death of Mr. Charles Haviland Carter, has as you will perceive by the enclosed scrap from the *Republic* of the 14th. February, been published in that paper and the *National Intelligence* of the same date. It is hoped, that this public notice may reach the eyes of the relatives of the deceased.

A copy of your despatch No. 19. has been communicated to the Rev. Benjamin N. Martin of Albany, New York, the Representative of the late Mr. Martin, who will, doubtless, address you directly on the subject of the money deposited by the latter in the hands of the Bankers in Rome.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 22.

Legation of the United States, Rome, March 9 1850.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that religious worship, according to the forms of the Protestant Church, is now permitted, for the first time, by the Pontifical Government, to citizens of the United States, in the city of Rome. At the conclusion of the first service of this character, the Reverend Mr. Hastings, an ordained clergyman, from New York,[57] who officiated on that occasion, received a communication from the Police authorities, enjoining upon him a discontinuance of such exercises in future, upon penalty of expulsion from the Roman States. As soon as

[57] Marraro (p. 95), citing the *N. Y. Herald,* says that Mr. Hastings, chaplain to the legation, was from Boston.

this circumstance came to my knowledge, I solicited an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, whom I apprised of this order. I informed him that the Constitution of the United States forbids the establishment of religion by law; but that it protects every person, who does not interrupt the peace of Society, in the exercise of his religion, of whatever denomination. I said, moreover, that in the absence of any convention or treaty, I did not feel authorised to demand, as a right, the same full and unrestricted liberty of worship for citizens of the United States, in Rome, as is guaranteed by our Constitution to subjects of the Pope, as well as to all other nations; but that as a concession, granted by the Head of the Catholic Church, such a privilege, I doubted not, would be highly gratifying to my Government, which had taken the initiative in the establishment of political relations between the two countries. In a spirit of religious freedom and liberality most commendable, the Cardinal Secretary of State, after a brief consultation with other members of the Government, acceded to my request; and it is with great pleasure that I announce to you, Sir, this honorable act of toleration on the part of the Papal authorities.

Of the right to which I am entitled, as Chargé d'Affaires, by the Laws of Nations, to private worship—and in which any citizens of the United States are allowed to participate—there has been no question whatever. This restriction, however, is attended with many inconveniences, and the desire of relieving our countrymen, of whom there is an unusually large number now in Rome, from all impediments to the enjoyment of public worship, together with other considerations, of a still higher character, induced me to prefer this request, which has been thus readily granted.

In the course of this interview, the Secretary of State alluded to the protection which it was in my power to afford to individuals and property, during the anarchy which prevailed at the close of the late siege; and I am charged by him to say to you, that it is the intention of the Pope, when he returns to Rome, to express to the President his sense of the services received from the Government of the United States, through my agency, at that period.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. NO. 23.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, March 27, 1850.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, at the request of His Eminence, Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State, a copy, (together with a translation) of a communication, dated Portici, March 12th 1850, which I received from that functionary, on the 25th inst.

It announces, as you will perceive, the speedy return of the Pope to Rome, to resume, in person, the reins of government. This intelligence,

which has been published officially by the acting Government to the subjects of the State, has produced universal satisfaction; and extensive preparations are now making for the reception of His Holiness, in which all classes, without distinction, appear to participate, with great enthusiasm.

CARDINAL ANTONELLI TO LEWIS CASS, JR.

From the Palace at Portici. 12. March 1850.

The rebellion which, during the late vicissitudes, so much afflicted the inhabitants of the Pontifical States, having been subdued by Catholic arms, the gradual re-establishment of legitimate government in the States of the Church has been hailed with universal satisfaction by all well-disposed persons.

Nothing has been wanting to satisfy the ardent wishes of the Catholic party and of the subjects devoted to their sovereign, except the return of the Holy Father to the Holy See. Many difficulties have hitherto intervened to retard this event, especially the anxious desire entertained by the Pontiff to relieve the wants of the State. This object, however, having been effected, he has determined to resume in person the exercise of his temporal power, in the approaching month of April.

The Holy Father expresses the hope that you will communicate this intelligence to your government; and he relies with full confidence in our Lord, who guided the Powers which assembled together their arms in this Holy enterprise, that he will also deign to bless the efforts which he will not fail to make for the well being of his subjects. He doubts not that all the Powers, with whom the Holy See is in friendly relations, and which united, by moral and physical means, to reinstate the Sovereign Pontiff in the full and free exercise of his authority, will be animated by the same disposition to guarantee to it the liberty and independence indispensable to the universal government of the Church, as well as to the peace of the Church itself, which is also that of all Europe.

The undersigned, Pro-Secretary of State, in addressing to your Excellency this communication, avails himself of this occasion to renew the expression of his distinguished consideration. GLO. ANTONELLI.[58]

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. NO. 24.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME. April 20, 1850.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that on the 12th inst, the Pope, accompanied by the College of Cardinals, returned to the city of Rome. He was received at one of the principal gates by the diplomatic corps, the guard of Nobles, and a detachment of French troops. He proceeded to the Church of St. John in the Wilderness, where a *Te Deum* was offered up, and thence the cortège attended him to St. Peter's, where a similar ceremony, in which he officiated, was performed. At the conclusion of this service, he was conducted by the diplomatic corps to the Palace of the Vatican, which he has selected for his future residence, in preference to the Quirinal, the usual official abode of the Popes, and after exchanging

[58] The original communication, in Italian, which was also transmitted, is not here printed.

salutations, in the throne room, with each member of the corps, he withdrew to his private apartments.[59]

On the nineteenth inst. I had the honor of a special presentation to His Holiness. His reception was cordial in a high degree. He took me by the hand and assured me of the extreme pleasure it afforded him to resume diplomatic relations, so unfortunately interrupted, with a country for which he entertained a very great regard. He adverted, with much feeling, to the expressions of sympathy and contributions of pecuniary assistance, which he had received from citizens of the United States, members of the Catholic religion, during the late disastrous events. He alluded, likewise, to the services which it was in my power to render to the cause of humanity, during the period of the Siege, and stated it to be his intention, on a fitting occasion, to express his sense thereof to the President. With great frankness, he spoke of his late efforts to introduce liberal reform into his States, and of the difficulties which he had encountered, adding that he had learned by painful experience that it required much caution and prudence to prepare his people for an order of things to which they had not been accustomed. Far from being disheartened, however, by the late untoward result of his political experiments, he stated, with a firmness and consistency, which does him no small honor, it to be his intention to pursue the same course in future, and on all practicable occasions to introduce into his government salutary measures of reform, which he admitted to be much needed.

In replying to the observations of His Holiness, I took occasion to say, that the President, in resuming diplomatic relations with his government, represented as his predecessor had done in opening them, the wishes of the American people, who were looking with interest and solicitude to the results of the wise and liberal policy, which he had adopted, and who fully appreciated the difficulties which beset his path; that the Catholic Church, of the members of which he had spoken, was not merely tolerated with us, but enjoyed the same rights under our Constitution, and was precisely on the same footing with other denominations; and that if it had grown in numbers and respectability, it was under the auspices of freedom and equality; and, finally, that I would be happy to do everything in my power to promote the cordial regard which has so extensively prevailed since his accession to the Pontifical throne.

The return of Pius IX gives universal satisfaction, if the public demonstrations represent popular sentiment. All classes of citizens have joined, with tokens of the deepest respect and attachment, in his reception, and his journey hither, from the time he entered the Roman dominions, to his arrival at the Vatican, is compared to the triumphal processions of old.

[59] A detailed account of the return of the Pope is given in De Cesare, *Last Days of Papal Rome,* pp. 1-12. For an account of the reaction in the United States, and especially of the address of Archbishop Hughes in St. Patrick's Cathedral, May 12, see Marraro, *op. cit.,* pp. 93-98.

JOHN M. CLAYTON TO LEWIS CASS, JR. No. 10.[60]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, May 3rd. 1850.

Sir;

I have the honor to transmit to you enclosed, a copy of a letter, addressed to this Department under date of the 2nd. instant, by Francis Yonker, of Philada. together with two letters, directed to you, and sundry accompanying documents.[61]

PHILA. Oct. 14th 1850

Hon. D. Webster

We call upon you as our secretary to forward for us several letters and other documents concerning the Holy Trinity church at Philadelphia to the Hon. Lewis Cass—our charge D'Affairs at Rome.

N B Please forward them as soon as possible

My Most Sincere thanks
and your future happiness
FRANCIS YONKER

No. 48 Green St between second and New Market
N Liberties

Hon. D Webster
Sec. of U. State

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. No. 25.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, May 9th 1850.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 8. From the various postmarks endorsed upon it, it appears to have been delayed some considerable time on its way hither.

In my despatch No. 16. informing you of my first official interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, and covering a copy of my address to that dignitary, I characterised in general terms the nature of his reply, without furnishing a copy of his remarks, on that occasion. This omission I am desired to supply.

At the conclusion of the interview in question, I was requested by the Secretary of State, at that time Cardinal della Genga,[62] to send to his department a copy of my speech, according to the custom of this government, receiving the assurance of a corresponding proceeding on his part.

[60] Clayton's instruction No. 9, March 22, transmits the commission of L. W. Jerome of New York as consul for Ravenna.

[61] These enclosures, which were not found, refer to the trustee troubles at Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia. [Rev. Francis J. Hertkorn], *A Retrospect of Holy Trinity Parish* (Phila., 1914), p. 101. *Post,* p. 77, where the enclosure properly belongs.

[62] Nephew of Leo XII, and one of the three Cardinals in whose hands was placed the civil authority before the return of the Pope. See note 40, *ante.*

I did so accordingly without delay; and for a few days deferred writing my despatch, awaiting the promised communication. At length I was informed, that the Secretary had very unexpectedly, immediately after my reception, left Rome for Portici, the residence of the Pope; and that upon his return the paper in question would be sent to me without further delay. But from that period he remained at Portici till the departure of the Pope, leaving a substitute in his place, and returned on the 12th ult., with His Holiness. Upon the receipt of your despatch, No. 8, feeling assured there had been no intentional neglect in this matter, but that the embarrassed position of the Government might well excuse greater irregularities, I seised an early occasion to allude to this circumstance, in conversation with the Cardinal Secretary, and two hours thereafter I received the annexed copy of his reply, accompanied with expressions of regret for the delay that had thus occurred.

CARDINAL ANTONELLI TO LEWIS CASS, JR.

È con sommo piacere che nievo la Credenziale stata affidata a V. E. dall'Onorevole Presidente della Republica degli Stati Uniti di America, e sarà mio premuroso dovere di rederne consapevole S. Santità, che gradirà con diletto questa innovazione di amichevoli relazioni.

Bramerei che V. E. facesse conoscere al Governo, il piacere che S. S. proverà di ciò, in vista del bene che non dubiterà potrà risultarne da queste relazioni per gl'interessi reciproci di questi due Stati.

Io non tralascerò pertanto di fare ogni mio sforzo per mantenere la buona armonia e l'amicizia che regna fra gli Sudditi Pontificj, e i Cittadini degli Stati Uniti di America.

Ne' vasti dominj di codesti Stati, vi sono molti che ci sono cari per affinità e per Religione, e la loro esistenza, forma an legame di più fra i due Paesi.

Gradisca o Signore, i miei più distinti ringraziamenti per quei liberi e amabili sentimenti che Ella ha esternato per questo Governo, e sia sicura che Sua Santità accoglierà con premura tutte le opportunità per dimostrare la Sua Stima, e la Sua alta considerazione per il Presidente degli Stati Uniti di America.

Translation.

It is with great pleasure that I receive the Letter of Credence which has been confided to your Excellency by the Honorable President of the United States. It will be my immediate duty to make it known to His Holiness, who will be much gratified with this renewal of friendly relations. And on the part of His Holiness, I beg to express, by means of your Excellency, to the Government of the United States, the satisfaction of His Holiness, in view of the good which it is not to be doubted will result from these relations to the mutual interest of the two countries. It will be my constant effort to maintain the cordial regard, which exists between the subjects of the Pontifical States, and the citizens of the United States. In the vast domains of the United States are many who are kindred to us by descent and religious faith, and their existence serves as a new tie between the two countries. Accept, Sir, my best thanks for the kind and liberal sentiments you have expressed in favor of this country; and rest assured that His Holiness will seise with avidity every occasion to testify his esteem and regard for the President of the United States of America.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 26.

Legation of the United States, Rome, June 3, 1850

Sir,

I have the honor to annex hereto a copy of a letter, the original of which is on file at this legation, addressed by the late Secretary of State, Mr. Buchanan, to Mr. Antoine Ardisson,[63] at that time Vice Consul of the United States, in Rome, respecting the funeral expenses of the late Mr. Martin, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States near this government. In pursuance of the authority contained in this letter, and under the direction of Mr. Ardisson, a suitable monument has been prepared which is now in readiness, with the exception of the inscription, to be erected over the grave. The cost of this monument is one hundred dollars. In addition, there will be other expenses, consisting of transportation, mason's work, and the three taxes, payable to the Roman Government, which will amount, as nearly as I am able to ascertain, to the sum of forty three dollars.

Mr. Ardisson, who, at the time of the receipt of Mr. Buchanan's letter, was in the sole execution of the duties of the Consulate, understands English imperfectly, and construed the Secretary's letter as authorising him to give orders for a monument, the execution of which was not to exceed one hundred dollars. I think his view erroneous, as the Secretary, by the use of the word " erection ", evidently contemplated the entire completion of the business. In justice to Mr. Ardisson I should add, that he is a man of unimpeachable integrity, and that one hundred dollars is the price demanded by the sculptor for the workmanship of the monument in question. The sculptor has applied to me for payment, and I would therefore respectfully request to be furnished with instructions upon this subject.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 27.

Rome, June 14, 1850, Legation of the United States.

Sir,

I beg leave to submit to your attention the following statement.

A short time since, a man and woman, Italians, who described themselves as servants in the service of an Mr. Smith, an Englishman, residing in Rome, applied to me for assistance, in behalf of their mistress, an Italian lady, the wife of this gentleman. Mr. Smith, they informed me, was the proprietor of the Villa Palatina, built upon the ruins of the ancient palace of the Cesars, in the subterranean dungeons of which he had immured

[63] Concerning Ardisson, see note 27, p. 16, *ante*. The letter of Buchanan to him is not printed; as this despatch indicates, it referred to the matters of funeral expenses and the erection of a monument at Martin's grave.

his wife, whom they believed to be at the point of death. For several years, they said, she had endured the most brutal treatment from her husband, who had even attempted to take her life. They informed me, that by artifice Mr. Smith had decoyed his wife into the subterranean dungeons beneath the Villa, and secured her in one of the dark, mouldering cells, and that it was only after a diligent search of two days, in conjunction with the other servants of the Villa, they had succeeded in finding the place of her confinement. Immediately upon this discovery, they concerted measures for her release, and addressed themselves to me, as, in their opinion, the proper authority. The British Government, as you are aware, has no diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Americans and Englishmen are very often indiscriminately confounded by the lower classes of Rome, and it was under the impression, that I was the English Minister, that this application was made to me for assistance. I immediately communicated the information I had thus received to the Police authorities, and in the course of an hour, as I subsequently learned, Mrs. Smith was removed, in a state of insensibility from the dungeon in which she had been immured. A few days afterwards, her husband had her conveyed, at midnight, to an obscure convent, accusing her of an intention to elope with three different individuals, of whom I was named as one. As soon as this fact came to the knowledge of the ecclesiastical authorities, an investigation into the circumstances was instituted, at the instance of the Austrian Ambassador, which resulted in the immediate liberation of Mrs. Smith. Mr. Smith has left Rome, highly incensed at the action of the Government. Previous to his departure, he caused a calumnious report to be circulated, charging me with improper conduct towards his wife. It is the general opinion that he is deranged, and certainly his conduct warrants this belief. In communicating to the Police the information of which I had become possessed, I but yielded to the dictates of common humanity—to the instinctive impulses of nature, and no man, I think, of proper feelings, would have done otherwise. The language of Mr. Smith, however, assails my official as well as private conduct, and I have therefore considered it my duty to lay before you the preceding statement.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 28.

Legation of the United States Rome, June 25, 1850.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Despatch No. 9.

The papers which it covered, did not, I presume, require any official action on my part. Under this belief, I presented them informally—not in my official capacity, to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, to whom is assigned, in addition to his civil duties, the superintendence of

the ecclesiastical affairs of the Church of Rome in foreign countries, and received from him the assurance that measures would be immediately adopted to procure a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the controversy in question.[64]

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO JOHN M. CLAYTON. NO. 30.[65]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Aug. 5. 1850.

Sir,

I had the honor to receive, May 2d, your Despatch No. 9, covering the commission of Mr. L. W. Jerome, recently appointed Consul for the city of Ravenna, in the Roman States.

In compliance with your instructions, I made immediate application—*viz,* on the 4th of May, to the Papal Government, for the necessary Exequatur. After the lapse of some days, having received no reply from the Secretary of State, I solicited an interview with that functionary, when he informed me, that previously to granting the Exequatur in question, he had found it necessary to institute certain enquiries, the result of which had not yet reached him. At a second interview, which took place on the 20th of June, the continued delay was accounted for by a similar explanation. On the 10th of July, I received from the Secretary of State, in reply to my original application, a communication, of which the annexed is a translation.

The statement therein made, that no Consul of the United States had ever been recognized for the city of Ravenna, appeared to me not a little extraordinary, inasmuch as for several years the United States Register of diplomatic and consular agents reported Mr. Henry J. Brent as filling that post,[66] and therefore I conceived it proper to apply to other sources for information on this point. Accordingly, I addressed letters to all of our Consuls and Vice Consuls in the Roman States, and likewise to Mr. Ombrosi, late Acting Consular Agent at Florence, and their several replies, the last of which I received yesterday, leaves no doubt that our Government has never been represented at Ravenna, either by a Consul or Vice Consul. They state further, that Mr. Brent, to the best of their knowledge, never resided at Ravenna, in any capacity whatever. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, I sought, yesterday morning, an interview with Cardinal Antonelli, when I stated to him briefly, in reply to his note, that when presenting to the Roman Government, in pursuance with my instructions, the commission of Mr. L. W. Jerome, a citizen of the United

[64] Referring to the matter contained in Clayton's despatch No. 10, May 3, *ante.*

[65] No. 29 is merely a covering letter, transmitting the account of compensation and contingent expenses of the American Legation to June 30.

[66] The State Department list shows the appointment to Ravenna of Henry J. Brent of Washington, D. C., May 17, 1844.

States, recently appointed Consul for Ravenna, I was under the impression that that Consulate had existed for several years, and that its functions had been performed by Mr. H. J. Brent, likewise a citizen of the United States, who, it was supposed, had entered upon the duties of his office with the consent of the Government of His Holiness. I stated farther, that being undeceived in this respect, and the question being now as to the establishment of a Consulate at Ravenna, I was not prepared to advance an opinion upon that point at the present moment.

In this new aspect of the case, I would respectfully request to be furnished with additional instructions.

I will add, in conclusion, in explanation somewhat of the policy of this Government, that the objection thus presented by the Secretary of State to the granting of the Exequatur in question, does not, in the least degree, I am well convinced, proceed from any hostile or unfavorable sentiment towards the United States, but solely from the reluctance, always exhibited by the Papal authorities, to the introduction of foreign agents, of whatsoever capacity or nation, into the remote districts of the dominion of the Pope.

From all the information I have acquired, I am convinced the presence of a Consul is not in the least degree required at Ravenna. It is rarely or never visited by American travelers, and possesses no maritime commerce whatever.

Cardinal Antonelli to Lewis Cass, Jr.

From the Chambers of the Vatican.

July 20, 1850.

The Undersigned, Cardinal Antonelli, Pro-Secretary of State, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the communication of the Hon. Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, of the 4th of May.

In respect to the Exequatur applied for by the Hon. Chargé d'Affaires, the Undersigned begs leave to say, that he has informed himself, after considerable delay (which he much regrets) regarding this subject, and learns that no such Consulate has ever been established. No American Consul has ever been recognised for the city of Ravenna. In the memory of man the American Flag has never floated in the Port of Ravenna. It has no commerce with the United States, and consequently there would appear to be no necessity for the said consulate. If, however, the Hon. Chargé d'Affaires of the United States is provided with sufficient reasons, showing the necessity and utility of this post, he is requested to present them to the Pro-Secretary of State, and he may rest assured that they will receive the most favorable consideration from the Government of the Holy See, ever disposed to respond to the wishes of that of the United States.

The Undersigned renews to the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States the assurance of his distinguished consideration. G. C. Antonelli

Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton. No. 31.

Legation of the United States, Rome, Aug. 15. 1850.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a communication, which I have just received from the Papal Government, in reply to my note of the 13th inst., announcing the decease of Mr. Taylor, late President of the United States.[67]

Cardinal Antonelli to Lewis Cass, Jr.

(*Translation*)

From the Vatican
Aug. 14. 1850.

The Undersigned, Cardinal Antonelli, Pro-Secretary of State, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the communication of the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, under date of the 13th inst., conveying the mournful intelligence of the death of the President of the United States.

The Holy See has received this announcement with sentiments of profound sorrow. An eminent man, filling an eminent position, has died in the midst of his usefulness. The Holy See desires to express its cordial sympathy for the severe loss, which has thus befallen the United States—a loss not confined to that country, but affecting the interests of all good governments.

The Undersigned renews to the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

Antonelli

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Daniel Webster. No. 32.[68]

Legation of the United States, Rome, September 8, 1850

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that on the 7. inst., I received a communication from Cardinal Antonelli, Minister for Foreign Affairs, apprising me of the death of a citizen of the United States, at Aquapindente, in the Papal States, on the 28th ultimo. It appears, from an examination of the papers of the deceased, that his name was John L. Pell, that he was in affluent circumstances, and a resident of the city of New Orleans. His effects will be transmitted for safe keeping to this Legation.

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[67] President Taylor died July 9.

[68] Webster succeeded Clayton as Secretary of State, serving to the end of Fillmore's administration.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO DANIEL WEBSTER. NO. 34.[69]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, October, 15, 1850.

Sir,

There appears to be one peculiarity in the present situation of Rome, which is wholly novel. The form of Government and the institutions of the country inspire neither terror nor respect. They neither appeal to the fears nor to the sympathies of the people, and what people neither fear nor like they are very apt to deride. There is scarcely a city in the Roman dominions where the law commands its ancient respect, or when the obedience yielded to the constituted authorities is not directly proportioned to the powers of military coercion. A French force, of eleven thousand men, is still in occupation of this city, and proportionate detachments garrison the chief towns in the interior. They have withdrawn, however, from all participation in the management of public affairs, and the papal functionaries are no longer, in the slightest degree, restrained in the exercise of their accustomed duties.

With regard to the views of the French Government, I have reason to believe, that the most positive assurances have recently been given that it is the firm intention of the Cabinet of Paris to take care that the restoration of the Sovereign of the Papal States shall not be accompanied by a restoration of the gross abuses of the Papal Government; for whilst France, in common with the other Catholic Powers, recognises the rights of Pius IX to what is termed the patrimony of the church, and holds that the existence of such a state is essential to the independence of the papacy, she announces the opinion, that the real interests of that Power absolutely require the reform of the political institutions which surround it, and which have become intolerable to the Roman people. The publication of Louis Napoleon's letter, in which he expresses his determination to hold Pius IX to the engagements with which he opened his Pontificate, and to exact a secularised Government as the condition of his return to temporal authority, has thrown no little embarrassment, it is said, in the way of the Pope.[70] He was disposed, it is believed, to grant the reforms which are demanded, but is prevented from fulfilling his purpose by the publicity which is given to what may be considered his humiliation. To stand thus upon a question of personal vanity, in the midst of his people's sufferings, seems hardly worthy of a sovereign Prince; more especially, of one, whose mission as a priest is to inculcate humility, who is bound to exemplify as well as preach self-denial, and who boasts as his title of honor, *servus*

[69] No. 33 from Cass transmits vouchers for sums disbursed for the erection of a monument over the grave of Martin, first chargé.

[70] This was the letter of Napoleon to Colonel Ney, Aug. 18, 1849, which is printed in Farini's *Roman State,* IV, 281-282. The demands of Napoleon embraced a general armistice, the secularization of the administration, the code of Napoleon, and a liberal government. See also G. Mollat, *La Question Romaine de Pie VI à Pie XI,* pp. 272-274.

servorum Dei. The Romans say, and perhaps not altogether without justice, that there is more of humiliation to a Pope in returning to Rome by the heralding of French cannon, than in doing what is unquestionably right even when a French President commands it. In the meantime a French army of occupation compels the Romans to submit to the very form of Government which the French authorities repudiate.

The vital question at this moment in the affairs of Rome is that of the public finances. The Government, with very creditable candor, has just published a document, which exhibits the financial condition of the country, its resources and liabilities, showing such a state of things as no nation perhaps ever witnessed before. The treasury is empty. The State is embarrassed to insolvency. The vast loans and additional imposts of last year are swallowed up by the current expenditures, leaving a deficit of nine millions, after all their extraordinary resources have been applied. Disheartening, however, as the prospect may appear, the Government acts wisely no doubt in referring to this statement in terms of encouragement and hope. It is undoubtedly true that the resources of the Roman States are considerable, the ingenuity and industry of the people pre-eminently remarkable, and the trade, which was paralysed for a time, by the convulsions of last year, has begun to show symptoms of revival. These are sources of well grounded hope, unquestionably, and not to despair of his country, is the duty of every good citizen. But to a foreigner, surveying at a distance the difficulties in which Rome is entangled—unconcerned, save by a feeling of sympathy, in the result—the exposé just made, by the highest authority, appears pregnant with apprehensions and distrust. It has been manifest for some time that financial pressure is destined to be the *experimentum crucis,* by which the stability of the restored government is to be tested.

Another striking peculiarity of the present time is the studied and elaborate manner in which the feelings and position of the Pope are continually kept before the people, with every mark of profound deference for his misfortunes. At a recent interview with His Holiness, on the occasion of presenting to him several citizens of the United States, he alluded, without reserve, to his late efforts to introduce reform into his states, and to the difficulties which he had encountered, adding that it was his intention to pursue the same course in future, on all practical occasions. It is reported and very generally believed, that a Council of Ministers is now engaged in discussing the articles of a constitution, which will be given to the people in the month of December. While this experiment is to be tried for the first time in Rome, under the favorable circumstances of sincerity and ability on the part of the Ministers, and confidence on the part of the people, considerable importance is naturally attached to any incident which may augment the difficulties of this undertaking. Unhappily, there is in Rome one important element which has remained wholly averse to all

propositions of reform, and which has shown a determination to exert all the powers which the clergy possess, to resist the adoption of liberal institutions. The Roman clergy, of the lower orders, differ in many respects from the generality of Italian priests; they are not ignorant, corrupt or vicious; but if they rise above the level of their brethren in the other kingdoms, they employ their superior attainments and qualities to assert and defend with more imperious bigotry the sacerdotal privileges of their order. In no one respect was the late revolution in Rome so remarkable as in the decided emancipation of society from the spiritual bondage under which it had existed for so many centuries, by the expulsion of the most obnoxious religious orders, by a defiance of those terrors which had so long and so powerfully afflicted the public mind, and by a determination of the republican authorities to show the church that she was no longer superior to the law. The privileges of the clergy, which had heretofore secured them from prosecution before the secular tribunals, were abolished, and the priests were told that they were amenable to the same courts of justice and the same laws as the people. That policy of the republican government gave rise to a furious contest between the temporal and spiritual powers of the realm, which has shaken the edifice of the Catholic religion to its very foundation.

The struggle still continues, and it remains to be seen how far this party of ecclesiastics, in whose judgment the interests of the Church precede any other obligation of duty and allegiance, will carry its hostility, when once the Constitution shall have been promulgated. Should it continue, however, it requires little knowledge of history to foresee that the Constitution will never go into practical operation, while opposed by a power as strong as faith and as patient as time.

William S. Derrick to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 14.[71]

Department of State, Washington, October 17. 1850.

Sir.

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, a copy of a letter, addressed to this Department, by Francis Yonker of Philadelphia, dated the 14th inst., with an open letter, directed to you, and a memorial.[72]

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[71] Derrick, the writer, was acting Secretary of State. Instruction No. 11 concerned the monument for Martin's grave; No. 12 was a circular letter announcing the death of President Taylor; No. 13 announced the appointment of Webster as Secretary of State.

[72] See note 61, *ante*. The enclosure was found with the earlier letter, but the date shows that it was out of place in the volume in the Dept. of State.

W. S. Derrick to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 15.

Department of State, Washington, October 26, 1850.

Sir:

Your despatches from No. 27, of the 14th June, to No. 33, of the 25th September, have reached this Department.

I have now, the honor to inform you with reference to your despatch No. 33, that the Bankers of the United States, in London, have been instructed, to honor your draft for one hundred and forty two Dollars, the amount of the vouchers accompanying your letter.

You are requested, to communicate to this Department a copy of the inscription on Mr. Martin's monument.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Daniel Webster. No. 35.

Legation of the United States, Rome, Novr. 14, 1850.

Sir,

The only event of public importance in the affairs of Rome, which has transpired since my despatch of the 14 ult., is the promulgation of the recent papal bull, erecting the whole of England into an Archiepiscopal province of the Roman Church, and dividing that country into thirteen bishoprics.[73] This announcement has been received with an angry surprise. It has created in England, or at least, in the party of the National Church, an irritation and alarm, which are expressed by the most violent declamations. The leading journals, which undertake to reflect rather than to originate popular feeling, regard it as a monstrous encroachment on the part of Rome; and mingled with vexation at the audacity of the proceeding is some degree of contempt for the power whence it emanates. It is viewed with no little displeasure, likewise by the British Cabinet, and the English Consul here informs me, that his Government has transmitted a protest to the Cardinal College, peremptorily requiring the withdrawal of this " Letter ".[74] More importance, I think, is attached to this step than it deserves, and a conversation which I had recently with Cardinal Antonelli, the Secretary of State, upon this subject, confirms me in this opinion. The authority asserted by the Pope's letter, referring, as he observed, entirely to spiritual matters, relates to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of England, not in their civic, but in their spiritual capacity, and interferes

[73] The *Litterae Apostolicae,* dated September 29 and November 19, 1850, are printed in *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. I, Vol. I, pp. 235-246, 262-264.

[74] John T. Lowe acted as an unpaid vice consul for his government at Civita Vecchia since Mar. 18, 1845; *British Foreign Office List,* 1859, p. 41. But at this time Lord Odo Russell, attaché to the British legation at Florence, was also residing at Rome; he is frequently and erroneously called the British " ambassador " by De Cesare and others.

in no degree with the operation of the municipal law. The principal arguments in vindication of this measure, he stated to be these. Hitherto the administration of spiritual affairs among the Roman Catholics of England has been entrusted to Vicars Apostolic—a kind of missionary officer in " partibus infidelium ". The Pope retained in his own hand the discharge of the Episcopal functions over England, and the Vicars were his agents on the spot—the whole establishment in that country bearing a strictly missionary character. Besides the greater freedom accorded to Roman Catholics under the British Emancipation Act, not to speak of the growing toleration throughout society, there were two especial reasons, the Cardinal stated, which suggested a change from the missionary character to that of a more stable kind. No longer obstructed in the essential observances of their faith, the Roman Catholics, of whom in London, alone, there are as many as in Rome, had long prayed for a more regular administration of their spiritual concerns; and secondly, the number of Roman Catholics is daily increasing by conversions. If this be so, the indecorum of which Lord Palmerston speaks in his note to the British Consul, on the part of the Papal authorities, in thus encroaching upon the modern toleration of Great Britain, by the appointment of an Archbishop over a district eminently protestant, may be denied.

The domestic policy which the Roman Government intends to pursue is understood to consist, in the first place, of vigorous military measures, which are indispensably requisite to restore tranquility and security to this afflicted country; and, in the second place, of the adoption of the constitution, digested previously to the late revolution. The continuance of the French troops produces great dissatisfaction among the people, but in the first few months succeeding so vast and so violent an insurrection, the presence of a large regular force and the exercise, in the inferior towns, of martial authority, are considered essential to the restoration of authority and government. Large bodies of the peasantry, hastily collected and imperfectly drilled for military service, during the existence of the republic, have now been disbanded, and infest the country with marauders. Their leaders, more or less implicated in the revolution, keep aloof from their own estates, from suspicion or hatred of the papal officers. The penal measures to which the authorities have recently resorted, are chiefly confined to those officers of the army, who deserted their colors; and to the political chiefs of the revolution. Measures of this nature are, however, the temporary and deplorable consequences of a convulsion which has shaken the whole fabric of this government. The prisons remain filled with political offenders. The amnesty embraced in the recent *Motu proprio* of the Pope, appears in every respect insufficient. In fact, the exceptions are so numerous, that it is really difficult to discover to whom it applies.[75] In order that an amnesty should

[75] *Cf.* note 46, *ante.*

preserve its merits and political effect, it should be wide and general. The exceptions ought to be rare, and guided by the invariable rule of common right. The character of generality which gives value to grand acts of government of this nature is wholly wanting in the Papal amnesty. I am inclined to think the Pope has not published his final decision, and that the sentiment of clemency which I have heard him express, will soon be manifested in a more liberal manner. The delay on the part of His Holiness in adopting the suggestions of the French Government, does not, I am assured, proceed from any spirit of hostility to constitutional reform, but from an apprehension that the demagogical party would turn to account any concessions having the appearance of being dictated by necessity and a consciousness of weakness.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO DANIEL WEBSTER. No. 36.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Decr. 9, 1850

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No. 15, and, in compliance therewith, to transmit a copy of the inscription upon the monument erected over the grave of the late Mr. Martin. It is as follows—

Sacred
To the memory
Of J. L. Martin,
Late Chargé d'Affaires of the United States
Near the Holy See,
Who died at Rome,
Aug. 26 1848

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO DANIEL WEBSTER. No. 37.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Decr. 28, 1850

Sir,

In my despatch, No. 35, I had the honor of submitting to your attention some remarks upon the late Papal Bull, erecting England into an Archiepiscopal province of the Roman Catholic Church, and dividing that country into thirteen bishoprics.

The extraordinary indignation, which that proceeding has excited among nearly all classes and sects in England, appears to have created no little astonishment, and even alarm, at the Court of Rome, and, in consequence, a semi-official defence of the Papal policy has just been pub-

lished, the author of which, Prince-Cardinal Altieri, the Vicar General of Rome, is considered to be one of the ablest men of the Roman Catholic Church.[76] In this manifesto, unlike most Papal documents, the technicalities of which it is difficult to comprehend, the facts of the case appear to be calmly stated, and clearly and conclusively reasoned upon. It sets out with an exposition of the steps taken by successive Pontiffs to re-establish a Catholic hierarchy in England, and its dependencies. It proceeds with an appeal to the generosity and tolerance of the inhabitants of Great Britain, a disclaimer of any intention of impugning the Queen's supremacy, an attempt at additionally justifying the Pope's proceedings from presumed encouragements held out by recent acts of Parliament, and an apologetic argument for the selection of Westminter as the titular Metropolitan See. Hitherto, and for ages past, the defence asserts, the Pope has acted not merely as Chief Pastor, but also as immediate Bishop in England. He has governed through his own Vicars, bishops holding foreign sees, nominated by the Pope as his Vicars, and revocable at his pleasure. By establishing the hierarchy, the Pope has now divested himself of the office of immediate bishop, and conferred it on Englishmen instead.[77] Catholic bishops in England are no longer the Pope's vicars, but English bishops, having power to form their own constitution of government by express concession, and no longer revocable at will, whilst their successors will be raised to their sees by canonical election. Thus, by transferring from his own hand to English subjects the local episcopacy, the Pontiff, it is asserted, has voluntarily surrendered powers hitherto vested in himself; but which according to the canons of the Church, exist in the clergy when the hierarchical orders are complete. The entire measure, it is contended, has been one of concession and liberality on the part of His Holiness, and as such the Catholics of England understand it and receive it with gratitude. The Cardinal declares, that no territorial rights are claimed under this new arrangement; that no new Episcopal powers are conferred upon the restored hierarchy, and that not a single individual, not before under their spiritual authority, will be brought by this change under their jurisdiction. On the subject of the title, authority and precedence, of the English Cardinal—the very points, of all others most obnoxious to the party of the National Church—the defence says very little, except that his pretensions are the result of circumstances, the natural and foreseen consequences of the Emancipation Act, the inevitable concomitant of any toleration of the Roman Catholic religion.

An Edict of the Pope, promulgated on the 24th inst., contains a law

[76] Biographical sketches of Cardinal Ludovico Altieri, one of the Cardinal Triumvirs, will be found in Cesare, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-320; and in Leti, *op. cit.*, I, 67n.

[77] The story of the negotiations for the restoration of the hierarchy in England is well told by Mgr. Bernard Ward, *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation,* II, especially pp. 205-235, 279-293. Cardinal Wiseman was appointed first Archbishop of Westminster.

regulating the future government of the Provinces.[78] By this law the territory of the State is divided into five parts; 1st, Rome and its district, known by the name of La Comarca; 2d, the Legations of Ferrara and Bologna; 3d, those of Loreto and Macerata; 4th those of Perugia and Spoleto; and fifthly, those of Frosinone and Benevento. Each division is to be governed by a Cardinal Legate, who is in every respect the vicegerent of the Sovereign. His residence is appointed in the Capital of his Legation, and he is authorised to maintain public order by every measure, both of high and low police. The provinces are likewise to be governed by Delegates, named by a Papal brief, and subject to the authority of the Cardinal Legate, under whom they govern and administer the laws. In addition, governors are appointed, who remain under the control of the delegates, with authority to exercise judicial powers in civil cases, but deprived of all administrative functions. This new system of provincial administration will, it is confidently believed, conduce much to the melioration of the condition of the inhabitants of the Papal States.

A subject of dispute has recently arisen between this Government and the Court of Vienna, in consequence of a demand by the former that the number of Austrian troops in the States of the Church be reduced. This Corps d'armée is composed of an effective force of twenty thousand men, and is entirely at the cost of the Roman government, on which it entails a monthly expense of one hundred thousand dollars. This enormous charge weighs heavily on the Roman Treasury, and paralyses the efforts made by the Government to bring about an equilibrium in its budget. The Court of Rome, believing that the present state of things admits of a diminution of this auxiliary force furnished by Austria, demanded, some few weeks since, that it be reduced to twelve thousand men. The Austrian Cabinet replied that tranquility was not yet sufficiently secured, to render such a measure safe. The Roman Government now insists upon it; it says that the state of the country is every day improving, and that it is better able to judge of this matter than any other party. So deeply is it impressed with the necessity of bringing this question to a speedy termination, that it has addressed itself to France, to demand its friendly mediation, in the event of Austria giving a further evasive answer. The voice of France would probably have the more weight, as she gives the example of a generosity, which is applauded by all the Catholic Powers, by keeping up, at her sole expense, a force of ten thousand men, who constantly observe the most admirable discipline.[79]

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[78] Printed in *Atti del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX,* Pt. II, Vol. I, pp. 672-696.

[79] See Bianchi, *Diplomazia Europea in Italia,* VI, pp. 23 *et seq.,* and documents in appendix.

Daniel Webster to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 16.

Department of State Washington, 13th January, 1851.

Sir.

I have the honor to transmit, for your information, a printed copy of a correspondence which has recently passed between this Department and the representative of Austria, residing near this Government.[80]

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Daniel Webster. No. 39.[81]

Legation of the United States, Rome, February 14th, 1851.

Sir,

The reforms which, during the last three years, have been introduced into Italy, are gradually leading to the removal of many of those ancient restrictions upon trade, which are opposed to the spirit of the age, and the true interests of nations. In particular, a more liberal policy begins to pervade the Pontifical States. In a conversation which I had yesterday with Cardinal Antonelli, the Secretary of State, upon this subject, he expressed a willingness on the part of the Papal Government to conclude a commercial treaty with the United States. Such an arrangement would undoubtedly contribute to the interests of the two nations. Notwithstanding the ominous monopolies and frivolous impediments with which commerce in this country is fettered, the importation of American products into the Roman States has considerably increased within the last five years. A commercial treaty, by removing these obstacles, would, I have every reason to believe, open an extensive market to many of the commodities of the United States.

Of the tobacco consumed in Italy, but a small portion is imported from the United States, which are considered to produce the best in the world. In this country it is in universal use, all classes, from the highest to the lowest, indulging in smoking, and many in the use of snuff. Under the present Roman laws the culture of tobacco is restrained, and a *regie* or monopoly controls the disposal of it. This system, however, is not found to be profitable; and the reforms now in progress, in conjunction with a very friendly feeling on the part of this Government towards that of the United States, afford, it appears to me, unusual facilities for negotiating, at a suitable time, with this Government, a favorable commercial treaty, or, a melioration, at least, of its existing restrictive policy, by which means

[80] This correspondence concerns a protest that the American mission of A. Dudley Mann to Austria was in violation of the American policy of intervention. It is printed in *31 Cong., 2 sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 9*; on the subject see also Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 41; *31 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 43.*

[81] No. 38 transmits accounts of compensation and of contingent expenses of the legation to Dec. 30.

not only tobacco, but others of our great staples will, in future, be admitted on more favorable terms.[82]

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO DANIEL WEBSTER. NO. 40.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, March, 18. 1851.

Sir,

The existence of a Protestant American Church, in the heart of Rome, has naturally occasioned much dissension, both among the clergy and the Protestant strangers of the city. This act of toleration is so decided, and so much in advance of what was expected, that there has been a general suspicion of some misunderstanding in the case, and a very confident prediction, on both sides, that the church would be closed by the authorities. This idea has recently assumed a positive tone, and in the newspapers which I have this morning received from the United States, I find it stated that the order to close the church had been given. This statement, I beg leave to inform you is altogether erroneous. Religious service continues to be held there on every Sunday, and, I have every reason to believe, that it will remain unmolested so long as no charge is established against it as a Missionary institution.

Protests, it is true, against the exercise of this privilege, have been addressed to the Papal Government, from all quarters, but the Pope does not appear disposed to yield to the intolerant spirit of the remonstrants.

I think it proper to add, also, in consequence of the statements in the newspapers in question, that in all the discussions which have taken place on this subject, the idea has never been held out to the Papal authorities that the establishment of this church is either authorised or in any manner supported by the government of the United States.

Of the right to which I am entitled, as a diplomatic officer, by the law of nations, to private worship, at my residence, there has been no question whatever. This restriction, however, is attended with many inconveniences, and the desire of relieving my countrymen form all impediments to the enjoyment of divine worship, together with considerations of a still higher character, induced me to seek the establishment of this church.

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[82] Concerning the commercial relations between the United States and the Papal States see L. F. Stock, "American Consuls to the Papal States", in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 242-244.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO DANIEL WEBSTER. NO. 41.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, April 20th. 1851.

Sir;

I beg leave to submit to your attention the following statement.

When I entered upon the duties of this Legation, I found no provision whatever made for the usual office furniture, consisting of Blank Books for the purposes of record and entry, and receptacles for the archives and public documents. I was consequently under the necessity of procuring these articles and purchased them at an expense of forty two dollars.

It is the invariable custom, required by the Papal Government, for every diplomatic agent accredited to the Holy See, to affix to the front of his residence the "Arms" of the Pope, as well as those of his own country. I have conformed to this usage, and paid for these arms thirty nine dollars.

In the month of September, 1850, I received from the Department of State eleven cases of Public Documents, which were landed at Civita Vecchia, from the United States storeship *Erie.* For the storage of these cases at Civita Vecchia, and their transportation thence to Rome, I have paid sixty one dollars, twenty eight cents.

These expenditures, the vouchers of which are in my possession, being of an extraordinary character, and not such, it appears to me, as are contemplated to be covered by the contingent fund, which is appropriated to the current and ordinary expenses of the Legation, and which moreover is insufficient even for that purpose, I would respectfully ask to be reimbursed therefor, by a credit upon the United States' Bankers, in London, for the amount stated, *viz,* $ 142,28/100[.]

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO DANIEL WEBSTER. NO. 42.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, May, 24, 1851.

Sir,

Every liberal man who has the regeneration of Italy at heart, must be painfully affected at the present condition and prospects of this glorious country. Divided between France and Austria, yet belonging to the political system of neither, the position of the Roman States is inevitably precarious. Hence its policy is of an unsteady and vacillating character. The people of Rome were recently cheered with the hope that a mode of government was about to be adopted corresponding to the progress which they see and feel around them, but the tendency now is to return to the old system, with all its abuses, which existed previously to the late revolution, and which, in fact, was the cause of it. The feeling against the

Vatican, though not so violently expressed as it was last year, is as strong as ever, and I have every reason to believe, that a great majority of the inhabitants of the Papal States are willing, in their desire for a change in the political economy, to encounter the horrors of a second revolution. Some of the evils complained of are certainly more imaginary than real, but hatred to Church government and dread of despotic power appear to animate every breast. The people of Rome pay no direct taxes, and though foreign luxuries are heavily charged, the tax collectors voice is never heard in any house. But on the other hand, there is no security for property or person, if the Church thinks proper to seize the one or arrest the other; and it is within my knowledge that the exercise of this despotic power is by no means directed against those only who are opposed to the existing government, and considered the agents of revolution.

At no time since the restoration of the Papal authority have there been more general symptoms of uneasiness and impending danger in the provinces, especially in the central and southern departments. Serious disturbances have very recently occurred, which indicate the constant activity of the revolutionary societies; and an act like the dissolution of the Municipal Guard at Perugia has been forced upon the Government by a bold attempt to celebrate the anniversary of the late republic, in defiance of the law. Such symptoms in such a country are of extreme importance, and foretell the approach of a contest, which must urge to a hasty decision some of those momentous questions involving the whole structure of society and civil government.

It is keenly felt at the Vatican, that the interests of the country and the authority of the State are most injuriously affected by this state of affairs; and I have reason to believe, that an effort will soon be made to put an end to it by the formation of a new cabinet prepared to concede several of the reforms, which are demanded by the people. The dangers of the situation of Rome are growing more rapidly than the remedy for them, and unless, under the necessities of the time, an administration be formed, which will surmount the divisions and oppositions of particular individuals, the disorganization below will wholly set at defiance the semblance of authority upon the surface.

DANIEL WEBSTER TO LEWIS CASS, JR. NO. 17.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON 7th. June, 1851.

Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches, from No. 34. to No. 41., of the 20th April, last.

The representations in the latter,[83] respecting some unusual charges,

[83] *Ante,* p. 85.

arising from the establishment of a United States Legation at Rome, show that their amount should not be included in the regular account for contingencies. I have, therefore, directed the Bankers of the United States, at London, to honor your draft for the sum, expended by you for blank-books, fixtures, painting of arms and freight of library to the amount of $ 142.28/100.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO DANIEL WEBSTER. NO. 44.[84]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, August 17, 1851

Sir,

The uncertain fate of the Ecclesiastical Bill in England,[85] and the increasing opposition on the part of the Roman people to Papal temporal dominion, appear to have thrown a gloom over the Ministers of Pius IX, who are now fully conscious of the dangers of their position, which unquestionably might have been averted, in a very great degree, by substituting clemency for severity. In the meanwhile, the Republican party openly avows its intentions, and prepares for the shock with men, arms and money; but their hope of subverting the Government rests upon the chance of a revolution in France.

It is now evident, that the Government has resolved to carry into effect the notification published a few months since, to levy a tax on commerce, industry and the arts;[86] a tax which is certainly out of all proportion to the means of those upon whom it is imposed. This measure excites great indignation, chiefly in consequence of its invidious character. It is partial in the extreme, the nobility and the ecclesiastical institutions being exempted from its operation. It is likewise highly unequal, because small capitalists are called upon to pay a sum very little less than the wealthy bankers. At this particular time, moreover, when commerce is so embarrassed by the miserable paper money and copper coin in circulation, that the profits are most trifling, and the risks enormous, the impolicy of such a measure is very apparent. In collecting this tax in the districts where French and Austrian troops are stationed, no difficulty

[84] No. 43 transmits accounts of compensation, etc. The next despatch is also numbered 44.

[85] An Act to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom (14-15 Vict. c. 60). It passed the Commons July 4, 1851, the Lords July 29, and received the royal assent Aug. 1. The act declared all briefs, rescripts, or letters apostolic unlawful and void; all persons procuring, publishing, or using such briefs, etc., of "pretended provinces, sees, or dioceses" were liable to a penalty of £100 for every offence. The act was not to extend to bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church (*Journals of the House of Commons,* CVI, 335; *Journals of the House of Lords,* LXXXIII, 454, 471; *Compendious Abstract of the Public General Acts of the United Kingdom,* XXIX, 135-136). The lengthy and acrimonious debates on the measure will be found in *Hansard's Parl. Debates,* 3d ser., vols. CXIV, CXV, *passim.* The act was repealed July 24, 1871 (34-35 Vict. c. 53; Eyre and Spottiswood, *Revised Statutes,* XVI, 708).

[86] The full text will be found in *Atti del Sommo Pontefici Pio IX,* Pt. II, Vol. I, 637-641; see also *ibid.,* pp. 697-698.

will probably be experienced, but in those provinces where there are no foreign forces, there is no probability whatever of its payment.

Many parts of the Roman States, and even the roads in the vicinity of Rome, are infested with brigands, who have rendered traveling highly dangerous. Scarcely a mail arrives, which does not bring intelligence of robberies committed on the highways, by day and night. Here, in the city of Rome, notwithstanding the presence of the French army, the gendarmerie, and the Roman sbieri, assassinations, and other crimes, are of frequent occurrence, and it rarely happens that the criminals are brought to justice.

A spirit of personal animosity exists not only between the inhabitants and the French troops, but between the Roman and French soldiery, which produces almost daily collisions, and loss of life. The provocations generally proceed from the French, and the want of discipline in the Roman army immediately brings the dispute to a sanguinary termination. It is not a little remarkable, that the greatest insult which a Roman soldier can offer to a French soldier, and vice versa, is to call him "a soldier of the Pope". It will never be possible to establish cordiality between these troops, and the conclusion is inevitable, that this Government can only exist in connexion with a permanent occupation of the Papal States by foreign arms.

The tobacco persecution, as it is called, still continues. The Government, as you are no doubt aware, possesses a monopoly of this article, and a great portion of the inhabitants—some, from patriotic motives, others from fear, and not a few from still less creditable considerations, have abstained from the use of it. This abstinence has already materially diminished the revenue, and the authorities in consequence have recently denounced severe penalties against those who promote it tacitly or otherwise.[87] Individuals from all classes participate in this movement, for the dissatisfaction which exists is not confined to any one station or condition in society. Quite recently the heads of three of the most important families in the Papal States addressed a memorial to the President of the French Republic, calling upon him to use his influence with the Vatican to promote such reforms as the interests of the country generally demand. The memorial says, that, as Pius IX was restored by French bayonets, France is bound in honor and justice not to abandon the people to the misrule with which political and financial affairs are at present conducted. The names of the memorialists are among the most distinguished of the Roman Princes, carrying great weight with them, and the result of their address is looked for with deep anxiety.

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[87] The penalties are set forth in the Notification of May 16, 1851. *Id.*, Pt. II, Vol. II, 11-12.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Daniel Webster. No. 44.

Legation of the United States. Rome, September 13, 1851.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that on the 12th inst. I received a communication from the Roman Government, apprising me of the death of a citizen of the United States—Mr. Edmund A. Winchell—at Frosinone, in the Papal States, on the 10th inst.

It appears that the deceased arrived in that city about two months since, in a state of ill health, which continued to decline, until he finally expired. He was of the Roman Catholic faith, and therefore no opposition was made to his interment in consecrated ground.

His place of residence in the United States being unknown, I have no means of conveying this unfortunate intelligence to his friends, except by communicating it to the Department of State.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Daniel Webster. No. 45.

Legation of the United States, Rome, October 17, 1851.

Sir,

Since my despatch of the 13th ult. no political event or incident of importance has occurred in the affairs of this Government. Rome is tranquil, but this state of things is to be ascribed entirely to the large military force at the disposition of the authorities, and the continuance of martial law. The people are quiet, because they dare not be otherwise. The Roman police, or gendarmerie, has recently been reorganised, and its numbers so greatly augmented, that in itself it forms no inconsiderable army. Assassinations, notwithstanding, are of frequent occurrence, and from no other alleged cause than political hostility. A recent order of the Government, rendering every resident in Rome, born in the provinces, liable to be expelled to his native district, upon being accused of entertaining republican sentiments, without trial or any judicial process whatever, has produced additional discontent. In many instances, the execution of this measure is attended with great hardships: Individuals, who have lived in Rome twenty years, discharging all their social duties with regularity, of unimpeachable conduct and with assured means of existence, find themselves suddenly banished from it, in consequence of political charges preferred against them, by secret enemies. With regard to the provinces, more disaffection is supposed to exist in the small towns towards the Government than in the Capital. The rural population is perhaps the least inimical. Unquestionably, a considerable portion of the inhabitants like a strong and firm Government, having felt its want during late events; but even they are gradually driven into opposition

by the present severe rule, which presses heavily on the material and commercial interests of the country. Trade necessarily suffers under such an exceptional state of things. For the first time, the inhabitants of the Papal States have to pay onerous taxes, levied for the maintenance of their guards, and their resources being straitened, they experience great difficulty in meeting the demands of the Government. Thus the present state of things in this country is very lamentable, and many are of opinion it cannot last. There is not much ground, however, for such a supposition. This condition of affairs has continued for a considerable time, and will not cease, I am disposed to believe, until the Romans abstain from every kind of political demonstration.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Daniel Webster. No. 46.

Legation of the United States, Rome, November 14, 1851.

Sir,

Without being disposed to indulge in anticipations of evil, or to contemplate only the dark side of the future, yet I feel assured that the social and political elements or causes now at work in this country must eventuate, ere long, in strife and revolution. This result is clearly approaching, and not very slowly. All eyes are directed towards France, and the slightest demonstration of political movement in Paris is repeated here with the utmost regularity and precision. The republican party are watching, with undisguised satisfaction, and with the eagerness of hope renewed, the course of this Government, in the unpopularity of whose measures, they assume to foresee their own day of deliverance and retaliation. A very great indiscretion, it appears to me, is committed, not only by this but by other Continental Governments, in confounding the extreme and violent revolutionists with the friends of sober constitutional freedom, regarding them with one common hatred, and treating them with indiscriminate severity. They have thus combined all their opponents into one mighty mass, and arrayed them in one complete phalanx of opposition to existing abuses, inspiring them with a common feeling, arising from a common interest, to put down these abuses. Thus identified by the Papal Government, the men of moderate measures with the advocates of violence, not a day elapses which does not see quiet liberals converted into uncompromising republicans, and steady conservatives passing over, with avowed, acknowledged reluctance, into the ranks of the "Movement Party," as it is called.

Arrests and imprisonments, for participation in the revolutionary proceedings of 1848, still continue. During the last week several important seisures of arms have been effected by the Police, and the parties, in whose custody they were found, heavily fined, or banished from the Roman States.

The system of expulsion recently adopted, with respect to foreigners, although directed principally against political refugees, has created great alarm among the numerous strangers, who, for years past, have been peaceable residents in this Capital. The Legations of the Diplomatic Corps are daily besieged by persons demanding certificates of their nationality, which are essential to a future residence in Rome. Among these applicants are great numbers of Ionians, Maltese, and others, who claim to be British subjects, but who find it difficult to prove, without delay, their right to this designation. They are denied, in consequence, further permission to remain in Rome, and, by their sudden departure are subjected to great hardships and inconveniences.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO DANIEL WEBSTER. No. 48,[88]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, December 7th, 1851.

Sir,

I had the honor, on the 5th inst. to receive your despatch, number 18, dated November 4th, 1851.

In reply thereto, I have to inform you, that the expenses incident to my residence at Rome in my official character consume my official receipts. My salary, indeed, is inadequate to support the style of living required by the station I occupy. Relatively to Washington, Philadelphia or New York, or to European cities generally, Rome is a very expensive Capital. The necessaries of life, and most of the articles of consumption, are very dear, while wages, house-rent, carriage-hire, and, in particular, fuel and lights, are enormously high. For the apartments I occupy, which are merely suitable to my official position, without being of an extravagant or an inferior character, I pay $1700. per annum. The fund allowed for the contingent expenses of this Legation, is insufficient for that purpose. The postage upon a single newspaper from the United States is sixteen cents; upon a letter eighty-three cents; and the sum in question, $500, fails to cover this item of expense alone.

That the time has come for a temperate and well-adjusted regulation of the class of diplomatic salaries, few intelligent persons, it appears to me, will be likely to deny. The scale should be such as, when compared with ordinary professional receipts, may be expected to retain the best services in behalf of the public, and suffice to maintain the minister or official in a fair independence of position. This, in my opinion, should be the rule; and if it is applied to the present incomes of our diplomatic officers, it cannot but be acknowledged that there is no little room and occasion for reform. The difference in the rate of diplomatic remuneration under our government and those of Europe, is not merely the differ-

[88] No. 47, Dec. 1, 1851, transmits banker's certificate showing losses due to the exchange.

ence between an insufficient and a liberal allowance—it is a disproportion which the diversities of wealth, of prices or of social habits in the respective countries are quite inadequate to justify. According to our system of government diplomacy is not, neither is it desirable, in my judgment, that it should be regarded as a remunerative profession. It is the fame, the high place, the noble theatre of action, the power to serve one's country, and not the emoluments which form the attractions and compensations of office. But, unless modified, in this respect, it must soon become a career, from which all will be excluded who do not possess an independent fortune. The demands on the hospitality of a foreign representative by his countrymen, especially when that functionary is an American, are numerous; and a still more important consideration is the indisputable fact, that his social position in any capital of Europe is a prominent element in his power to be useful. The honor of a country ought to suffer no disparagement in the persons of its representatives abroad; but it is well known that American diplomatists are placed in an embarrassed and undignified position, unless, like our distinguished Minister at the Court of St. James, they possess an ample private fortune.[89] And our numerous countrymen, who profit by his splendid hospitalities, extended to them in his official character, cannot but remember that they are indebted for them, not to their own government, but to his individual liberality. In fine, as the scale of our diplomatic salaries now exists, an American Minister, pressed by the claims of hospitality, and the obligation to requite the courtesies extended to him, in virtue of his official character, is unable to discharge these duties; and to ensure their performance, his office must be confined to the possessors of private opulence, than which no principle could be more opposed to the spirit of our institutions.

Daniel Webster to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 19.[90]

Department of State, Washington, 15th, March, 1852

Sir,

I transmit, enclosed, the commission, of Mr James W. Irwin, of Kentucky, who has been appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, Consul of the United States for Ravenna,[91] on the receipt of which you will apply to the Government of the Papal States

[89] This was Abbott Lawrence, founder of the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard.

[90] No. 18, Nov. 4, 1851, was a circular letter to all Ministers transmitting a resolution of the Senate, Jan. 31, 1851, concerning the expediency of adopting "a graduated scale of diplomatic salaries based upon the combined considerations of the importance of the mission and the expenses of residence". See preceding document for observations of Cass upon the proposal.

[91] Irwin remained at Ravenna until July 9, 1863. Hugh J. Hastings of New York was appointed to succeed him, Aug. 22, 1862, but declined the appointment.

for an Exequatur, to be transmitted, when obtained, with the commission to Mr Irwin, at the place for which he has been appointed.

Should the Government of His Holiness renew the objections made by them, on the occasion of Mr Jerome's appointment as Consul of the United States at Ravenna, on the ground that no Consulate of the United States had heretofore existed there, you will state to them, that, in view of the large number of Americans travelling in the Pontifical States, and the increase of American commerce in the Mediterranean, your Government had thought proper to create a Consulate at Ravenna, and expected from the well known friendship of His Holiness' Government the recognition of Mr Irwin.

Your despatches, to No. 49, of the 23rd. January, last, have been received at this Department.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Daniel Webster. No. 51.[92]

Legation of the United States, Rome, October 26, 1852.

Sir,

Since the date of my last despatch, No. 50, no event, of particular importance, in the affairs of the Roman Government, has occurred, until the arrival of Sir Henry Bulwer, the British Minister at the Court of Tuscany.[93]

This mission has attracted a considerable degree of curiosity among diplomatists, and excited grave misgivings among those protestants, who upon religious grounds, are disposed to view, with alarm any approach to intimate relations with the Government of the Papal States. It is not generally known what are the subjects specifically committed to Sir Henry's charge for recognition; but I learn, in several interviews I have had with him, in which he has solicited my assistance and friendly offices, that, the points in dispute concern the imprisonment and trial of Mr. Murray,[94] an English subject, and the factious conduct of the Catholic Clergy in Ireland.[95] You are probably aware, that the recent royal proclamation in

[92] No. 49, Jan. 23, 1852, and No. 50, July 29, 1852, both transmitted accounts of compensation and expenses.

[93] Bulwer, who negotiated with Clayton the isthmian canal treaty, served as minister to the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence from Jan. 19, 1852, to the autumn of 1854. His letters from Florence, more literary in character than political, are printed in Lady Betty Balfour's *Personal and Literary Letters of Robert, First Earl of Lytton* (London, 1906), I, 37-63.

[94] The case of Edward Murray is stated in *Hansard's Parl. Debates,* 3d ser., Vol. CXXIV, 349-350. Murray was tried for murder and condemned to death, a sentence which was commuted to life imprisonment. During later negotiations the Roman government objected to its being asserted that if the case had been tried in an English court a different verdict would have resulted. The case was not pressed, perhaps for the reason that no evidence had been given to prove that Murray was a British subject.

[95] Because of the Pope's action in attempting to restore the hierarchy in England, Lord John Russell, in November, 1850, wrote his famous letter to the Bishop of Durham, which was largely the cause of the royal commission appointed Sept., 1853, to inquire into the

England against Catholic religious processions, as well as the official encouragement given to the Maynooth proceedings, have excited the indignation and hostility of this Government; and it was the object of Sir Henry Bulwer's mission to endeavor, by certain concessions, to soothe the ruffled temper of the Vatican, and to obtain, in return, some respite from the storm of clerical anathema wherewith the administration is assailed from all parts of Ireland.

Since the year 1687 no English Agent has been delegated in a similar capacity to this Government, and this mission in all probability will prove as unsuccessful as its predecessor. In his interviews with the Cardinal Secretary Sir Henry proposed, first, that a representative of the Queen, with the style and title of Minister Plenipotentiary should be accredited to the Holy See; and secondly, as a sort of consideration for this concession, that the unpublished proceedings in the case of Mr. Murray be handed over to him, for the purpose of enabling him, on the part of the British Cabinet to judge whether that unfortunate gentleman had, or had not had, a fair trial. The Cardinal, who assuredly was not unprepared for the nature of these proposals, is described as having turned the advantages of his position to full account. He is said to have signified, in the plainest terms, that under existing circumstances the presence of a British Minister must be useless, and was felt to be undesirable. In the same decided tone he proceeded to deal with the demand of papers in the case of Mr. Murray. According to the Roman law prosecutions for treason are always conducted secretly. To satisfy himself, however, the Pope, (he said) had directed a full investigation into all the facts of the case; the evidence had been reconsidered, and it was said to be conclusive and clear against the condemned. The Cardinal concluded by adding, that respect for the independent jurisdiction of a foreign state ought to have prevented the British authorities from making such a demand.

The interview thus terminated, and Sir Henry Bulwer returns tomorrow to his post at Florence.

The occupation of this city by French troops, and of the provinces by Austrian, still continues. The Pope is confessedly unable to maintain his temporal power without foreign aid. Several attempts have been recently made to organise a foreign military force in the service of the Pope sufficient for his protection against the revolutionary tendencies of the people. Recruiting officers were sent into France, Spain and Switzerland, but the attempts are all understood to have failed. For some time to come the Pope must continue to be a temporal sovereign solely by reliance upon foreign bayonets. This deplorable condition, it is thought, has somewhat

management and government of Maynooth College. This commission held forty meetings between September 20, 1853, and January 8, 1855, heard thirty-nine witnesses, and published in this latter year its *Report* which exonerated the college of all major charges. See Most Rev. John Healy, *Maynooth College: Its Centenary History* (Dublin, 1895), pp. 462-478.

impaired his influence as head of the church, investing him with some of that odium that attaches to several of the monarchs of Europe, and even rendering him liable to their fate.

The financial statements recently published by this Government throw considerable light on the nature of the embarrassments now more or less felt by all of the states of Continental Europe. It is clearly shown that these embarrassments do not arise from any decrease in the public revenue, but from the enormous and incessant augmentation of expenditure, in a ratio with which neither the taxation nor the productive industry has kept pace. In the revolutionary periods of 1848 and 1849 there was a direct and considerable falling off in the ordinary sources of income, which was partly met by loans and by the addition of a large percentage on the direct taxes. But as soon as order was restored, the revenue rose to the same height which it had attained in the secure and flourishing period of Gregory the sixteenth's sovereignty. Altho' this result is due in some measure to an increase of taxation, it could scarcely have occurred without great productive power and wealth in the mass of the community; and, if the expenditure of this Government had not increased in a far greater proportion, its finances might now be in a flourishing condition. But one cause exists, in particular, to exhaust all these resources with unexampled rapidity—the vast burden of the military estimates, which have rendered peace in our times not less onerous to the public than war was to preceding generations. Since 1848 Continental Europe, especially the Italian portion of it, has been converted into a camp. Internal disaffections and international jealousies and fears are the cause or the pretexts of these extraordinary expenditures; but in a political sense they serve chiefly to augment and influence the very evils to which they oppose the rude barriers of physical restraint. Such calls upon this Govt. for mere physical defence have almost stopped the progress of economy, and driven it to endless shifts to provide at the expense of the people for the devouring exigencies of the moment.

It is impossible to look with any confidence on the tranquility of this or of any of the Italian Govts. as long as we see them sacrificing their nearest interests to maintain a state of things equally ruinous to all of them; but they appear to overlook the fact that the inordinate waste of their resources, upon military armaments, renders them every year less able to meet the necessity of active exertion, if they should be compelled to make it. What is urgently required, is the example of a partial disarmament. That is the most practical measure that can be adopted, and it equally concerns every state of the Continent. Until some such expedient be resorted to, it would really seem as if, in an age when science and contrivance have simplified almost every other institution of society, the machinery of protection and defence was to become so cumbrous and complicated as to counterbalance the superior advantages of increasing industry and wealth.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to C. M. Conrad. No. 52.[96]

Legation of the United States, Rome, Novr. 26, 1852.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, on the 24th inst., of a circular Despatch, communicating the sad intelligence of the decease of the Honorable Daniel Webster, late Secretary of State. The news of this mournful event had already reached Rome, exciting sensations of profound sorrow, not only among the countrymen of the illustrious deceased, but also the subjects of more than one foreign Government.

Daniel Webster was one of those truly national men, whose names are identified with the public life of their country, and who are therefore known, wherever their country is known, almost personally. The loss which civilization has sustained by his death is by no means confined to his own nation, and the terms in which it is here alluded to, in the public journals and in general conversation, indicate a degree of feeling not often expressed for a stranger, and one of a different faith. It is felt and acknowledged, that as a statesman, diplomatist, jurist and scholar, he was a common benefactor, and a common treasure to all.

On the 19th instant a meeting was held of the citizens of the United States, residing in Rome, for the purpose of condoling with their fellow-countrymen at home, upon the loss of so distinguished a Statesman, as well as with the family of the deceased, upon their great bereavement. Resolutions of sympathy and respect were duly passed upon this occasion, copies of which have been transmitted to the United States for publication.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Edward Everett. No. 55.[97]

Legation of the United States, March 20, 1853. Rome, Italy.

Sir;

I have the honor to transmit herewith the translation of a communication I have just received from Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State.

Monsignor Bedini, the Reverend gentleman therein spoken of, is a prelate of high standing in the Roman Catholic Church, and distinguished for his learning and attainments. He has filled several important posts in the civil and ecclesiastical Departments of this Government, under the present Pope, as well as his predecessor, Gregory the 16th. His official designation is Monsignor Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes, and Apostolic Nuncio at the Court of the Brasils.[98]

[96] Conrad was acting Secretary of State. Webster died Oct. 24.

[97] Everett was Secretary of State for a period of four months. No. 53 transmits accounts of salary and expenses to Dec. 31, 1852. There is no No. 54.

[98] Bedini was instructed to pay a visit to the government in Washington and to learn

The mission thus conferred upon him is a new and additional testimonial of the highly friendly and favorable sentiments entertained by Pius IX towards the Government and Institutions of the United States.

Monsignor Bedini, will probably arrive in Washington within eight or ten days subsequent to the receipt of this despatch. He will remain there I understand, but a few days.

(*Translation.*)

PALACE OF THE VATICAN
March, 19, 1853.

The undersigned, Cardinal Secretary of State has the honor to inform the Chargé d'Affairs of the United States, that Monsignor Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes and Apostolic Nuncio near the Imperial Court of the Brasils, has been instructed to proceed to the United States at the [and to] compliment at this conjuncture, in the name of the Holy Father, His Excellency the President of the United States. The said Prelate will leave Rome at the close of the ceremonies of the Holy Week, and, in view of his abilities and high character, it is not doubted that he will discharge the mission committed to him in a manner suitable to the occasion. Altho', well assumed, that this demonstration on the part of the Holy Father towards the American Government, nevertheless the Cardinal Secretary of State would feel gratified if the Chargé d'Affairs of the United States would apprise, in advance, his government of the intended visit of Monsignor Bedini, in order to insure for him a cordial welcome, the more especially as he is the bearer of a letter from His Holiness.

Trusting that the Chargé d'Affairs of the United States will comply with this request the undersigned seises this opportunity to renew to him the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

G. ANTONELLI

W. L. MARCY TO LEWIS CASS, JR. NO. 21.[99]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, 4 June, 1853.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit, enclosed, a letter addressed by this Department to John R. Sanders, Esqre., which you will be pleased to peruse and to deliver to Mr Sanders, or, in case of his absence from Rome,

through interviews with members of the hierarchy in the United States the conditions of the Church in the country. After leaving Washington he visited Milwaukee and Montreal and consecrated three bishops, *viz.,* Loughlin of Brooklyn, Bayley of Newark, De Goesbriand of Burlington. He also broached to some officials at Washington the question of an appointment of a papal nuncio to the United States but Postmaster General Campbell, a Catholic, did not encourage such a project. For a good account of the American opinion respecting this mission and of the demonstrations against Bedini see Marraro, *op. cit.,* 138-148. That volume also prints (pp. 317-318) letters from Antonelli and Pope Pius relative to this mission. See also Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* V, 228; *33 Cong., 1st sess., 1853-1854, Senate Ex. Doc. 23; 36 Cong., 1st sess., 1859-1860, Ex. Doc. 4*; John G. Shea, *Hist. of the Cath. Church in the U. S.* (N. Y., 1892), IV, 359-365.

[99] Marcy was Secretary of State, 1853-1857. No. 20, Apr. 1, 1853, granted Cass four months leave of absence. This leave was extended to Oct. 1 and again to Nov. 1 by instructions Nos. 22 and 24. No. 23, Aug. 30, advises the chargé that the bankers were advised to extend his credit.

to the person in whose charge he may have left the Consular property confided to him by his brother Wm. C. Sanders, Esqre., late Consul of the U. States at Rome.[100]

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO WILLIAM L. MARCY. No. 56.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES ROME, December 7 1853.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you of my arrival here on the 3d. inst., when I resumed the duties of this Legation.

On the 6th inst., I had the honor of an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State. On this, as on previous occasions, I was struck with the evident desire entertained by this Government to cultivate friendly relations with the United States. The Cardinal alluded, with expressions of gratification, and of personal kindness towards the President, accompanied with assurances of the highest regard for the people and Government of the United States, to the kind reception extended to Monsignor Bedini, the Roman Nuncio, during his late mission, and spoke of the satisfaction it had given to the Pope. His Holiness is, at present " in retreat ", as it is technically termed, being the observance of certain religious exercises, during the continuance of which, he abstains, in a great degree, from all participation in the administration of political affairs.

W. L. MARCY TO LEWIS CASS, JR. No. 25.[101]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, January 30, 1854

Sir,

In the early part of July last Monsignor Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes and Apostolic Nuncio to the Empire of Brazil arrived in Washington charged by His Holiness the Pope with a letter to the President a copy of which you will find in the accompanying Senate Document No. 23. The sentiments expressed by the Head of the Papal States of a continued disposition to maintain and cherish the existing friendly relations between that country and the United States were reciprocated by the President in his interview with Monsignor Bedini.

Though he was here received with all the respect and consideration due to his person and the occasion, it is a matter of sincere regret that in other places which he has since visited he has been subjected to annoyances, on

[100] Sanders was from Mobile and was appointed consul at Rome May 29, 1849. Three years later he resigned, leaving his office in charge of his brother John, who remained until Sept. 1856. L. F. Stock, in *Cath. Hist. Rev.,* XV, 239.

[101] See note 99, *ante,* concerning Nos. 22, 23, and 24.

the part of a few individuals, which have been discountenanced by the Government and very generally reprobated by our citizens.

Should the occurrences to which I have alluded be viewed in a light calculated to affect unfavorably the relations of this country with the Papal States, you will take an opportunity to assure its Minister of Foreign Affairs of the friendly reception given to the Archbishop by the President, and his regret that any part of the people should have forgotten in moments of excitement what was due to a distinguished functionary charged with a friendly mission from a foreign power with which this country has hitherto maintained, and is still desirous of maintaining, amicable relations.[102]

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. No. 57.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, March 1. 1854.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, of January 30th.

The annoyances to which Monsignor Bedini was subjected, on the part of certain individuals, during his mission to the United States, excited considerable indignation among his friends, and I have reason to believe, were received with displeasure by this Government. I took an early occasion, therefore, to explain the nature of these lamentable occurrences, to the Cardinal Secretary of State; and, upon the receipt of your despatch, instructing me in the event of such necessity to make known to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the sentiments of the President upon this matter, I communicated to him a portion of your letter, expressive of the regret experienced by the President "that any part of the people should have forgotten, in moments of excitement, what was due to a distinguished functionary charged with a friendly mission from a foreign power."

A copy of his reply I have the honor herewith to enclose, (translated).

(*Translation.*)

FROM THE CHAMBERS OF THE VATICAN,
February 27. 1854.

The undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State, has received, with your letter, the communication which has been addressed to you by your Government, having for its object to express the displeasure which it experienced at the reprehensible conduct displayed towards Monsignor Bedini, Archbishop of Tarsus and Apostolic Nuncio to the Brazils, by certain American citizens, of foreign birth, on the occasion of his sojourn in the United States, whither he proceeded to deliver a complimentary letter from His Holiness to the Honorable President.

The undersigned Cardinal, although he learned with pain the occurrences which had taken place in certain cities of that country, offensive to a distinguished rep-

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[102] See note 98, *ante.*

resentative of the Holy See, was nevertheless well persuaded that the American Government would disapprove and condemn them.

Indeed he cannot refrain from hastening to express his satisfaction at the manner in which this respectable Prelate was received, and for the kindness which the Government and the public functionaries displayed towards him, wherever he went.

He is therefore happy to add here his sentiments of gratitude for the willingness which has been exhibited to second the desire of maintaining the good intelligence between the Holy See and the Government of the United States.

The undersigned Cardinal, while he prays for you to have the goodness to communicate to the Department at Washington his reply, is happy to renew to you the assurance of his distinguished esteem.

G. ANTONELLI

To the Chargé d'Affairs
of the United States.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. No. 59.[103]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Nov. 10. 1854.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that on the ninth instant I presented to His Holiness, the Pope, my letter of credence, accrediting me as Minister Resident of the United States to the Papal States.[104] His Holiness received me on this occasion with much cordiality, and, after dwelling with considerable emphasis upon the prosperity and happy condition of the United States, renewed the expression of his desire to maintain the friendly relations existing between the two Governments.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. No. 60.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES ROME, Decr. 8, 1854.

Sir,

In the public affairs of this Government, which, as you are aware, partakes equally of a civil and ecclesiastical character, a measure has just been adopted, that is engaging, in no slight degree, the attention of the followers of the Roman Catholic religion throughout the world. This event is the formal and official declaration by the Head of the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God.

In 1849, His Holiness, Pius IX, in an encyclic letter, addressed questions upon this subject to the entire Roman Catholic Hierarchy—ordering, at

[103] No. 58, Apr. 3, 1854, requests copy of the executive document relating to the Bedini mission.

[104] July 17, by Instruction No. 27, Cass was promoted to the rank of Minister Resident. Cass was informed that this appointment affected only his diplomatic rank, as the clause of the act of Mar. 3, 1853, making appropriations for the civil and diplomatic expenses of the government, provided that ministers thus appointed "shall not receive more compensation than is now allowed to a Chargé des Affaires".

the same time, that prayers be zealously offered to the Lord, to illuminate his mind, and thereby enable him to decide in a manner conducive to the "glory of God and the praise of the Virgin our most loving Mother". In conformity to a subsequent mandate, dated August last, a Council of Bishops and Archbishops has been recently held in Rome, to consider this doctrinal point; and their deliberations, which have just terminated, resulted in the expression of a unanimous opinion in favor of a dogmatic decision respecting the preservation of the Virgin from all original sin. This is no new article of faith, however; having always formed a part of the deposit of revealed religion committed to the Roman Catholic Church, always been held by implication, and included, indeed, in the truths which the Church has explicitly taught. It has never, however, been formally incorporated as a dogma in the tenets of the Church, but the Holy See, in the exercise of its prerogative of infallible judication, has today pronounced and decreed this doctrine.[105]

W. L. Marcy to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 29.[106]

Department of State Washington, December 18, 1854.

Sir:

It has been represented to this Department that there are certain individuals in the Papal dominions, styling themselves, without authority, Vice-Consuls of the United States, who demand and receive from American citizens fees for what purport to be official services, accept naval honors from the ships of the United States squadron in the Mediterranean, and sell passports to foreigners, representing them to be American citizens. It is alleged also that these nefarious practices are connived at by the Police authorities there, and that the latter even share the money extorted by them.

If these representations, which come from highly respectable sources, are founded in truth it is proper that an effort should at once be made to put an end to so gross an abuse of our Consular system; and for that object I transmit to you, herewith, a correct list of the names of all persons

[105] The official declaration is printed in *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. I, Vol. I, 597-619.

[106] No. 26, Mar. 20, 1854, gives Cass permission to absent himself from Rome "during the approaching sickly season" provided "the indulgence will not conflict with the public interest." No. 27 concerns the elevation of Cass to the rank of Minister Resident (see *ante,* note 104). No. 28, Sept. 8, 1854, transmits a project of a declaration in relation to neutral rights. For a discussion of the necessity of such an arrangement, see Richardson, *Messages,* V, 275-277. The project as sent to all American Ministers abroad affirmed the principles that "free ships make free goods, contraband excepted, that the property of neutrals, not contraband, found on board of enemies' ships, is not confiscable". See circular letter of the Department of State to Pierre Soulé, American Minister at Madrid, of this date.

who are at present recognized by this Department as having authority to exercise Consular functions, in the name of the United States, within the Papal dominions. Of such changes as may hereafter be made, and of all new appointments of Consuls and Consular Agents in the territory alluded to, you will be duly apprised. In the meantime, I would suggest the immediate communication of copies of the enclosed list to the proper authorities, whose attention should be invited, in earnest terms, to the abuses which it is designed to correct.

Your despatches to No. 59, inclusive, have been received.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY.[107]

LEGATION DES ETATS UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE PRÈS LE SAINT SIÈGE.

ROME le 27 Decr. 1854.

Dear Sir,

Ever since the sailing of the Expedition to Japan, the Pope has manifested a very great interest in its progress.[108] He has frequently questioned me upon the subject, and during the last twelve months I do not think I have been admitted to an interview with him, when he has not alluded to it. Yesterday, on the occasion of his receiving the Diplomatic Corps, for the purpose of exchanging the felicitations customary at this period of the year, he adverted to the successful termination of the Expedition, the intelligence of which, he said, had given him great satisfaction. In particular, he spoke of the pleasure it would give him—if there were no impropriety—or objection on the part of the Department—to be permitted to read a copy of Com. Perry's report—and of other papers transmitted from the Expedition affording information respecting the manners and customs of the people, and the character of the country. His only motive, I believe, is curiosity, or the interest so generally felt regarding that strange and unknown portion of the globe.

Pius, the Ninth, as you are perhaps aware, has traveled far more than is customary among his countrymen, having visited several foreign countries, and the interest they possess for him is a remarkable trait in his character.

I replied to this intimation, that I would hasten to communicate his wishes to you, not doubting you would be disposed to comply with them, if there were no prudential reasons to the contrary.

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[107] Unnumbered.

[108] This was the expedition of Commodore Matthew Perry which was begun in 1852, and which came to a happy conclusion this year.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to W. L. Marcy. No. 61.

Legation of the United States, Rome, Italy, Jan. 19, 1855.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 28. By some mismanagement of the mails, which, however, is no unusual occurrence in the postal service on the Mediterranean, it appears to have been carried very much out of its proper course, as the envelope bears the post-mark of Naples and Vienna; and although dated Septr. 8th, it only reached this Legation on the 13th inst.

On the 16th inst. I sought an interview with Cardinal Antonelli, and made known to him the views of the President in relation to the doctrine of neutral rights, as contained in this communication. I apprised him of the treaty, embracing these principles, recently concluded with the Emperor of Russia,[109] and of the measures in progress to secure the concurrence of other States.

His Eminence, after adverting to the peculiar character of the Pontifical Government, replied that the principles thus submitted for approval and adoption, were such as could not be made the subject of a treaty arrangement by the Holy See. They looked to war, he said; they had reference to hostilities between nations, which was a status or condition of things ignored by the Government of His Holiness, the Pope, and alien to its nature to contemplate. In conclusion, the Cardinal expressed his willingness and readiness to negotiate with the United States a maritime treaty, of the usual commercial nature, if desired.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to W. L. Marcy. No. 63.[110]

Legation of the United States, Rome, February 15, 1855.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 29, directing my attention "to certain individuals, in the Papal dominions, styling themselves, without authority, Vice Consuls of the United States".

The only individuals, within my knowledge, acting in the capacity of Vice Consuls of the United States, in the Papal dominions, are Mr. Lowe, at Civita Vecchia, and Mr. Magnani, at Ancona;[111] and I learn, on applying to this Government, that to these persons alone have been granted Exequaturs, recognising their official character. I am further informed by the Department of State, that there are no other individuals exercising

[109] Concluded July 22, 1854.

[110] No. 62 encloses the usual accounts for salary, etc., to Dec. 31, 1854.

[111] April 3, 1854, Mozier, who had been consul at Ancona since July 1849, announced the closing of this consulate, but thought it should be reopened. Magnani had been discharging the duties of vice consul for 15 years.

the functions of Consul or Vice Consul of the United States, with or without authority, in any part of the Ecclesiastical territories.

A paragraph in this Despatch advises me that it will be accompanied with a "correct list of the names of all persons who are recognised by this Department as having authority to exercise Consular functions, in the name of the United States, within the Papal dominions", and I am instructed to furnish copies thereof to the proper authorities, with a view to remedy the abuses complained of. The document enclosed on this occasion, states as follows.

PONTIFICAL STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON Dec. 23 1854.

The only individual recognised by the Department of State in the Pontifical States as a United States Consul is F. Torrey at Caesara. No Vice Consuls or Consular agents are recognised. All persons other than Mr. Torrey pretending to exercise Consular powers in the States above mentioned, do so not only without authority, but contrary to express instructions.

Not having been apprised of the suppression of the United States Consulate in this city, or the removal of the office of Mr. Lowe, whose exequatur was granted several years ago, previously to my arrival here, and Caesara, the exception indicated, not being in the Papal States, but lying in Northern Italy, annexed to the Duchy of Modena, I am induced to believe, that, by some accident or mischance, the list, intended to be forwarded, has been omitted, and that the enclosure in question is not the paper referred to. Entertaining this impression, I pray to be held excused for taking the liberty of deferring to act upon this Despatch, while submitting my doubts on this point; requesting in the meantime, if it is the intention of the Department to abolish these offices, to be informed what disposition is to be made of the property in charge of the late and present incumbents.

Mr. W. C. Sanders, the late Consul at this place, as well as his brother, Mr. John R. Sanders, quitted Rome very abruptly without apprising me of their contemplated departure. The public property at the Consulate, consisting of numerous cases, containing official records and other archives, was left without any provision for its reception or preservation, and after having remained several weeks in a state of neglect, I took charge of it, paying from that period to the present the sum of $7 a month for the hire of the room in which it is stored.[112]

With respect to the Consulate at Ancona, I was duly apprised by Mr. Mozier, the late incumbent, of his resignation, and received from him the effects belonging to that office, filling two large bulky cases, which in the

[112] A statement, made in 1912 by the Hon. Thomas J. O'Brien, then minister to Italy, respecting the archives relating to the diplomatic relations with that country, will be found in the *Archives of Government Offices Outside of the City of Washington* (62d Cong., 3d sess., House of Representatives, No. 1443), pp. 17-18. According to this report, some of these archives were transferred to Florence and others retained in the offices of the embassy at Rome. *Cf.* C. R. Fish, *Guide . . . to Roman and other Italian Archives,* pp. 221-222.

absence of any other place of accomodation, are stored, at much inconvenience to myself, in my private residence. A fews days subsequently to Mr. Mozier's retirement from office and the consignment of this property to my care, I received a number of communications from Ancona including two from Mr. Magnani, who, for fifteen years has discharged the duties of Vice Consul of the United States at that place, informing me that several cargoes, ready to be despatched to the United States, were detained in port, in consequence of the shippers being unable to procure the certificates required by our Consular instructions, to accompany the invoices of foreign goods, as to their real cost, the charges and expenses thereon, together with the rates of exchange at the time of shipment. In view of these facts, after consulting with Mr. Mozier, I considered it my duty to remit to Mr. Magnani the Vice-consular seal, re-investing him temporarily with his former powers. It was further understood between Mr. Mozier and myself that, in his official report to the Department, upon which he was at that time engaged, he would apprise you of this measure, and of the considerations which, in our view, seemed to demand it. Whether he executed this purpose or not, I am not aware, and have no means of ascertaining. In the expectation that he would do so, however, without delay, and in the hope of your approval of the steps I had taken with regard to Mr. Magnani, I informed that gentleman, that he would continue in the exercise of his late functions until your views were known respecting his re-instatement. From that period to the present Mr. Magnani has acted as Vice Consul *ad interim* at Ancona. And here I beg leave to add, that in my opinion, the suppression of this office would be followed by considerable public inconvenience. Irrespective of the trade it maintains with the United States, Ancona, lying directly in the route of travel to and from the East, is necessarily visited to a considerable extent by Americans proceeding to and returning from the Levant. Moreover, American sailors, on board of foreign ships, sailing to that port, are frequently under the necessity of applying to our Consular agent there for redress of their grievances—several instances of which nature have come to my knowledge during the last two years. Finally, as bearing upon this point, I beg to submit to your attention the accompanying letter, from Professor Felton, of Harvard College, whose reputation for scientific attainments is probably familiar to you.

With respect to the Vice Consulate at Civita Vecchia, I have today had an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State upon the subject. I intimated to his Eminence, that it was in contemplation to abolish this office, and requested to be informed what consequences would result from such a measure. He replied that citizens of the United States arriving at Civita Vecchia were required to have their passports vised by a functionary of their government, at that port, and that his removal from office would prove detrimental to the interests of our countrymen. Civita

Vecchia, I need not add, is the port where two thirds, probably of all travelers enter the Roman States. As respects Mr. Lowe, I have heard but one complaint against him; that one, however, very frequently. It is, that he demands a fee for the visa. This fee is one dollar. With the exception of this pecuniary demand, I have never heard any objection alleged against him, whatever. On the contrary, I would add, in justice to him, that I have often heard his conduct commended, and that I believe him to be a good officer and a worthy man.

ROME, Feb. 18, 1854

Sir

When I had the honor of being presented to you a few evenings since, I mentioned to you the attentions I had recently received from Mr. Magnani, the American consul *ad interim,* in Ancona. Understanding that our government has intimated an intention to abolish the Consulship at that port, I feel it my duty to recapitulate the circumstances to which I then alluded. Ancona is a port of some importance, in a commercial point of view, and a considerable trade is carried on between it and the United States, so that the agency of a consul is not unfrequently required, in the despatch of the requisite papers. Our ships of war occasionally touch there, and need the services of an official representative of the United States. Ancona is also a city through which travellers often return from the East to Italy, and the good offices of an American consul are not only servicable but may be quite necessary. I arrived in Ancona from Athens a fortnight since, and was directed by the Police to report myself to the American Consul, which I did. Mr. Magnani called on me early the next morning, viséed my passport, accompanied me about the city, helped me at the port to secure my place in the Diligence, and gave me a variety of information of great use to me. He speaks English remarkably well, having been ten years in England, when a young man. He is amiable and gentlemanlike in his manners, and I have occasion to know, enjoys to a high degree, the respect of the citizens of Ancona. It seems to me it would be a mistake to abolish the Consulate there, and it would be a misfortune to all travellers, and to all American citizens, having business of any description at that port, to lose the services of so competent, obliging, and indefatigable a gentleman as Mr. Magnani.

I felt it due to him, having received attentions from him for which no compensation was required or accepted, to make this representation to your Excellency, in the hope that you will think it proper to use your influence with the American government to retain Mr. Magnani in the office he has long held and usefully filled.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very respectfully Yours,

C. C. FELTON [113]

Hon. Lewis Cass, Jr.
Chargé d'Affaires of the U. S.
Rome

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[113] Felton, later president of Harvard, was one of the friends of George W. Greene, the first consul of American birth to represent the United States at Rome, 1837-1845, who came to his defense when Americans were complaining that Greene was overcharging for his services. See L. F. Stock in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 236-237.

W. L. MARCY TO LEWIS CASS, JR. No. 30.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, March 26, 1855

Sir:

At the request of Mr. Harrison Robertson, who is represented to this Department as a highly respectable member of the Bar in Virginia, I transmit to you a letter which he has written you on the subject of his brother who is wandering about in Europe in a morbid state of mind bordering on insanity. It is scarcely necessary for me to add anything to what Mr. Robertson has himself written, to enlist your humane feelings in the cause of his unfortunate relative.

Your despatches to No. 62, inclusive, have reached the Department.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. No. 65.[114]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES ROME, Nov. 13, 1855.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, a translation of a communication, which, accompanied with a photographic sketch, I have received from the Pontifical Government.

Verbal note addressed to the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See.

In the city of Bologna, on the 16th of July last, there was stolen, under cover of the night, from the Parochial Church of St. Bartholomew, at the Ranegnana Gate, a celebrated picture, painted upon Canvas, of an oval form, which stood near the lateral altar, representing the Blessed Virgin, with the Infant Jesus. This distinguished production, of which all the guide books make mention, and which was much esteemed for its beautiful execution, was the work of Guido Reni. Such an occurrence could not but excite the indignation of the Government, and more especially of the people, thus finding themselves robbed by a sacrilegious hand of a valued painting, enshrined in one of their churches. Although the Police administration adopted without delay suitable measures to discover the author or authors of this outrage, nevertheless it is to be feared they will not succeed, for there is reason to believe, that the painting has been carried away with the intention of disposing of it to some foreign gallery of art. Under this belief, the respectable representatives of the foreign Powers, accredited to the Holy See, to whom is transmitted a drawing of the painting in question, showing its character, are requested to apprise their respective Governments of this event, and, at the same time, to give expression to the hope, that prompt information will be given of any circumstances whatever, that may lead to the recovery of a master-piece, which was one of the most beautiful ornaments of the City of Bologna.

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[114] No. 64, Mar. 22, 1855, states that he has drawn upon the Government to the amount of $709.10, losses sustained through exchange.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. NO. 66.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Dec, 1855.[115]

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit the enclosed letter, with the accompanying documents, which I have received from the Tuscan Minister accredited to this Government.

In acknowledging the receipt of these communications, I merely said, in reply, that they would be forwarded to you, without delay.

No. 1. Translation of a communication from the Tuscan Minister at Rome.

IMPERIAL AND ROYAL LEGATION OF TUSCANY, AT ROME.

Nov. 28, 1855.

Sir,

I have the honor to submit to you the accompanying documents, which I have received from the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Florence, by which you will learn the unfortunate occurrence that has taken place at Alexandria, in Egypt, between the Grand Ducal Consulate and that of the United States of America.

Beyond all doubt the conduct of the American Consul has been contrary to all the elementary principles of right, and to all those considerations of respect and deference, which govern the conduct of the agents of all friendly and civilised governments.

To have recourse to the local authorities would be useless, because they would allege the want of jurisdiction over the Consular Agents of Foreign Governments.

In this condition of affairs, and the non-existence of an American Representative near the Royal Court of Tuscany, I have been charged to speak to you concerning this matter, in order that, after being apprised of the manifest wrong committed by the American Consul, you might direct him to offer due reparation to the Tuscan Consulate, without which its authority, after the affront received, must remain notably compromised, and not less discredited in the dignity of the government, and very prejudicial to the private interests of the subjects of the Grand Duke, who live in that country.

Hence, I have the honor to request your interposition, or, if more regular, that this matter may be laid before the government at Washington, in order that the just desire of His Imperial and Royal Highness, the Grand Duke, may be satisfied.

In tendering to you in advance my thanks, I pray you, at a suitable time, to favor me with a reply, and to believe me.

S. BARGAGLI.

No. 2. Translation of a letter from the Consul General of Tuscany to His Excellency the Duke of Casigliano, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs at Florence.

CONSULATE GENERAL OF TUSCANY IN EGYPT.

ALEXANDRIA, Aug., 11. 1855.

Excellency,

Upon the decease of Maximien Mancini de Figlini, a Tuscan subject, this Con-

[115] The letter is not otherwise dated.

sulate General, in order to protect the inheritance, affixed the Consular seals to the door of the apartment occupied by the defunct, reserving to itself the duty of making at a convenient season, an inventory of the effects therein existing, for the security of the person to whom they belong.

At this particular period the individual charged with the office of placing the seals, omitted to remove a vessel containing filth, (ordure), in consequence whereof, at the expiration of two or three days, an infection burst forth, tainting the air, and rendering incommodious and dangerous a residence in the contiguous apartment, occupied by a certain Mr. Moro, a Venetian Emigrant, under the protection of the Consul General of the United States of America.

I have been told, that Mr. Moro addressed himself to the Health Office, and that he summoned the Physician having charge of the Sanitary Institution, who, upon learning the nuisance in question, demanded its removal but no application, on his behalf, or on behalf of any other person, was ever made to me, who alone could respond to it.

Accordingly, my surprise was inexpressible on learning that the seals of the Consulate had been broken by order of the Consul General of the U. S. A. and I could not persuade myself there had been such an arbitrary abuse of power, when I received from the said Consul himself a communication informing me of this proceeding, a copy of which I have the honor to subjoin for your Excellency, marked A. I considered it my duty to reply thereto, and a copy of my answer is furnished, marked B.

Under these circumstances I know not how to characterise the conduct of the Consul Genl. of the U. S. A., and I regard as still more irregular the manner in which he justifies it—*viz.* by assigning as a pretext that the Tuscan Consul had refused to consent to the raising of the seals from the Tuscan premises, in order to have removed the vessel of infectious matter. But to whom, and by whom was this demand made? Not to me, certainly, nor in writing. Nor has any American consular agent ever intimated such an idea.

It follows, that the preceding assertion is absolutely false, and the proceedings of the Consul General of the U. S. A. must be regarded as arbitrary.

From the facts which I have the painful duty of submitting to you, your Excellency in the plenitude of your wisdom will see the necessity of taking such measures as will secure reparation to the Consulate General, for the affront it has suffered, in order that it may not become a mark for the scorn and raillery of nations, as well as of the Foreign authorities who reside in this country, and the Local Government.

With the most profound respect

G. Antonelli

A. Consulate Genl. of the United States for Egypt and Dependencies.

Alexandria, Aug. 3. 1855.

In obedience to the orders of the Consul Genl, having repaired to the residence of Mr. Gaspard Moro who is under our protection, I caused to be opened the chamber which had been occupied by the deceased Mancini, where I found the seals of the Tuscan Consulate.

I caused to be removed from the said chamber a vessel of filth, which emitted a smell prejudicial to the public health. I had the said chamber refreshed, and I then caused it to be closed, and affixed to it the seals of our Consulate. All this was done in the presence of the Witnesses hereto subscribers—the apartment

having been opened in consequence of the refusal of the Tuscan Consulate to consent to this measure.

The present instrument has been signed by me, and by the witnesses, subscribers—

On the part of the Con. Genl. of the U. S. A.

JAMES CHASSAND.

Witness [116]
Gaspard Moro
Michel Praeu, French subject
E. Feli, " "
Confirmed E. De Leon
To the Hon. E. de Leon.

B. Consulate Genl. of Tuscany in Egypt.

ALEXANDRIA, Aug. 4, 1855.

By the receipt of a Document, (*Procès-Verbal*) which reached this Consulate yesterday evening it appears that, by orders of your Excellency, there has been opened one of the rooms of the habitation of a deceased Tuscan subject, by breaking the Tuscan seals, which were there affixed.

To justify this act it is pretended that this Consulate General had refused to consent to the provisional suspension of the seals, upon a demand which had been addressed to it, in order to have removed from the said abode a vessel of filth, which had remained there, and had become prejudicial to the public health, as well as to the health of an individual under American protection, to whom the deceased had sublet a portion of his apartments. But this pretext is frivolous and unfounded, because, even supposing it to be true (although the removal of the seals does not depend upon the pleasure of any person whatever) the Consul Genl. of the U. S. A. could easily have attained his object, by making a legal demand, which he did not do, prefering, on the contrary, to pursue, a more expeditious, and illegal and arbitrary course.

Under every hypothesis the Consulate Genl. of the U. S. A. has shown an entire disregard of international rights, as well by the violation of Tuscan domicile, as by the rupture of the seals of the Tuscan Consulate General, affixed to the door of a chamber. When he had no jurisdiction whatever, has committed an abuse of power, and charged himself with great responsibility toward the Grand Ducal government of Tuscany, to which the Consulate Genl. refers itself, for all the consequences, which at the same time it protests for all the private results which may flow from what has been done.

The Administration of the Imperial and Royal conte. Genl.

G. ANTONELLI

To the Consul Genl. of the U. S. A.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. NO. 67.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Jan. 7, 1856.

Sir,

By my despatch, Number 65, your attention, at the request of this Government, was called to the theft, committed at Bologna, of a celebrated

[116] The reading of these names cannot be certain.

painting, by Guido Reni, representing the "Blessed Virgin", with the "Infant Jesus".

In connexion with that despatch, I have now the honor to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a communication, addressed to me by this Government.

(*Translation.*)

The Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See have been apprised by a verbal note, of the sacriligious theft committed in a church at Bologna, of a celebrated painting by Guido. The aforesaid note enclosed a lithographic sketch, with the dimensions, of the picture in question, and, at the same time, requested the members of the Diplomatic Corps to put their respective Governments in possession of the facts, with a view to the recovery of such a masterpiece of art.

The Police authorities of Bologna, never losing sight of the traces of this theft, state that they have well founded suspicions regarding the author, a certain Archangel Ciarelli, who is supposed to have assumed the name of Cuppini, of thirty four years of age, whose business is that of a dealer in hemp. The said Ciarelli left for London with a passport dated the 29th of August, and the Police is farther informed that, after having offered for sale, in vain, the said picture, for the sum of twenty five thousand dollars, he proceeded to America.

It would certainly be highly gratifying to the Govt. of the Holy See, if such measures could be adopted in reference to the said Ciarelli, as, in the event of his being in possession of this picture, would lead to its recovery.

The Cardinal Secretary of State, accordingly, begs the favor of your good offices with your Govt. in behalf of this request of the Pontifical Government.

In the meantime, while waiting a reply, he has the honor to renew to you the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

G. Antonelli

J. A. Thomas to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 31.[117]

Department of State, Washington, 7th February, 1856

Sir:

I transmit a copy of a despatch of the 11th ultimo, addressed to the Department by Mr. Mason, the United States Minister at Paris,[118] from which it appears that the person claiming to be Consular agent of this Government at Civita Vecchia, persists in the practices which have heretofore been imputed to such unauthorized agents in the Papal States. They were the subject of the instruction to your No. 29, of the 18th December 1854. Your attention to the case of the individual referred to is particularly invited with a view to a remedy of the grievance with which he is charged.

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[117] Thomas was Assistant Secretary of State.

[118] John Y. Mason was Minister to France, 1854-1859.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. No. 69.[119]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, April 2d. 1856.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 35.[120] In reply, I beg leave to refer to my Despatch, No. 63, dated February, 15th 1855, in which I presented to your notice the views of the Cardinal Secretary of State, in relation to the necessity of a United States Consular Agent at Civita Vecchia. This Government requires, that such a functionary shall reside at that place, or it must become interdicted to our countrymen. It is the Post, at which two thirds, at least, of all the foreign travelers, especially of those from the United States, enter and leave the Roman Territories, and every Foreign Government, in relation with this Country, is represented there by a Consul General, or Consul.

Under these circumstances, and, especially, in view of the embarrassments and serious inconveniences to which American citizens would be exposed by the unexpected removal of the Acting Vice Consul, I have ventured to continue Mr Lowe[121] in the exercise of his functions, until this statement shall have been submitted to your attention, instructing him, however, to abstain, in the meanwhile, from demanding any fee for the discharge of his customary duties. As to the propriety of remunerating him for his services during this period, that is a point upon which I have expressed no opinion, in my communications to him upon this subject. In conclusion, I beg to repeat, in justice to Mr. Lowe, whom I found discharging the duties of his present position, upon my arrival here, seven years ago, that with the exception of this pecuniary demand, I have never heard any objection alleged against him, whatever. On the contrary, I have often heard his conduct highly commended, and I believe him to be a good officer and a worthy man.

W. L. MARCY TO LEWIS CASS, JR. No. 34.[122]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, September 19th, 1856.

Sir:

Herewith I transmit the Commission to Mr. Daniel LeRoy of New York[123] who has been appointed by the President Consul of the United States for the City of Rome, on the receipt of which you will apply to

[119] No. 68, Mar. 29, 1855, transmits accounts of salary and contingent expenses to Dec. 31, 1855.

[120] This number is incorrect; it probably refers to number 31, *ante*.

[121] This was Alfred Lowe.

[122] No. 32, May 15, 1856, transmits public documents; No. 33, Aug. 5, 1856, gives the views of the United States respecting the Declaration of Paris, concluded Mar. 30, 1856, and requests Cass to ascertain the determination of the papal government on this subject. Antonelli's views are appended to the next despatch from Cass, No. 70.

[123] Concerning LeRoy see L. F. Stock in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 239.

the Government of the Papal States for an Exequatur to be delivered when obtained, with the Commission to Mr. LeRoy on his arrival at Rome.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. NO. 70.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Jan. 18, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, a copy (translation) of a communication, which I have just received from Cardinal Antonelli, the Secretary of State, of the Roman Government.

(*Translation.*)

THE VATICAN,
Jan. 16th, 1857.

The undersigned, Cardinal Secretary of State, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the estimable note of your Excellency, dated Sep. 26., together with which you transmitted to him a copy of the Despatch addressed by order of your Govt. to the French Minister, at Washington, in reply to the request made by France, followed by the demand, also of Austria, Russia, Prussia and Sardinia, to subscribe to the declaration adopted in the recent Congress at Paris, respecting neutral rights.[124]

In discharging this duty, the undersigned has to state, that previous to the receipt of your Excellency's note, a similar communication had been addressed to the Government of the Holy See by the before mentioned Powers, to which it was replied, that, in consideration of the views advanced, the Pontifical Government acquiesced in the adoption of the said principle concerning international maritime rights.

Your Excellency will perceive, accordingly, what is the position of the Holy See in reference to this subject, and the nature of the reply the undersigned is called upon to give.

The undersigned profits by this occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurances of his highest consideration.

G. ANTONELLI.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO W. L. MARCY. NO. 72.[125]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Italy, March 7th, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, a translation of a communication, which I have just received from Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State.

[124] By the Treaty of Paris, concluded Mar. 30, 1856, between Russia, France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey, privateering was abolished, neutral goods in enemies' ships, and enemies' goods in neutral ships, except contraband of war, were held not liable to capture, and paper blockades were declared unlawful. The United States refused to agree at this time to the clause respecting privateers, as the country was compelled to rely largely upon such service in naval warfare. See Richardson, *Messages,* V, 412-414; and note 122, *ante.*

[125] No. 71, Feb. 20, 1857, requests a month's leave of absence to consult a dentist in London or Paris.

It is in reply to a note, which I addressed to him, on the 13th. ult., accompanying the presentation, to the Papal Government, of the Atlases belonging to volumes 13, 14, and 16 of the United States Exploring Expedition, forwarded to this Legation by the Department of State.[126]

(*Translation.*)

FROM THE CHAMBERS OF THE VATICAN,

March 5th. 1857.

The Cardinal Secretary of State hastens to acknowledge the receipt of your note, of the 13th ult., together with the Volumes relating to the Expedition around the Globe, presented to the Holy See by the Government of the United States.

The Cardinal, undersigned, prays you to communicate to your Government his grateful acknowledgement for this mark of courtesy, and while expressing to you, personally his obligations for your agency in the discharge of this agreeable office, begs to renew to you the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

G. ANTONELLI.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO LEWIS CASS. NO. 73.[127]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, April 10th, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honor to request, that you will submit to the President my wish to be permitted to retire from this mission.

In soliciting my letter of recall, I have to bring to your notice the condition of the Consulate, in this city. Mr. Le Roy, after a brief residence, left here some weeks since, with no intention, it is understood, of returning.[128] Previous to his departure, he appointed an agent, to certify to passports, and to perform all of the other duties of the office. This individual, who is a French subject, is competent to perform these requirements, while acting under the direction of a superior; but in the absence of such supervision, he is neither a competent nor suitable person to be entrusted with this authority.[129]

Under these circumstances, I have no hesitation in saying the public interest requires that I should be authorised to make a suitable arrangement, till the arrival of a new Minister.

I have also to add, that, there being no place whatever in which to deposit the archives and other property of the Legation, it will be necessary to hire a room for this purpose.

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[126] See Cass to Marcy, Dec. 27, 1854, *ante.*

[127] Lewis Cass, the Minister's father, succeeded Marcy as Secretary of State, serving until 1860.

[128] LeRoy resigned because of illness in his family, and the post was then offered to Robert Bradford of New York, who declined the appointment. Horatio de V. Glentworth, also of New York, was appointed Aug. 26, 1858, and served until Feb., 1861. See L. F. Stock in *Cath. Hist. Rev.,* XV, 239.

[129] This was Antoine Ardisson referred to on p. 16, *ante.* James Mortimer of Virginia, who was connected with the legation at Paris, was recommended for consular agent by LeRoy, Oct. 31, 1856, and was appointed Jan. 28, 1857.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO LEWIS CASS. NO. 74.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, April 29, 1857.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit herewith a translation of a communication, which I have received from the Cardinal Secretary of State.

(*Translation.*)

THE CHAMBERS OF THE VATICAN,

April 28, 1857.
No. 811,072.

The Holy Father, nourishing a special devotion towards the August Mother of God, has come to the determination to visit the renowned sanctuary of the sacred House of Loretto. He will, likewise, on this occasion, visit other parts of the Provinces. His departure will take place in the beginning of May.[130]

During his absence, no changes will occur in the relations of the most excellent Diplomatic Corps with the Holy See.

In transmitting this intelligence, the Cardinal Secretary of State avails himself of this opportunity to renew to your Excellency the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

G. ANTONELLI.

LEWIS CASS TO LEWIS CASS, JR. NO. 35.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, May, 18, 1857,

Sir:

The request conveyed in your despatch No. 73, of the 10th. ultimo, having been communicated by me to the President, I have the honor to acquaint you that he accepts your resignation, but hopes that circumstances will not compel you to relinquish the duties of your mission before a successor shall have arrived.

LEWIS CASS TO LEWIS CASS, JR. NO. 36.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, 27th. July, 1857.

Sir:

I transmit a copy of a correspondence between the Secretary of the Treasury and this Department, relative to a claim on behalf of the Roman Bark Consiglière *Jenny,* to an exemption of her cargo of fruit from Sicily, from discriminating duties in the United States, on the ground that foreign products imported into the Pontifical States in vessels of the United States are also exempted from discriminating duties

[130] For an account of the pontifical journey through the Provinces, which was begun on May 4 and ended Sept. 5, see R. de Cesare, *Last Days of Papal Rome,* ch. XI.

by the "Notification" of the Pontifical Government of the 28th. of February, 1833. It being considered however by no means clear that the exemption in favor of the United States vessels offered in that Notification was intended to embrace the products of foreign countries on board of them, you will communicate to the Department such information as will leave no doubt upon the subject. When that information shall have been received, the President may issue his Proclamation, extending to the vessels of the Pontifical States the privilege provided for in the Act of Congress of 1828.[131]

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO LEWIS CASS. No. 75.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ROME, December 11th. 1857.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a communication, (together with a literal translation thereof) which I have received from Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State.

It states, as you will perceive, that American vessels in Pontifical ports are, and have been, since February 28, 1832, subjected only to the same duties as National vessels, irrespective of the origin of their cargoes, and consequently removes all obscurity in the terms of the "Notification" of the Pontifical Government, referred to in your Despatch No. 36.

I have expressed the belief, in my reply to this communication, that upon the receipt of this information, measures would be adopted, without delay, to extend corresponding privileges to Pontifical vessels, entering ports of the United States.

(*Translation.*)

FROM THE VATICAN,
December 7, 1858.

Conformably to a Notification issued by the Pontifical Government, on the 28th. February, 1833, in addition to the Vessels bearing the Austrian and Danish flags, those also of the United States of America, entering ports of the Pontifical States, were, from that date, considered on the same footing as National Vessels, and, as such, subjected only to the payment of the simple maritime duties to which Pontifical vessels were liable, no distinction being made, whatever might be the country where the cargo was taken, which they had, or which they have on board. It was thought just and suitable to extend to them this consideration, the two Governments having admitted the proposed reciprocity.

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[131] 20 Cong., 1 sess., c. 111, which provided that where no discriminating duties of tonnage or impost are levied by a foreign nation, the President may declare a reciprocal exemption as to the vessels of such nation (*U. S. Statutes at Large,* IV, 308). On Feb. 25, 1858, President Buchanan issued a proclamation exempting vessels from the Papal States from the duties of tonnage and impost. Richardson, *Messages,* V, 491-492.

Now it has become known that the conduct of the Government of the United States is far otherwise, since it appears that a Pontifical vessel, arriving in one of those ports, is subjected to foreign duties of tonnage, if its cargo does not consist of the productions of the Roman States.

Such a distinction, not being in harmony with the system practised in the Pontifical ports, by virtue of the reciprocity agreed upon, the undersigned, Cardinal Secretary of State, cannot refrain from praying your Excellency to make known this incongruity to your Government, and, by means of your valuable mediation, to induce it to repeal the measures whatever they may be, which stand in the way of commercial reciprocity.

While awaiting the reply of your Excellency, the undersigned has the honor to renew the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

G. ANTONELLI.

LEWIS CASS TO LEWIS CASS, JR. NO. 37.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, March 27, 1858.

Sir:

Herewith I enclose a transcript of a letter to this Department of the 22nd. instant, with an accompaniment, from A. B. Campbell, M.D. of Philadelphia, in which he details the circumstances of an alleged outrage committed upon him at Civita Vecchia by the Governor of that place, Mr. A. Montani. The facts, as stated by Dr. Campbell, are certainly such as to justify the indignation so apparent in his communication, and to warrant an immediate investigation into the matter, which you are directed to make. It is hoped, however, that they may be susceptible of satisfactory explanation, and that a demand on your part for reparation in the case may be unnecessary.

(*Copy.*)

PHILADELPHIA, March 22d 1858

Sir,

I am a citizen of the United States, born in Philadelphia. I was Assistant Surgeon to the Regiment of Voltigeurs during the Mexican War. Having served to the satisfaction of the Surgeon General, I was for nearly 4 years subsequently, the Surgeon (by contract) for Fort Mifflin, near this city. More recently I have been "Physician in Chief of the Philadelphia Hospital and Almshouse", which position I resigned on the 20th of June last (1857), for the purpose of going to Europe, as Surgeon to the expedition to raise the Russian ships sunken in the harbor of Sebastopol. Having gone through central Europe to Russia, I returned by the way of Constantinople etc. to Civita Vecchia for the purpose of visiting Rome. But I was prevented from going there, or even remaining in Civita Vecchia, as is shewn in the accompanying letter, which is a copy of one that I left with Judge Mason in Paris,[132] together with my passport, and the certificate of the facts from the American Consul at Civita Vecchia.

The original intention on the part of Judge Mason upon the occasion of my first call upon him, was to have sent the documents to Rome, to Col. Cass. But

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[132] U. S. Minister.

when I called the second time with the facts written out, (the pecuniary loss was referred to at his suggestion) he had concluded that it was the more proper course to refer them to your Excellency at Washington.

The charge which the Governor of Civita Vecchia made to the French Consul, against me for Forgery, was more cruel and insulting, than even his expulsion of me from the town. It was sufficient for him to have said that my passport was irregular.

I write for the purpose of inquiring if Judge Mason has yet laid the matter before Your Excellency and to know if in your judgment the honor and dignity of the American Citizen has been sufficiently insulted, and his rights trampled upon to such a degree as to call for the interference of the government, in order that redress may be had for injuries done in this instance, and future injustice avoided.

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully
Your Obedt. Servt.
A. B. Campbell, M. D.
1308 Filbert Street

To His Excellency Hon. Lewis Cass
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

(*Copy.*)

Paris, France, January 26th 1858.

Sir,

Last evening, I returned from Russia, by the way of Constantinople along the coast of Italy, through Marseilles to this city. I hasten to inform Your Excellency of an outrage committed upon me at Civita Vecchia by the Governor of that place, Mr. A. Montani. On the arrival of our Steamer I was furnished, as were the other passengers, with a printed form on which my name was written and the several sums of money I was to pay for boat hire, porterage etc., and I was permitted to land, to pass the gates, and the custom house, to take a place in the diligence for Rome, and after my passport had been properly visaed for Rome by the American Consul at Civita Vecchia, instead of being allowed to proceed there, I was rudely and cruelly thrust out of the town in the midst of a storm of wind and rain so violent that it was with great difficulty I could persuade the boat men to undertake to put me on board of the Steamer lying off in the harbor, and not until myself and baggage, while standing on the end of the mole, had been drenched with rain. And this was done after a personal appeal made by the American Consul, and a second and subsequent appeal made in person by the French Consul, and the request that I might be permitted to remain in Civita Vecchia until I could communicate with our Minister Col. Cass in Rome, was refused, and even threats were made that if I attempted to pass the gates I should be arrested and cast into prison.

I make my appeal for redress to Your Excellency for two reasons, in the first place because you are the first representative of our country that I can reach, and secondly because you are in France, and the alledged cause for the injuries that have been done me, arises from an alleged irregularity in the Visé of the French Ambassador at the Otoman Porte. Whether the alledged reason for my expulsion, was the real cause I have occasion to doubt, for the American Consul informed me, that the Governor said to him, that the visé of Mr. Brown, the American Consul

General at Constantinople was correct, and he would have allowed me to pass upon it if there had been no visé by the French Ambassador, but because the words ["] par Civita Vecchia ["] were not written by the same hand that signed the passport, the Visé was falsified.

In consequence of there being no representative from the Papal states in Constantinople Mr. Brown told me to get the Visé of the French Ambassador for Rome. As I speak but very little French I had some difficulty to make the Secretary who filled up the visé understand, but shewed him the visé of the American Consul Genl. and asked him to copy that, he made his entries in his book, wrote on my passport, we came out into the hall, he requested me to remain a moment, I did so, he entered a room opposite his own, came out, and we entered another room nearer to the stairway, I stood by the door and he went round a corner to a gentleman, where I could not see what was done, he came to me and handed me the passport, I saw that neither Rome nor Civita Vecchia were mentioned and spoke about it to him. The Gentleman sitting behind the small desk, called us to him, and I shewed him Mr. Brown's visé, he scolded the Secretary, and holding the corner of the leaf down with his little finger, wrote " par Civita Vecchia ", pinched up a little yellow sand in his finger and thumb, sprinkled it over and handed the book to me. Common sense would teach a man that in an attempt at such a forgery an effort would be made to imitate the hand writing of the rest of the document, here no such attempt is made nor could I have any reason for doing such a thing. The whole course of the Governor towards me, was such as to induce me to believe that he was actuated by a desire to gratify a private feeling of petty spite against the French. In doing so, however, he has grossly wronged as well as deeply wounded and injured me, besides causing me to suffer some considerable pecuniary loss. He has also prevented me from seeing Rome, for I have now neither the time nor the means for doing so. And moreover the French Consul informed me on the steamboat just before we left, that he had unhesitatingly accused me of having committed a forgery. For all these outrages and injuries I claim from the Government of which he is the representative, such damages and reparation as my friends may decide to be proper and just. And I do so, as much from the fact that he has wounded in me the American name, as from any personal motives.

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully
Your obedt. Servt.
A. B. Campbell, M D.

To His Excellency Judge Mason
Minister etc. etc. From America to France

John Appleton to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 38.[133]

Department of State, Washington, April 16th, 1858.

Sir:

In reference to your inquiries concerning the time when you may probably expect your successor, the Department is unable to give you precise information. The President desires that you will await his arrival, but

[133] Appleton was Assistant Secretary of State.

as the sickly season is near, and your health may require a temporary change of residence, I am instructed to inform you that you are at liberty to leave Rome for this purpose. You will, of course, make suitable arrangements for the care of the Legation during your absence, and endeavor to keep yourself in a favorable position for speedy communication with it.

Lewis Cass, Jr., to Lewis Cass. No. 76.

Legation of the United States, Rome, April 24, 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit here with my account of compensation, together with the contingent expenses of this Legation, down to December 31st, 1857, inclusive.

I beg leave to call your attention to the item of $62, expended for the purchase of " Arms ", which may require explanation.

It is the custom here established by the Government, for every foreign Minister, without exception to affix to the front of his residence a pair of shields, bearing the arms of the Pope, and those of his country. The old arms, purchased by myself in 1849, were torn down and destroyed in the month of October last, rendering it necessary to procure a new set.

There being due to me, for losses by exchange and sundries, the sum of $519.88, I have to inform you, that, in accordance with previous usage, I have this day drawn upon you, for that amount, at ten days sight.

Lewis Cass to Lewis Cass, Jr. No. 39.

Department of State, Washington, July 21st, 1858.

Sir:

Mr. John P. Stockton having been appointed to succeed you in the Mission to Rome, I have now the honor to acquaint you with the fact and to transmit, enclosed, a letter addressed by the President to His Holiness the Pope, announcing your recall. You will at the proper time communicate to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the accompanying copy of the President's letter and when you shall have ascertained in what manner it will be most agreeable to His Holiness to receive the original, you will take leave of the Papal Government with an expression on the part of the President of his desire to maintain the friendly relations which now so happily subsist between the two countries.

Mr. Stockton, it is understood, will leave for his post on the 21st proximo. It is the President's desire that you should await his arrival.

LEWIS CASS, JR., TO LEWIS CASS. No. 77.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, Novr. 27th, 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that I delivered this morning to His Holiness, the Pope, my letter of recall, announcing the termination of my mission near this Government.

His Holiness received me with great kindness, and was pleased to express his appreciation of my conduct during my residence here.

Herewith, I transmit my account of compensation and of the contingent expenses of this Legation, down to this date, inclusive. There being due to me, according to the circular recently issued by the Treasury Department, the sum of $472.75, for losses in Exchange, I have drawn upon you for that amount, at ten days sight. I have also to inform you, that in pursuance of the Act of Congress, making provision for the return home of the U. S. Diplomatic Agents, I have drawn upon you, likewise at ten days' sight, for $616.42/100.

JOHN P. STOCKTON.[1]

(June 18, 1858–June 6, 1861.)

Lewis Cass to John P. Stockton, Princeton, N. J.

Department of State, Washington, 18th. June, 1858.

Sir,

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you Minister Resident of the United States, at Naples [*sic*],[2] I have the honor to request you to inform the Department how soon, in the event of your accepting the Mission, you will be prepared to repair to your post.

Be pleased to acquaint the Department with the name of the State or country in which you were born.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass.

Princeton July 2, 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, informing me of my appointment, as Minister Resident of the United States at Rome, and requesting me to inform the Department how soon in event of my accepting the mission, I will be prepared to repair to my post.

I will take immediate steps to arrange my business, and will shortly communicate to the Department at what time I will be prepared to repair to my post.

I have the honor to inform the Department in reply to the inquiry contained in your communication, that I was born in the State of New Jersey.

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[1] Stockton (1826-1900) was born in New Jersey, graduated from Princeton, 1843, and later practiced law in Princeton and Trenton. After his return from Rome he served in the U. S. Senate from Mar. 15, 1865, to Mar. 17, 1866, when his seat was declared vacant. Later re-elected, he served from 1869 to 1875. From 1877 to 1892 he was attorney general of his native state. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1915 ed.), V.

[2] This, of course, should read "Rome".

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass.

Princeton, July 10th, 1858.

My Dear Sir,

I received your last and am indebted to you for the trouble you have taken in obtaining Mr. Duter's view of the practice of the Department.[3]

In accordance with your kind suggestion in your note of June 23d[4] that I should let you know when I had determined "at what time I would reach Rome", permit me to say, that I shall leave here in the *Arago* on the 21st of August. And hope to reach the neighbourhood of Rome by the begining of October, when I will take the liberty of communicating with your son and take advantage of his experience as to the proper time for me to enter Rome.

I presume it will not be until November.

As soon as I receive my instructions I will go to Washington, as there are matters which I have been spoken to about by Americans here which I should like to present to you before going.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass.

Princeton, New Jersey, July 10, 1858.

Sir,

In further compliance with the request of the Department; I have the honor to inform you that I am prepared to repair to my post, and await the instructions of the Department.

Lewis Cass to John P. Stockton. No. 1.

Department of State, Washington, July 19th, 1858.

Sir:

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you Minister Resident of the United States at Rome, and the appointment having been accepted by you, I have the honor herewith to transmit your Commission, together with a copy of the printed Personal Instructions to Diplomatic Agents of the United States in foreign countries, and the documents 1, 2 and 3, named at the commencement of those instructions.[5]

Your salary, which will commence on the 21st instant, will be at the

[3] Duter could not be identified; it is possibly a misreading of (William) Hunter, who was long chief clerk of the Department of State.

[4] Not found.

[5] For the nature of the inclosures see *ante*, p. 1.

rate of $7,500 per annum, besides which a contingent fund to the amount of $500 per annum is placed to the credit of the Legation, to be disbursed by you in conformity with the Personal Instructions. Your drafts for salary or for contingent expenses will be drawn on the Bankers of the United States in London. A letter of credit therefor is herewith enclosed.

The instructions given to your predecessor, as far as they may remain applicable or continue unexecuted, will be considered as a part of your own. Special instructions will be transmitted from time to time as occasion may require.[6]

Lewis Cass to John P. Stockton. No. 2.

Department of State, Washington, September 28th, 1858

Sir:

Herewith I transmit the Commission of Horatio de V. Glentworth of New York,[7] who has been appointed by the President Consul of the United States at Rome. Upon its receipt you will make application to the Papal Government for the usual exequatur, to be delivered, with the Commission, to Mr. Glentworth at his post.

Lewis Cass to John P. Stockton. No. 3.

Department of State, Washington, October 14th, 1858

Sir,

Accompanying this despatch you will receive a silk flag, intended for the use of your Legation.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 1.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome December 10th 1858

Sir,

I have the honor to inform the Department that in pursuance of my instructions (No. 1) I left New York on the 21st day of August last, in the Steamship *Arago* for Havre. On my arrival in Paris I received a letter from my predecessor stating that he could not meet me in Rome before the end of October, that it would not be safe for me to go there until the cold weather had commenced, on account of the fevers which prevail during the summer. I therefore delayed my progress for three

[6] July 28 Stockton returned the signed letter of credit on the London bankers and acknowledged the receipt of the inclosures mentioned in this letter.

[7] Glentworth served until Feb. 5, 1861.

weeks in Paris: at the expiration of which period I proceeded by land to Rome, arriving here on the 14th day of November.

On the 27th my predecessor had his audience of leave, and presented his letters of recal [*sic*]; after which I presented my letters of credence to his Holineses in Person.

Using the French language I said in substance as follows:

I have the honor to present to your Holiness letters of credence as Minister Resident of the United States of America near the holy seat.

It is to me a most pleasant duty as it affords me an opportunity of expressing to your Holiness the sincere desire of His Excellency the President of the United States to cultivate and strengthen friendship, and a good understanding between the two countries, and to renew to your Holiness the expression of his sincere esteem. But the letters of his Excellency the President express these sentiments with more force and dignity than I am able to.

For myself I have but one wish, It is that during my mission I may be able to advance the cordial understanding between the two countries, and deserve the good will of your Holiness. Will your Holiness permit me to express to him the sentiments of my profound respect and veneration, etc. etc. etc.

I was received by his Holiness with his usual kindness and cordiality. He replied to the remarks I had made, (using also the French language) reciprocating the good feelings I had expressed on the part of the President, welcoming me to Rome, and concluded with a most happy and agreeable compliment to the Proclamation of his excellency the President against the "fillibusteri" which had appeared that morning in the *Giornale di Roma.*[8]

I have the honor to inform the Department that I have established the Legation at the Palazzo Simmonetti al Corso. That I have been most kindly and courteously received by the large and most distinguished Diplomatic Corps now resident here, who have already extended to me such peculiar courtesy and hospitality, that I can have no difficulty in fulfilling that part of my instructions which direct me to cultivate "friendly social Relations with the members of the Diplomatic body at the place of my residence." I have had the honor also of exchanging civilities with all the principal officers of the Papal Government, and manny [*sic*] of the distinguished and influential citizens of Rome.

I have the honor to enclose herewith two letters, which were sent to me on the 4th by his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State. His Eminence informs me that they are the reply of his Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth to the two letters of his Excellency the President of the United States of America, the one recalling Mr. Cass, and the other the letter of credence of his successor.

I have the honor also to acknowledge the receipt of the Instruction of the Department (No. 2) enclosing the Commission of Mr. Horatio

[8] This was the Proclamation of Oct. 30 against the illegal expeditions to Nicaragua. Richardson, *Messages,* V, 496-497.

de V. Glentworth as consul of the United States at this Place. I have in compliance with the directions therein contained already applied to the Papal Government for the usual Exequatur.

I am also in the Receipt of Despatch (no 4) dated Oct. 14th 1858,[9] notifying me of a box having been forwarded to this Legation containing books for the Legation, and others for Presentation to the Papal Government, the box has not yet come to hand, nor has (no. 3) of the instructions of the Department yet arrived.

I have the honor in conclusion to inform the Department that the sum of five hundred dollars allowed for the contingencies of this Legation is inadequate to the purpose. I find since my arrival here that the sum of one thousand dollars per annum was allowed to my predecessor. The postage account and other necessary expenses connected with and classed therein will itself absorb much more than the sum allowed me; It will be necessary for me to change existing arrangements which are in my opinion, economical, and beneficial if I am limited to the sum mentioned in my instructions (No. 1).

In addition to the ordinary contingencies of this Legation, It is necessary in order to comply with the orders of the Department, that I should purchase blank books in which to copy and preserve the " Archives ".

It is necessary to procure some proper cases in which to place the library already here, and those books which are daily expected. They are valuable and necessary, if in a position where they are accessible. But those books which the Department has sent to the Legation here I found in the fourth story of the Apartment of the Vice Consul, still in boxes in which they came. The Vice Consul informs me that since 1848 he has kept them *with out any charge or compensation therefor.*

The importance which this mission has in the eyes of the Catholic powers of Europe, the present political position of the continent; the relations between the propaganda and the Catholic Church in America and throughout the World, make Rome as a point of observation one of the most important diplomatic positions abroad.

All the great powers are represented here by Ministers Plenipotentiary, who are the men of the first rank and position in the countries from which they are sent. The Diplomatic Corps is said to be the largest as it is the most distinguished in Europe. There are probably more resident American families here than in any capital of Europe, while in the winter season Rome is filled with our countrymen who come to visit the Capital of the Caesars and the Pontiffs.

It was a great mistake to classify this mission in reference to its *commercial* relations alone, a proper regard to the politics of Europe, the dignity of our Country, The comfort and satisfaction of thousands of our citizens require that this mission should be placed on a different footing.

[9] Not found, but the contents are here indicated.

While I feel it my duty to state these facts for the information of the department, and while I hope that the country may be benefitted by the judgment of the Department on these; yet the only practical application that it seems proper for myself as incumbent of the position to make, is to suggest that they are an additional reason why the contingent fund should be increased rather than decreased at this time.

I therefore respectfully request the department to permit me to draw an account of the contingent fund (at least for the first year) for fifteen hundred dollars ($1500) or as much of the same as I may find necessary.

[*Postscript:*] The ordinary and customary presents which I am informed were formerly in some measure voluntary, are now presented in the shape of a regular bill, the bill on my presentation was over 28 scudi. Similar bills I am informed will be presented next week, and at various times during the fêtes.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 2.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome March 1st 1859

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the despatch of the Department dated October 14th 1858 and No. 3, accompanied by a silk flag for the use of this Legation.

I have the honor to inform the department that I have not been an inattentive observer of the political movements of Europe since my arrival here, but have delayed writing to the department, under the full believe [*sic*] and acknowledge that nearly all the reported movements, were but the deductions of the ignorant from facts which were not significant. All has up to this point been wild conjecture.

The politics of Europe as the Department is well aware is at the present moment centered in Rome. The Italian question is the knot to be untied. Whether the abnormal condition of the Papal States can much longer exist; whether it can be changed without *internal* commotion, whether the opportunity will be seized by Sardinia assisted by the new alliance with France (and probably England and Prussia) to check the advances of Austria, are all questions freely discussed, and upon which there are a great variety of opinions: the only *fact* which has transpired, is that the Papal Government have demanded the withdrawal of the French and Austrian troops. *This was not done in an offensive manner as has been reported here* and may be published; but Cardinal Antonelli requested the Ambassador of France to inform the Emperor that as the French troops had come as friends at their request, and as the emergency was now past, he wished the troops withdrawn.[10] The French Minister answered

[10] Some account of these negotiations will be found in De Cesare, *op. cit.*, pp. 222 *et seq.*; and in Giuseppe Leti's *Roma e lo Stato Pontificio dal 1849 al 1870*, I, ch. 6.

by asking the question, whether Austria would withdraw her troops from the Papal territory! After consultation with the Austrian Ambassador, the Ambassador of France was informed, that the Austrian troops would withdraw if the French did. The Emperor of the French has replied to their Minister by telegraph, and while the exact words of the telegraph are unknown, I am satisfied that unless some change, or new difficulty should arise, the intention *at present* is, that gradually (in the course of the summer) the French and Austrian troops will be removed.

It is said by some that there will be a revolution here in twenty four hours after the French leave. It is insisted by others that the Papal Government can sustain itself. I cannot myself see sufficient reason to apprehend a serious disturbance of the present peaceful condition of the Papal States, unless the flame should be kindled in Northern Italy.

I have the honor to inform the Department that I received in due course the exequatur upon the Commission of Mr. H. V. D. Glentworth as Consul at Rome from the Papal Government, and delivered it to him as instructed. Mr. Glentworth has been in the discharge of his duties here for some time past.

[*Postscript:*] The Hon. Wm. B. Read the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plen. of the United States of America to China arrived here yesterday from Naples, on his route to America in good health.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass.[11]

Legation of the United States of America at Rome April 22 [1859].

I have the honor of informing the department that Private telegraphs have this moment been received here, that the French are advancing their troops. That Piedmont has refused the Austrian Ultimatum, and that war will arrive within a week.

These telegraphs are believed here by the representatives of the countries concerned.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 4.

Sir, Legation of the United States of America at Rome April 29th 1859

I had the honor to forward to the Department a few days ago the contents of a private despatch which had been handed to me a few moments before by the Cardinal Sec. of State.

Since that time the Austrian force has been largely increased at Ancona. I have just received the Intelligence that the Tuscan Army had demanded

[11] This was a private despatch, but in the series is No. 3.

to be led against Austria. But the Grand Duke[12] being bound both by treaty and the ties of blood to sustain Austria was obliged to refuse. Upon which the Army revolted: assisted by the people, they have hoisted the tricolor throughout Tuscany; the Grand Duke has fled to Bologna, after committing his family to the Diplomatic Corps, and appointing a provisional Government. There have been demonstrations in Rome sufficient to satisfy every one, that the presence of the French Army here is the sole cause of quiet.

There has been great excitement all day on account of the rumor that the French troops were about to leave. It was reported this morning that one Regiment had left, but upon inquiry I find that they have not yet gone, although orders have arrived for them to join the Army of the Alps. In the mean time the French have asked for reinforcements, and as the news of the Revolution in Tuscany had not reached Paris, when the orders recalling the 40th Regiment from this place were sent, it is believed that the Emperor will strengthen his position here by sending reinforcements.[13]

A telegraph was received to-day at the Vatican to the effect that Russia had formed an alliance with France: offensive, and defensive. If this should be verified, the position of Austria will be so critical, that it would lead one to suppose that her policy would be changed, that if hostilities had not already occurred she would be willing to make further sacrifices for the sake of Peace. The possibility of a Congress to settle the affairs of Europe may again be revived.

But the general impression is that Italy can no longer be restrained. The excitement is wonderful! A letter from Tuscany tells me that the roads, are full of young men marching to Piedmont and singing songs of Liberty. In spite of the efforts of the Police and the government, the young men of Rome have in large numbers followed their example.

Whether they will be able to strike a blow in the right direction or not cannot yet be determined.

There are a large number of Americans in Rome with their families, who have been spending the winter here, or who have recently arrived to take part in the ceremonies of Holy Week. I have felt it my duty to advise them against going to Florence, and those who wished to leave here have mostly gone by Civita Vecchia to Marseilles. There are still manny remaining and as it is quite possible that the French may take the line off from Civita Vecchia for transports, I have thought it prudent to direct a note to the Flag officer La Vallete who I am informed is with the *Wabash* at Naples, asking information in regard to his contemplated

[12] Leopold II. See note 12, p. 23.

[13] On the very day on which Stockton was writing, Francis Joseph declared war against Sardinia, and the movement of his troops on the next day, into Sardinian territory, was soon followed by a French declaration of war against Austria.

movements, and informing him of the position of the political affairs of Italy, as far as they have reached Rome.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. [No. 5].

Legation of the United States of America at Rome May 7th 1859

I had the honor under the date of the 29th to forward a despatch to the Department (No. 4) giving an account as far as it had reached us of the revolution in Tuscany. Subsequent accounts have confirmed the intelligence, the Grand Duke has it is said made his way to Vienna, and the Dutchy is in the hands of a provisional government who have sought the protection of Sardinia.[14] The tricolor floats over all the monuments and fortresses and Leghorn has been given up to the governor appointed by Sardinia. The Tuscan example has been followed by Parma and Piacenza, and it is expected that Lombardy will soon follow.

The information in the abscence [*sic*] of a free press reaches Rome almost entierely by telegraph to the Ministers or the officials of government and yet these telegraphs have been so erroneous at times, that it is dangerous to receive them as true until confirmed. In the state of excitement existing throughout Europe a rumor of a movement of troops, the passage of a boundary line, or an offensive or defensive combination is seized upon at once by some member of the Diplomatic Corps, and telegraphed to his country's representatives from Capital to Capital; and I have therefore refrained from communicating the thousand stories which keep Rome from day to day and hour to hour in a state of intense excitement.

I stated to the government in my last despatch that it was repeated that an alliance defensive and offensive had been formed between Russia and France. This it will be observed has been contradicted to the British Government, but in such a guarded manner that the best English diplomatists here believe it to be true. It is said and believed that Russia will at least take this opportunity of returning to Austria the policy which she acted upon in the Crimean War, *viz* an armed neutrality, with such a force on the boundary line as to drain the resources of the other party.

The papal government is pursuing a policy, which is dictated by the instincts of self preservation, and yet requires all the acute and powerful mind of the Cardinal Secretary of State to make successful. The tendencies of the Government, and the preservation of the high church party make it both the inclination and the policy of the Government to side

[14] This provisional government, which was constituted under the direction of Bettino Ricasoli, soon showed its intention of uniting Tuscany with Sardinia. Bianchi, *Diplomazia Europea in Italia,* VIII, 69-101; some Ricasoli letters are printed, *ibid.,* pp. 534, 575, 588, 622-627, 651. See also Thayer, *Cavour,* II, index, for references to Ricasoli's part in this movement; and A. Gotti and M. Tabarini, *Lettere e documenti del barone Bettino Ricasoli* (Florence, 1898), especially Vol. IX.

with Austria. With the Austrian troops at Ancona and Bologna, and the French troops at Civitta Vecchia and Rome, the papal States would naturally be one of the great battle grounds of the contestants. With nearly all of the Roman people sympathizing with France and Sardinia, *this* would under ordinary circumstances have been the place, where the flag of rebellion or liberty would have been first unfurled. Yet so far, the example of Tuscany, followed by the other Italian States, supported by the powerful governments that are said to have espoused the cause of Italian Liberty, have not aroused the people even in the Legations.

There as in Tuscany the government is believed to be Austrian, the people are all for France, Sardinia, and Italy. It is not for want of turbulent spirits, it is not from fear of a government who cannot depend on a single regiment in their army to act against the popular cause, that a revolution has not already occurred here. But it arises from other causes. It is not that the French have any sympathy with the government. For it is the very cause for which they have drawn the sword in Nothern [*sic*] Italy, that they are now bound most unwillingly to oppose, and whose exhibitions and results they seek to suppress in Rome.

The French in 1848 came into Rome not as conquerors, but as allies; they came in when the gates were opened, not over the walls. They came and have remained by invitation to support and protect the head of the Catholic faith. France and Austria being the two great Catholic countries of Europe vie with one another in their respect and devotion to the church. France is a more religious country, with more priests and prelates, than it was in the time of the great Napoleon, when only commencing to recover from the effects of the infidelity of the age of reason. If France should permit or encourage any movement here against the civil government of his Holiness, the anathema of the church might be a blow to him at home, which manny campaigns, as brilliant as his uncles could not compensate for. If coming to Rome as an ally he should render himself liable to the charge, of using his position here to injure the papal government, or should even fail to do all in his power to prevent a movement here—Austria would gain the moral weight in Catholic Europe, which the Emperor seeks at least to divide with her. And this is a weapon none know better how to use, than the distinguished leaders of the Papal Government.

It was rumored that there was in preparation a manifesto in favor of Austria. It is known that the movement received an autograph letter from the Emperor assuring him of his protection and that in the case of the success of France, not a foot of the territory, nor a portion of the temporal power of the papal see would be disturbed. It is believed that the disposition of Austria is similar, and she has made similar assurances. France has promised present protection also, and it is believed that reinforcements to the army of occupation have arrived already at Civitta

Vecchia. It is said that when his Holiness received the assurance above mentioned, he placed his hand on the crucifix and said, *this and this only is my hope and protection.*

In the mean time the flame of war has kindled, *and the first blood has been shed.* The telegraph tonight announces "Ieri il namico cannoneggiò in fruttuosamente dalla direzione di Valenza. Inoltrossi da Cambio verso Sala dalla sinistra del Pò et su Fine. Lentò il passagio a Frapineto *Dei Nostri Una Ventina fra Morti e feriti.*" This is telegraphed from Turin under date of the evening of the 4th. Under the date of the 5th the telegraph says.

"Il tentativo del passagio del Pò a Frapineto incominciò il 3 alle 5 et 35 antimeridiane. Il fuoco durò fino alle 8 pomeridiane. Ricominciò ieri Mattina et durò tutta la Giornata. 3000 Austriaci erano ieri a Castelnuovo di Scrivia."

These are the two latest telegraphs that have arrived, and as it is an account of the first blood shed, and the actual commencement of the hostilities in a war the end and results of which no man can attempt to forsee I have taken the occasion to write their contents to the government.

I enclose a communication which has been sent to me by the cardinal Secretary of State. It is a circular letter which has been sent to all the diplomatic corps here.

I shall await the orders of the Department, before replying to it.

While we have no immediate interest or connection with the war, it may be proper for us to restate our adherence to those principles of the law of Nations appealed to.

The French troops I have just been informed are arriving here in force. I feel quite confident that Rome will remain quiet, but I shall remain stationery until the Americans *all go,* and *the fever comes*; at which time with the permission of the department I will remove my family to a healthy spot.

(*Translation.*)

FROM THE VATICAN 2900

May 3th. 1859.

The cherished hopes for the maintenance of the European peace being unhappily nearly vanished in consequence of what has been announced by the official newspapers and specially after the formidable preparations of war between two powerful nations, it may be infered [*sic*] that hostilities are now near at hand, such a lamentable circumstance cannot fail to move deeply the Holy Father, who in his sublime capacity of common Father, of the faithful, and as representative on earth of Him, who is the Author of peace, to fulfil the duties of his Apostolical Ministery, prays and supplicate most ardently the Lord, that he may grant to the whole world such a precious and dear blessing.

In his deep grief, however, His Holiness is ready to confide in the good will of the Powers, who will not desist in the undertaking of lessening, if utterly impossible to avert entirely, the dangers which are now threatning [*sic*] the peace of

Europe. But whatever may be the consequences of the present anxieties, His Holiness thinks himself entitled to believe that in the woful case of warlike events those powers will respect in every way the neutrality which the Papal Government constantly professes on account of his peculiar standing and from which he would never be able to withdraw accordingly to what he has formerly declared and explicitly declares now, for a clear understanding. His Holiness therefore, trusts that his neutrality shall be respected and that they will not bring on his territory any fighting which might endanger the States of the Holy See, or the population which are subject to it. In spite of the firm confidence that the Holy Father feels on account of the above stated reasons, the object being of such a high importance, he could not refrain to give to the undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State, the special mission of directing the present note to Your Excellency, beging [*sic*] you to make a communication of the above stated declaration to your government, pointing to him the propriety to have the Papal Government as well as his States, in such a situation as not to be diverted from the neutrality which belongs to it on account of its special standing, and whose inviolability is also warranted by the universal rights of Nations as it has been unhesitatingly acknowledged by the various Powers in similar circumstances.

In the hope to receive in due time from Your Excellency an answer in accordance with the contents of the present communication, the undersigned has the honor to confirm the feelings of his highest consideration.

G. C. ANTONELLI,

To the Minister Resident of the United States of America

JOHN P. STOCKTON TO LEWIS CASS. No. 6.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT ROME June 8th 1859

I had the honor in my last despatch (No. 5) dated May 7th to convey to the department the contents of the first telegraphs which had reached Rome, after the actual commencement of hostilities, between the allied armies of France and Sardinia, and the Austrians.

It would be idle for me to attempt to follow the events which have since transpired at the seat of War, for while we receive here the latest information by authentic telegraphs to the French and Sardinian Ministers, yet the time which elapses during the conveyance of the mail from here to Havre would make my information about five days behind that which you receive from Turin and Paris. I shall therefore confine myself to such general allusions to the events transpiring at the seat of War, as are necessary to put the department in possession of the position of the Papal States at the present time.

The Austrian forces after passing Ticino and the Po at various points advanced to within eighteen miles of Alexandria, threatening both that city and Turin. They were extended over a long line reaching from the Laggo Maggiore almost to the Papal States.

It required no military skill to detect the weakness of this position,

It was manifestly impossible for an army thus situated to resist the advance of strong concentrated bodies, striking at points too far apart to render mutual assistance. General Garibaldi with the Cacciatori delle Alpi being well acquainted with the country moved in advance to the extreme point at the North. Como and Lecco with the aid of the inhabitants, were soon in his possession, the division of General McMahon, and the portion under the command of Victor Emmanuele, were pushed forward, at every point where the attack was made, the allies were successful. If their force was weaker than the enemy at the commencement of the day, either from wise foresight large reinforcements were at hand, or a Rail Road was in use to convey in a few hours as manny as were necessary to the important point.

The wonderful and continued success of the allies in all the previous actions details of which have reached you no doubt, and the taking of Como, led to the precipitation of the decisive battle of Magenta, in which it is said the Austrians had twenty thousand killed and wounded and Seven thousand taken prisoners. Magenta being only about six miles from Milan, this battle was the signal for the Lombards Venetians to rise and strike a blow for themselves. It is said that the Austrians had left before the French arrived at Milan. The telegraph to day informs us that they have been obliged to abandon Pavia also.[15]

The moral effect of this campaign, the superior condition of the allied forces, the sympathy and aid which they receive from the inhabitants, the manifest advantage which the allies have shown themselves to possess in point of generalship, are all facts which lead to the conclusion, that unless the German confederation should come to her assistance, the dominion of Austria in Italy is near its close. If Prussia should enter the field as her ally, I think the war will become general. I do not believe that Russia can stand idle, or Great Britain preserve her armed neutrality under such circumstances. The news of the entry of the allied army into Milan, was received here with the wildest enthusiasm, the populace vied with the french soldiers in their exhibition of satisfaction.

On the night of the 5th a short time after the reception of the telegraph to the effect that the Allied Army was in Milan, I heard the noise of a multitude in motion, and on going to a window I saw the Corso as far as the eye could reach thronged with the excited populace, they were on their way to the French Ambassadors, and filled the air with their Vivás. "Viva la Francia" "Viva L'Italia" "*Milano è preso*" "Viva Victor Emmanuelle rè d'Italia," resounded on every side. They surrounded a legation nearly opposite to the Legation of the United States, and shouted "Lume" "Lume" until the windows were illuminated to their satisfaction. Thus passing from house to house they insisted upon

[15] An account of these operations with map will be found in Arrigo Solmi, *The Making of Modern Italy* (London, 1925), pp. 80-83.

having all the windows illuminated on their route, and in short time from *Love* and *fear* nearly all Rome illuminated. The succeeding night the city was illuminated but without the permission or desire of the government. It originated with the French Army here, and the Roman people spontaneously followed their example. It was feared by some, that the result of the excitement would be the disturbance of the tranquility of Rome, and some movement against the government, but whatever was intended, a notice published by the French General had the desired effect, and the whole matter passed over without any serious result.[16]

As the representative of a neutral power I of course took no part in the matter, nor did I permit the illumination of the Legation. While I cannot but feel a sympathy with the liberal movement in Italy, and could not hear the shout " Milano è prèso " without a thrill of Joy; yet as our country has adopted the policy of avoiding entangling alliances and has no part to take in these affairs at present, I avoided all exhibition of interest in them. The fact that in the middle of these demonstrations, no breach of the peace or violence occurred has satisfied everyone that as long as the French are here, there will be no serious movement against the papal government in Rome.

The two incongruous sentiments of love for the French, and fear of French bayonets, unite to preserve an unwilling peace in Rome.

It is certainly a most extraordinary position of affairs. The General of Division of the Army of Italy stationed in Rome is obliged to suppress any undue exhibition of sympathy for the cause of Italian liberty, as an attack on the government here; and in the middle of their own joy, the French stop to tell the Romans not to rejoice; while the Roman populace are literally hugging and embracing the French soldiers in the streets.

I have the honor to inform the department that the communication which I forwarded to the department in despatch No. 5, (from the Papal Government in reference to its neutrality) has been answered already by most of the European powers, Austria France and Sardinia have all guaranteed the neutrality of the papal States in their replies, Sardinia *it is said* not so clearly and absolutely as France and Austria. I answered the letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State immediately on the receipt of the circular, simply stating that I had complied with his request and forwarded the circular to our government, and would take an opportunity of communicating to him the reply of our government when it arrived.

The Americans with the exception of a few artists who pass their summer in the neighbourhood have all left Rome. Most of them went by steamer from Civitta Vecchia to Marseilles direct.

The *Wabash* and *Macedonian* both touched at Civitta Vecchia, and

[16] A vivid description of these days in Rome is given by De Cesare, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-195. Gen. De Goyon's notice is there printed, pp. 230-231.

were the objects of great attention and admiration, I visited the ships at that place and cannot refrain from expressing the feeling of pride and satisfaction which as the representative of the country I felt in the admirable model of a Steam Man of War which was presented in the case of the *Wabash,* and the effective condition of our small naval force here. Flag officer La Valette has gone with the *Wabash* to Naples and the *Macedonian* followed him on the 29th of May. The death of the King of Naples, being an event which manny thought would be the cause of a bloody revolution, made it proper for our force to be in that neighbourhood, at the time it occurred. But the department have no doubt heard that it has not been attended with any serious results, and that his son has peaceably ascended the throne under the title of Francesco Secondo.

The season is unusually warm here, and there is already much sickness prevailing. But the exciting events which are daily occurring have made me feel it my duty to remain here, and I shall not leave the city of Rome until I am satisfied that there is no cause to apprehend any new or offensive movement here.

I had the honor some months ago to address to the department a communication in which I suggested that this was a mission of more importance than was generally supposed and should be put on a different footing.

Since that time I have seen with some surprize the view taken of this mission in Congress, in the debate on the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill.[17] As far as I am individually concerned it is not a matter of any importance whether the mission is suppressed or not: as far as the dignity of our country is concerned I think it is much better to put all the minor missions in a more dignified position by giving them the title of Minister Plenipotentiary, and sending secretaries of Legation, or else to recal them all as has been suggested.

The Diplomatic Corps here composed of more than thirty has but two " Ministers Resident ". Most of the Legations have three or four secretaries and attachés. Why our country should put itself voluntarily in the position, where their ministers are in a lower position than the ministers from Central America, Nicaragua, Guatimala, the Dutchy of Baden, and other small powers, I do not see. Nor do I see any propriety in our ministers being obliged to pay a private secretary, and perform themselves the duties of Secretary of Legation, when the law permits the appointment of one.

As far as I am personally concerned these matters are now of very little moment, but for the dignity of our country, and that she may not

[17] When the appropriation bill for diplomatic and consular expenses for the year ending June 30, 1860, was before Congress, Mr. Garnett of Virginia moved to strike out the appropriation for Rome. The amendment was carried but the item was restored by the Senate. *Congressional Globe,* 35 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 460-462, 546-553, 1429.

suffer from a want of proper information on the subject I beg leave respectfully to suggest, that an Envoy Extraordinary with a competent secretary should be sent where ever a Legation is necessary.

That where they are believed to be unnecessary they had better be recalled.

I enclose herewith a reply to a circular forwarded to me by W. Medill Comptroller of the Treasury, in reference to the currency in Rome.[18]

I have also affixed to this despatch the last official telegraph which has arrived in Rome from the seat of War.

Dispacci Officiali.

Comunicatici dall' I. Ambasciata di Francia.

Sulla battaglia di Magenta riceviamo i seguenti dettagli: [19]

Il numero degli Austriaci pare sia stato di 120 mila combattenti, sono stati presi loro 4 cannoni, due bandiere, 12 mila fucili e 4000 zaini trovati sul campo di battaglia. Essi hanno avuto 20,000 uomini posti fuori di combattimento e 7000 fatti prigioniere.

Le perdite degli alleati ascendono a 5000 morti e feriti. I generali Espinasse e Leclerc sono stati uccisi.[20]

Domenica mattina, gli austriaci hanno abbandonato Milano, così pure il Castello ed i posti militari, lasciando dietro loro un gran materiale da guerra e la cassa centrale ben provvista di denaro.

Il municipio di Milano ha presentato un indirizzo al Re di Sardegna, all presenza dell' Imperatore. Le Loro Maestà dovevano entrare in Milano nella giornata di martedì.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 7.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome June 16th 1859

Sir

Since I had the honor of writing my last despatch our intelligence from the seat of war has been such as was expected from the great events which had preceded.

A deputation of the municipal body in Milan presented to the King of Sardinia in the presence of the Emperor, an expression of the unanimous wish of the people of Lombardy to renew the compact of 1848 and to proclaim the adhesion of Lombardy to Piedmont. After the battle of " Magenta " the enemy retreated towards the Adda, and a large quantity of horses and ammunition fell into the hands of the Allies.

On the 8th a new victory was gained at Melgano [Melegnano]. Marshall Baraguey d'Hilliers attacked il capo d'Armata of general Benedick, and expelled the Austrians from that city in which they were

[18] Not found.

[19] Concerning the battle of Magenta, see Thayer, *Cavour,* II, 27 *et seq.*; Solmi, *Making of Modern Italy,* pp. 80-83.

[20] Footnote in original: " Il generale Espinasse comandava la seconda divisione del corpo del generale Mac-Mahon ".

entrenched. The Austrians also abandoned Levano, and took steamer into the Swiss waters, leaving a great quantity of provisions. Lavenno is therefore in the hands of the allies and the Lago Maggiore entirely free. The Count Cavour was at Milan on the 8th.[21]

On the 9th the Dutchess of Parma left after liberating the troops from their oaths of fidelity, and the government was carried on by a commission nominated by the municipality. They have since sent a deputation to Victor Emmanuele praying him to take the government of the country.[22]

On the 10th we learned by telegraph that the Austrians had definitely abandoned not only Pavia but Lodi, that General Garibaldi had occupied Bergamo since the 8th.

On the 11th there were further particulars of the retreat of the Austrians, they had repassed the Adda and destroyed the bridges. They had evacuated "*Piàcenza*" after destroying the cittadel. The French were at Brescia. The Austrians have evacuated Pozzighelture and have retreated behind l'Oglio.

On the 13th it is officially announced that Brescia and Cremona are free, that a post of the French Army *had passed the Adda without a battle.* And on the same day we received the news of the resignation of the Derby Ministry, and that Lord Palmerston and Grenville had been called by the Queen.[23]

The effect of the rapid advance of the allies, together with the fact that a large naval force (which is expected before manny days to bombard Venice), is in the Adriatic: has induced the Austrians to withdraw their troops from Ancona, and Bologna. *This has caused a decided demonstration in the Romagna.*

That the present position of Lombardy, with the example of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, and the recent movement in the Romagna, will exercise a serious and important influence in the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, cannot be doubted. Whether it will force the new administration to a French policy, or whether the people will be satisfied with any thing less than a complete change in the government are matters much speculated upon here.

There are those who see in all the signs of the times the clear indication, that the original plan was to unite all Italy under the King of Sardinia,

[21] An account of the movements mentioned in this despatch will be found in Thayer, *Cavour,* II, 36 *et seq.*; see also Solmi, *Making of Modern Italy,* pp. 83-85. Baraguey d' Hilliers commanded the First Corps of the French Army, while Count Ludwig von Benedek was in command of the Austrians.

[22] Maria Louisa, Duchess of Parma, took flight on May 1, was restored May 4, and on June 9 again fled. The patriotic party on June 16 received Count Diodato Pallieri, whom Victor Emmanuel appointed governor. Thayer, *op. cit.,* p. 68.

[23] Lord Derby's ministry, while pledged to neutrality, was in sympathy with the Austrians. Granville, favored by the queen, failed to form a ministry, and on June 18 a new cabinet was organized with Palmerston as premier. British policy in the War of Liberation is well discussed in Ward and Gooch, eds., *Cambridge Hist. of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919* (Cambridge, 1923), II, 430-451.

and they say that step by step each portion has quietly done its part, at the signal from Cavour. Those who take this view insist that whenever the time arrives and events are ripe the Neapolitans are ready, they predict with certainty the union of all Italy under Victor Emanuelle, and that his Holiness deprived of the Romagna, and stripped of temporal power will be ultimately confined to Rome and the Comarca.

It is I think certain that his Holiness *will never consent to govern with a constitution,* and if this Italian question is ever settled satisfactorily it must be by giving to the different Italian States either separately or collectively *a constitutional government.* So that we are almost driven to the conclusion that no *final settlement* of this difficult question can be made, without depriving the Pope of his *temporal* power, or confining his jurisdiction within the limits of the Comarca. Although as I have previously stated the belief is general among the well informed that the integrity of the Papal government has been guaranteed, yet this is not inconsistent with the arrangement I have alluded to; for as long as the prescence of a Foreign force was necessary to preserve its integrity, the same abnormal condition of things would exist as before the war. The French can and may for years to come preserve the papal government against its own people; but if the other Italian States should gain their desire of a constitutional government, the withdrawal of a foreign force, would be the signal for a Revolution here, which might end in depriving the government of all temporal authority without any foreign interference. Therefore it is more probable that when a settlement comes, whether by the interference of a neutral power or by other means, the Romagna will fall under some Constitutional government, and his Holiness be confined in *the territorial limits,* or the *objects of his Jurisdiction.*

These of course are only speculations, and entitled to very little weight. It is however the only theory that I can contrive to reconcile the guaranties given to the pontifical government with the course of events.

If these guaranties should be violated, and any sudden movement should precipitate events beyond the control of those who are trying to guide them, there might not be any necessity that acts and words should be made consistent.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 8.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome June 18th 1859

Since my last despatch (No. 7) in which I had the honor of stating to the Department that, "There had been a decided demonstration in the Romagna," the particulars in reference to it have arrived in Rome. After the departure of the Austrian troops from Bologna the Inhabitants of

that city and other neighbouring places declared for the Sardinian government and have asked the protection of Victor Emanuelle.[24]

The Swiss who had been sent to supress the insurrection have according to my prediction, refused to fight against the popular cause. They had proceeded no further than Civitta Castellane, when they mutinied against their officers and after a conflict among themselves a large portion went to Sardinia, and the remainder returned to Rome, with the wounded.

I have just received intelligence (from a confidential source) that upon the appearance of a statement in the *Moniteur Toscanne* that the Marquis d'Asulgio had been sent as a commissioner to the Romagna by Victor Emanuele,[25] a conclave of Cardinals had been called and that it had been *secretly* resolved, that if he came into the States of the Church on such an errand, his Holiness would issue his Bull of Excommunication against him, immediately.

It is believed that if this is true, it will lead to a rupture between the Pope and the French and that the crisis will soon arrive with this government.

If the Information is verified that a commissioner has been sent to the Romagna, it will undoubtedly be for the very purpose of creating a Rupture in order to relieve the Allies from their position here, and to carry out the scheme of an Italian Union. And under these circumstances, as a counter movement, the pope may issue his "Anathema" and call on the catholic powers to come to his assistance, and thus they may seek to assist Austria, out of the very means taken by the allies to unite the elements of opposition.

But I am inclined to think that the terrors of the Papal thunderbolt have lost their influence, even in the catholic world.

Some trouble might be created in France if the ecclesiastics could be induced to act, but not I think sufficient to alter the result, if the allies should continue triumphant in Lombardy. There is a report here that the Austrians have demanded an "Armistice" on what grounds it is not known. The *Wabash* was at Ancona on the 15th expecting to go from there to Trieste. The *Macedonian* was at the last accounts still at Naples. I regret much to say that by a letter from Ancona I am informed that a Russian Frigate which had recently arrived at Messina from Smyrna,

[24] June 12 the Liberals demanded of Cardinal Milesi, the papal legate, a dictatorship under Victor Emmanuel, but to this invitation Cavour replied that it would be imprudent for the king to accept at this time. The provisional government, under Marquis Gioachino Pepoli and d'Azeglio, continued in office and became the centre of an uprising which spread to three-fourths of the Pope's dominions. Thayer, II, 68-69; Leti, I, 371-372; and see Bianchi, *op. cit.*, VIII, 492-494, for text of letters from Cardinal Antonelli to the papal legate, May 13, 21, 1859, on the situation in Bologna.

[25] Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio was sent as commissioner to Bologna, where he appointed as assistants Marquis Pepoli minister of finances, Professor Montanari in charge of internal affairs, and Gen. Ferdinand Pinelli minister of war. Thayer, II, 71; Leti, I, 365-366.

brought the intelligence "that another revolt had taken place in India even more formidable than the first".

If this should be unfortunately true it will embarrass the Palmerston government much, greatly I fear to the injury of the whole continent. There was a British fleet of six large vessels including the *Envyalus* steamer at Civitta Vecchia a few days since, and they are still I am informed, cruising off the coast.

The fever is prevailing here to some extent, two of my domestics, natives of Rome have been sick with it.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 9.

Legation of the United States of America June 19th 1859

After completing the despatch No. 8 dated yesterday, I received this morning the enclosed letter from the cardinal Secretary of State giving an account of what had occured in the Romagna.

It will be remembered by the Department that both France and Sardinia have acceded to the neutral position taken by the Papal States in their replies to the circular letter I had the honor of forwarding to the Department. The present letter amounts therefore to a charge against Sardinia of violating the neutrality by sending a governor to the provinces which have rebelled and called on Victor Emanuelle for assistance, being written after the Public announcement of that fact. And the final statement that the Holy Father will resort to all means in his power to keep inviolate the rights of the Holy See, and the appeal to the Justice of all nations seems to place the Papal government in direct warfare with the allied cause, and change the position heretofore assumed of neutrality. It is said that when the rebellion first occurred the French General here offered to stop it if he could be authorized to say that the Government of the Papal States had declared for France, but that this was refused.

How it is possible for the Government of the Papal States to continue much longer independent, when the same alliance which is so violently denounced for its conduct in the Romagna, is the real and efficient power in Rome, it is hard to imagine.

And yet it will be seen from my despatch of yesterday that the Holy Father had no means of preserving order, that his soldiers had all refused to act. The Austrians had been obliged to desert the position and could not continue the occupation which under the declaration of neutrality was to continue as the French occupation of Rome. So that when the rebellion had taken place and the Papal arms had been torn down the Country would have remained without government if the Sardinians had refused to protect it.

It is to such positions and occurrences that we are to look for the solu-

tion of the problem, and which are expected to remove the difficulties which surround the singular position of the Papal Government as regards the allied cause, as referred to in despatch No. 7.

The French Ambassador here continues to acknowledge the Pope as the head of the government; [26] but stripped of the Romagna, and *protected* in Rome by the " Army of Italy ", while it is necessary to denounce their interference so emphatically at Bologna, the government is at this moment but a form.

June 20th

P. S. Tomorrow being the anniversary of the Holy Fathers accession to the Holy Seat, to day and to morrow the diplomatic corps visit him in full uniform. I have just returned from the interview. After the usual ceremony I said " Sainte Père Je viens féliciter Votre Sainteté de son heureux avénement au Sainte Siège etc. etc." His Holiness replied thanking me, and said " ce qui est la 14ème année de mon ascension au Saint Siège, ouvert au milieu du son des trompettes, et des tambours, es du bruit de la guerre ". He continued by deploring the sad condition of Europe; but expressed himself tranquil and contented with the will of providence. At his request I seated myself and we conversed for a half hour principally on the effect of the change of the English Ministry.

I had afterwards a long interview with the Sec. of State, and I learn that the notice of the appointment of a governor to the Romagna, by Sardinia, is not official yet, *that every thing possible is being done to prevent it, and with some hope of success. This no doubt was the object of the threat of ecclesiastical denunciation, alluded to in despatch No. 6.*

FROM THE CHAMBERS OF THE VATICAN. (No. 4210)

June 18th 1859.

It is now well known that subsequently to the rebellion of the neighbouring Tuscany there was an increase in the political intrigues which for a length of time had kept in agitation Bologna, where by a revolutionary Club, a movement was prepared which was besides fostered by foreign influence. The departure of the Austrian troops, which took place on the 12th inst. was seized as the occasion of the outbreaking. Seditious voices, armed men, cockades and tricolored flags, were the first signals. The Palace of the Legate, was surrounded, the pontifical coat of arms were taken down, (notwithstanding the disapprobation of the honest people), approved by the cries of the ringleaders. Admist [amidst] this tumult a deputation chosen by the most conspicuous factions in the name of the inhabitants of Bologna, audaciously manifested to his Eminence the Legate,[27] that it had been decided to confer the Dictatorship upon King Victor Emanuelle and to take an active part in the war of Independence. The pontifical authority protested against such an insolence, in the presence of those who stood near him, and after having consigned another written protestation he repaired to Ferrara. This example of fellony was immediately followed, and nearly in the same way, by Ravenna and its Provinces,

[26] Antoine, Duc de Gramont, who was transferred from Turin to Rome, Aug. 16, 1857.
[27] Cardinal Milesi; see note 24, *ante*.

and also by Perugia; all by the instigation and artful suggestions of well known men, who are unrelenting in using every cunning means and efficacious device (helped also by strangers) to seduce little by little the other provinces, th[r]ough the Papal Government; which is doing its best to stop the torrent with the aid of those troops who have remained faithful. Such horrid events succeding one another under the eyes of all cannot but fill with bitterness the paternal soul of the Holy Father, who has been compelled to behold the many fraudulet [*sic*] and artful ways that have been used to detach from his authority and Government several provinces, which were always the principal object of his sollicitude and kind benefits. The Holy Father, being however compelled by the duty of his conscience and by the sacred oath, to guard the holy patrimony of the Church, entrusted to his care, and to transmit it unimpaired to his successors, while he has directed the undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State, to impart to Your Excellency, the acts of rebellion which were enacted in some districts of his States, and to the prejudice of his sovereign authority and independence acknowledged by all the European Powers; He has also ordered it to be declared, that he cannot acknowledge any of the acts and dispositions resorted to by the illegitimate Government, there established; and he makes therefore an appeal to the feeling of Justice of the Government, which you have the honor of representing. His Holiness, reserves, besides, to himself the power to resort to all acts necessary to keep safe by all means which Providence has intrusted to him the most sacred and inviolable rights of the Holy See.[28]

The undersigned confirms meanwhile to Your Excellency the feelings of his highest consideration.

G. Cl. Antonelli.

Sig. Ministri degli Stati Uniti di America.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 10.

Legation of the United States of America. Rome June 25th 1859.

Sir

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter adressed by me yesterday to the Papal Government, on the subject of acts of violence and robbery committed by the Papal soldiers against a citizen of the United States and his family.

Mr. Perkins was travelling with the usual Passports from his own government properly viséd; his passage was an "innocent passage". He had no reason when he left Rome, to know that Perugia was not as tranquil as any other part of the Papal States. The fact of their avowed neutrality in the war made their territory a most proper spot for the traveller from a neutral country.

A peaceful revolution *of the inhabitants* against the papal government occurred during his sojourn; but the rights of all were respected, and no acts of excess occurred.

Before handing the enclosed letter to the Sec. of State I had a personal interview with him, and I regret to say that from the views he expressed

[28] For the text of an Allocution, issued June 20, bearing upon this situation, see *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. I, Vol. III, 84-89.

I fear that there will be a serious difficulty, and difference of opinion as to the Law of nations in reference to the matter.

1. I believe that the ground will be taken that it was a place taken by assault and they had a right to sack it.

2. That Mr. Perkins had no right to complain as he voluntarily remained in a town that he knew was about to be assaulted.

3. That it was during a revolution and that therefore they are not responsible for the occurrence.

It is unnecessary for me to say to the government, that propositions more shocking to the Law could not be propounded.

To consider Perugia in a State of Siege and as taken by assault in the sense which would have justified it rather palliated robbery murder and outrage in the mind of a barbarous enemy, is *to mistake the facts, and to insult the law.*

If the facts which are reported here are verified it will appear that a brutal and hireling soldiery were turned loose on the unresisting inhabitants.[29] That after all the little resistance that had been made was finished, that in violation of the custom of civilized nations; the unarmed, and the defenceless, without regard to age or sex, were shot down in cold blood. The two cases recorded by Mr. Perkins of the Maitre d'Hotel, and the servant who waited on them occurred as you will perceive before his eyes. I have taken the position in the interview I had with his Eminence.

1st. That it was not an act arising from a revolutionary movement, (that strangers were not injured by the revolutionists), but it was the robbery and assault of an American citizen by the Papal troops, with a knowledge that he was a citizen of the United States.

2d. That if it was the result of a revolution, or more, if it had been even the *act of those who changed the government,* the Papal Government were still responsible, and should punish the guilty, and restore the goods or make recompense. *Car une tête malade ne laisse pas pour cela d'être une tête.*

3d. That the laws of civilized warfare would not justify the transaction, and even *if it were true* that Mr. Perkins might have left the town, he had no right, and was not bound, to suppose, that with the evidence of his nationality, endowed by the Papal Government in his pocket, he was in any danger from *the intentional acts of Papal troops.* A citizen from a neutral territory injured by *accident* when he voluntarily remains, is widely different, from one who *in defiance of his nationality is purposely made the victim of assault and robbery.*

The effect of my conversation was that without giving up his positions, the Secretary of State informed me that he would inquire into the facts, that the conversation he had had with me *was not intended as any*

[29] Thayer, *Cavour,* II, 71-73, sees no justification whatever in Col. Anton Schmid's attempt to suppress the insurrection in Perugia; *cf.* Leti, *Roma e lo Stato Pontificio,* I, 385-389.

answer. It was merely private and argumentative, that he desired me to put the case in writing. I then handed him the letter I enclose, with the intimation that I desired an answer as speedily as possible, because it was not a matter which I would be justified in delaying. That if he adhered to the views he had expressed, I regretted to say that I apprehended serious difficulty, as I did not believe any christian government could sanction them.

As it is possible that his eminence may change his views, and as he expressly stated that the interview was private, and not intended as a reply, I request that this despatch so far as it relates to the interview be strictly private.

The written statement of Mr. Perkins confirms enough to satisfy me, that the most decisive action is necessary in order to protect and secure the citizens of the United States who may be temporarily domiciled, or who may be travelling in the Roman States.

If an infuriated revolutionary mob had refused to listen to the appeals of these ladies, or the declaration of his citizenship by Mr. Perkins, it would have been a shame on humanity and a gross wrong, but it has happened before, and will again, and finds its palliation in the fact, that there is no order, no one to guide, no one responsible at the moment. But in this case the soldiers of his Holiness, under the orders of their officers, commit the offence, and when redress is asked the ("*private*)" reply was that the city was taken by regular assault, and that the law gave certain rights to the soldiers in such cases.

I write to the department thus early in this matter, before any reply to my letter, because I fear that the difficulty I shall have to contend with will be an attempt to procrastinate. I can hardly believe that the government will be willing to take the position I have alluded to on paper. They will insist upon putting it in some new light by stating the facts differently, or they will delay replying to my letter under the pretence of investigating.

But as I have designated the Regiment, and it cannot be difficult to ascertain who were the plunderers of the Hotel de France, and who murdered the maitre and domestic, all delay of this kind will be evidently without reason.

I shall therefore with a full sense of the responsibility of the act feel it my duty to insist preemptorily on an immediate reply. I trust the department will instruct me how to act, in case of an unreasonable delay on the part of the papal Government, or in the event of his eminence insisting upon the extraordinary view which he took in conversation.

Hoping to hear from the department by return mail . . .[30]

[30] The facts in this case are set forth in the appended letter. Edward N. Perkins was a citizen of Boston. The fullest account of this episode is given by H. Nelson Gay, "Uno Screzio Diplomatico fra il Governo Pontificio e il Governo Americano e la condotta degli

(*Translation of Copy.*)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE HOLY SEE. ROME June 24th 1859.

The Undersigned, Minister Resident of the United States of America deems it to be his duty to bring to the knowledge of the Most Reverend, His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, facts connected with an outrage committed by the Papal Soldiers, at Perugia, of which an eminent citizen of the United States and his family have proved the victims.

Mr. Edward N. Perkins, together with Mrs. Perkins, Mrs. Doane, Mrs. Cleveland, Miss Cleveland and two servants, on their way from Rome, stopped at Perugia and, at the Hotel de France, took apartments with the intention of spending a few days. About 5 P. M. on the 21st of June, the Hotel was suddenly invaded by a brutal and savage soldiery, that sacked the house, breaking all the furniture, plundering all that could be borne away, killing, in their sight, the landlord and the servant, who was waiting upon them and committing other acts of brutal violence.

Mr. Perkins and his family are indebted for the preservation of their lives to the lucky circumstance of a secret passage, contiguous to their bedroom, in which they remained concealed for 14 hours, in company with the mother of the landlord, who had been murdered before her eyes together with one of his servants.

Neither the vindication of their quality as American citizens, nor the prayers of the weeping women could check the brutal soldiery, that pillaged and carried off every article, jewelry, money, etc. leaving them literally nothing but the skin on their body.

I am informed that the regiment to which those soldiers belong is called the "Swiss Regiment".

The facts above require no comment. Like outrages seldom take place among civilized nations, even in time of war. Women and non-combatants are always spared and exempted from pillage and insult, though they should belong to the enemy. But here the question turns upon a citizen of a friendly power, traveling with his family, composed of ladies, for pleasure and health, who are attacked in spite of the declaration of their citizenship, robbed of everything, which they possessed and securing their lives only by concealing themselves during 14 hours.

As the representative of the United States of America, I ask that immediate measures be taken to ascertain, arrest and punish those guilty of the outrage. I here add a statement of the actual value of the articles of which Mr. Perkins and his family were robbed; and I demand an immediate restitution of that Sum, together with damages for the loss of his papers and for the distress caused by said outrage.

In the meantime the Undersigned avails himself of the occasion to tender to His Most Reverend Eminence the renewed assurance of his very high consideration.

J. P. STOCKTON [31]

H. M. Revd. Eminence, Cardinal Antonelli, Secy. of State.

Svizzeri a Perugia il 20 Giugno 1859", in *Archivio Storico del Risorgimento Umbro,* Fasc. II-III (1907), pp. 113-201, which study prints all the documents relating to the case. This incident attracted so much attention in America that the President was asked to communicate to the Senate copies of the correspondence with Mr. Stockton relating to the affair. The correspondence was read in the Senate, Jan. 24, 1860. *U. S. Senate, 36th Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. 4*; Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy,* pp. 263-264.

[31] The letter of Mr. Perkins contains the same statements as are here set forth and is not therefore printed. There was also inclosed a statement of losses of articles contained in 7 trunks and 8 boxes, as follows: clothes, jewels, three gold watches, and "an infinity of

Lewis Cass to John P. Stockton. No. 4.

Department of State, Washington, July 27th, 1859.

Sir:

Your despatch No. 10, of the 25th. ultimo, in reference to the outrage perpetrated at Perugia, has been received.

You are quite right in promptly presenting the claim of Mr. Perkins and his family to the Government of Rome, and in demanding for them a just indemnity. It is hoped that this indemnity may not be refused, and that the affair will be adjusted by the Papal authorities without difficulty. Should this unhappily not be the case, as soon as the reply of Cardinal Antonelli is received, you shall be furnished with full instructions on the subject.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 11.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome August 2d. 1859

Sir:

I had the honor under date of June 25th in despatch No. 10. to state to your Excellency the case of Mr. Edward N. Perkins, a citizen of the United States of America, who, while making an innocent passage through the Papal territory with his family, was assaulted and robbed at Perugia on the 20th of June by a portion of the Foreign Legion, in the service of his holiness.

I had the honor also to communicate the particulars of a conversation between his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State and myself, on the occasion of my seeking an interview with him on the subject.

While we differed entirely in our view of the principles of law which should control the case, yet his Eminence desired that I should not consider the views he had expressed as an answer to my demand, but on the contrary desired me to present the case in writing.

This I did on the same day; and enclose herewith an exact *translation* of my letter, a copy of which has been already forwarded to the department. . . .[32]

On the morning of the 26th of June the second day after the delivery of the above letter, I had the satisfaction to receive a visit from an officer of his Eminence; he had my letter in his hand, and the claim which accompanied it, and stated to me that his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State had sent him to say to me in reply to my letter, that he wished me to furnish him with an accurate and full list of the articles

precious articles purchased in Rome", all estimated at $2000; personal apparel of maid, $150; her cash, $140; trunks and apparel of servants, $60; cash, $75—a total of $2425, to which was added the loss of personal, private, and valuable papers.

[32] This was the letter of June 24, printed above, and not here repeated.

taken with a view to their restoration, and added that steps had already been taken to seek out the guilty parties, by orders sent to Colonel Schmidt at Perugia.[33]

Being exceedingly desirous that no excuse should exist for delay, in consequence of the conversation which had occurred on the 24th and not wishing to bring Mr. Perkins and his family back to Rome, I took the post across the Papal territory to Sienna the next morning.

While in Tuscany I had the opportunity of receiving accurate information in reference to the affair of Perugia, and consulting with Mr. Perkins, whom I met by appointment at Leghorn. I also saw Madam Giudetta Storte the desolate widow of the deceased master of the hotel de France, and heard her account of the sad events which had occurred.

On the 4th day of July having prepared the exact account desired by his Eminence, I forwarded it to his Eminence with a letter intended to expedite the matter; of which the following is an exact translation.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NEAR THE HOLY SEAT.

ROME the 4th of July 1859

To His Reverend Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State

The undersigned Minister Resident of the United States of America, near the Holy Seat, in consequence of the demand of his reverend Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, has the honor to enclose herewith the claim of Mr. Edward N. Perkins, for the material loss which he experienced by acts committed by the Papal troops at Perugia on the 20th of June last.

In consideration of the fact stated to the undersigned on the 26th of June by an officer of his Reverend Eminence that the papal Government asked for the exact account of the damage caused, with the view of making immediate restitution; Mr. Perkins has fixed his reclamation at a sum which only covers the material loss, and the expenses directly resulting therefrom.

The undersigned would respectfully call the attention of his Reverend Eminence to the demand that the guilty be arrested and punished, and he believes it to be his duty to insist upon a formal and exact reply on this point. The undersigned profits by this opportunity to renew to his Reverend Eminence the assurance of his very high consideration.

JOHN P. STOCKTON

Accompanying this letter was the particulars of Mr. Perkin's claims, to which after consultation with Mr. Perkins, I added 1000 scudi for the incidental damage, which sum I considered just.

A few days afterwards in reply to a communication from the Assistant Secretary of State, the undersigned enclosed the amount of the value of the goods which had been returned by Col. Schmidt, leaving the balance due Mr. Perkins, three thousand two hundred and sixty five Roman Scudi (3265).

[33] Col. Antonio Schmid, in command of the Swiss army at Perugia. See references given in note 29, *ante*.

On the 27th day of July the Secretary of State forwarded this amount to the Legation of the United States at Rome, in Roman gold, with the following communication.

To His Excellency the Minister of America near the Holy Seat.

FROM THE VATICAN 26th July 1859.

The Undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State received regularly the valued statement of Your Excellency dated the 24th of June last, in which was represented in a light sufficiently unfavourable the behaviour of the Pontifical troops towards the American family Perkins; who by chance were in Perugia on the very day in which that city was compelled by force to return to the obedience of Legitimate Authority.

The Statement referred to the dangers and damages said family had suffered and asked for redress, besides the punishment of the guilty parties.

Such a demand could not fail to awaken the liveliest interest of the Cardinal undersigned, and having hastened to gather from the best authorities, the most accurate and precise particulars he feels himself entirely convinced and hopes that Your Excellency will also be convinced that the statement you received is not altogether conformable to the precise state of the facts which occurred in that affair.

It is then ascertained after authentic researches that the pontifical troops, after having overcome the obstacle of the barricades, occupied the Monastery of San Pietro, and marched through the outer streets of the suburb, and the inner street of the Porta San Pietro, amid a very severe fire which was kept up by the rebels, and arrived nearly opposite the Hotel di Francia, situated nearly at the end of said street, and where the Perkins family were staying, where they were obliged to sustain a more determined onset on account of a greater number of rebels there standing.

Under this same Hotel a soldier was killed, and an officer wounded by the firing of guns, which came from the windows and roof of the building, from which were also thrown large stones and tiles, with which the street was encumbered even on the following day. Irritated by the resistance the troops penetrated by force into the hotel, took possession of a large tri-colored flag which had been set up, and in the fight the proprietor was killed together with the servant and also the stable boy (formerly a postillion) who was holding a gun already discharged.

The Perkins family composed of seven persons, to speak the truth had taken no precaution whatever to put themselves in safety, although it had been suggested to them to do so by an English family, staying in the Casino Monti; a mile and a half distant from the city. Consequently when the soldiers penetrated in the hotel, the said family together with the wife and the mother of the hotel keeper and a maid servant hid themselves in a closet on the second floor, whose door could remain unobserved.

But a soldier of the 1st battalion Conrad Vellauer, having noticed it, got it open, and found those people. Being moved by the entreaties of Mr. Perkins and others, who assured him that they had kept quite inoffensive, being there by chance as travellers; the soldier not only abstained himself from hurting them, but prevented his comrades from doing them injury, staying with them about eight hours.

And it must be noticed that being offered by Mr. Perkins a purse full of money, he refused it and returned besides a gold coin of two dollars and a half, which he had found upon the carpet. Notwithstanding Mr. Perkins insisted upon present-

ing him with a banknote of 60 dollars, which is at the present moment in the hands of the general.

Whilst the individuals were so protected on the second floor, on the 1st which had remained open as well as the entrance door, the effects of the American family who inhabited it could not remain safe; some were stolen probably in the night and amidst the confusion caused by the event itself. It was not known to what sum the loss suffered by the said family amounted, but by the care of the general, several precious articles were recovered, and immediately forwarded to the owners who had gone to Florence.

After what has been said, when we consider that the troops being excessively provoked, respected notwithstanding those houses which remained quiet, that the invasion of the hotel was caused by the necessity of putting a stop to the fighting, kept up there by instigation of some one staying there, and others who managed to get an access on the roof always with the intention of attacking the troops, and that it is on those people that every responsibility should fall, the black colors in which the facts are painted will be cleared away, and we should rather consider the facts which occurred as an ordinary consequence of such lamentable events.

But as we desire to show a special regard towards the demand of Your Excellency, having taken cognizance of your note of the 4th of July, which contains the total amount of which the Perkins family rate their loss, deducting the value of the recovered articles, the undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State, trusting in the honesty of the said family, whilst he has ordered researches made in order to ascertain whether any of the soldiers have transgressed the military law and in case it can be so proved, that the guilty parties be subjected to the deserved punishment, he hands to you the corresponding sum of 3265 scudi, for which he will be happy to receive at your leisure a line of acknowledgement.

He besides avails himself with pleasure of the present occasion to confirm to your Excellency the sentiments of his distinguished consideration.

GIACOMO CARDL. ANTONELLI.

To this Communication of his Eminence I sent the following reply acknowledging the receipt of his package and communication.

(*Translation.*)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT ROME the second day of August 1859

To His Reverend Eminence The Cardinal Secretary of State.

The undersigned Minister Resident of the United States of America near the Holy Seat has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from his Reverend Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, accompanied by a package containing three thousand two hundred and sixty five Roman scudi, being the amount of the claim of Edward N. Perkins for the material loss to himself and family, by the acts of the Papal Troops at Perugia, on the 20th of June, after deducting the objects already returned by Colonel Schmidt.

The undersigned has read with great satisfaction this communication of his Eminence in reply to the letters of the undersigned of the 26th of June and 4th of July.

The prompt return of the articles recovered, the present enclosure of the value of the other objects taken, with the assurance of his Eminence of the disposition of the Government of his Holiness to seek out the offenders, and punish any vio-

lation of the military law which occurred, are manifestations of the justice, and good feeling of the Papal Government to which the undersigned cannot be insensible, and which he doubts not will be fully appreciated by the country he has the honor to represent.

Under these circumstances the undersigned does not feel called upon at present to discuss the *new matter* introduced by his Eminence, as the result of his investigation, and which his Eminence believes presents the acts complained of in milder colors. It might involve an examination into disputed facts, which in view of the prompt action of his Eminence, and the assurances contained in his letter, the undersigned sincerely hopes will be entierly [*sic*] unnecessary.

But the undersigned takes great satisfaction in admitting the noble conduct of Conrad Vellour [*sic*], of which he has been informed since he had the honor of communicating with his Eminence. Moved by their entreaties he was as his Eminence states the means of preserving them from his comrades, in the language of a communication of Mr. Perkins, " We were dragged out of the room, and should have been instantly murdered; he stopped his comrades when the steel was almost at our breasts ". And some two hours afterwards when the hotel was again invaded by another band, by a timely warning he enabled them to conceal themselves, and protected their retreat at the risk of his own life.

Mr. Perkins is deeply sensible of his services.

The undersigned cannot close this communication without expressing to his Eminence his dissent from the view his Eminence takes in reference to the precautions which were obligatory on Mr. Perkins.

His Eminence remarks " that to speak the truth the family of Mr. Perkins had taken no precaution whatever to put themselves in safety, although it had been suggested to them to do so by an English family."

The undersigned cannot admit that with the passport of his country, properly visè[d] in his hand, alike the notice of his nationality, and the pledge of the Papal Government for his security, he was bound to apprehend danger, from the *intentional acts of the forces of the Government.*

The entry of foreigners and their effects is not an absolute right. It is one of imperfect obligation. It is subject to the discretion of the Government which tolerates it. But when foreigners are admitted freely into a State, or have complied with conditions that may be required, the public faith becomes pledged for their protection.

" So he who promises security by a passport to an enemy, is morally bound to afford it against any of his subjects or forces, and to make good any damage the party might sustain by a violation of it."

Mr. Perkins had a right to rely on this principle of International law, he had a right to rely on the faith of the Government, and had no reason to dread danger, in the form of violence directed against him or his family voluntarily, by the soldiers of his holiness, who were in fact his proper protectors.

He was bound to anticipate *the natural and legal result* of the attack and defence of the place. The consequences of *the exercise of the legal rights of the conquerors.* The exercise of such rights could not affect him in their legitimate results. If Mr. Perkins or his family had been injured by an *accidental* shot, the position of his Eminence might be tenable. If he had voluntarily remained in a town which was taken by assault, it might fairly be said that he himself assumed the risk of accidents—he took the risk.

These were the risks against which the English family warned him. No one could have warned him to avoid the danger of an attack from the soldiers of the government, while employed in the course of their duty in the service of the government.

This was not to be anticipated.

The undersigned takes this opportunity to renew to his Reverend Eminence the assurance of his very high consideration.

JOHN P. STOCKTON

In submitting these letters to your Excellency the matter is concluded up to the present moment, and your excellency has the full history of the case.

While I felt it my duty to act with promptness and decision, while I was satisfied that such a course was necessary as I had the honor of stating to the department in my last despatch; yet I felt extremely anxious not to involve the country in any trouble in reference to the matter, as the complication of European and Italian politics is so great at the present moment, that any serious difficulty of the kind with the Roman Government could not be unattended with important results.

It will be observed that although the Cardinal adds facts and "new matter" which changes the complexion of the acts, yet he denies none of the facts stated, by my original letter.

As it was manifestly the object of his Eminence to apologize as well as he was able for the acts committed, and his reparation had been so prompt and unusual for this government, I thought it best not to permit myself to engage in a discussion of facts, which are at present of no importance after the concession made. But the facts you will find in the enclosed pamphlet, in the published communications, and others that I have in my possession will show that the original statement of Mr. Perkins is nearer the true colouring than that of his Eminence.

I enclose a copy of the receipt of Mr. Perkins the original of which I will file in the Legation, and sincerely hope that the course I have pursued may be approved of by the Government, and the result may be satisfactory.[34]

I have the honor to enclose herewith the "Allocutzione" of his Holiness Pope Pius the 9th delivered in the consistory on the 20th of June, which has been forwarded to me by his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State. The remarks in reference to the rebellion in the Romagna are well worthy of attention.

I have the honor also to enclose herewith the protest of the Papal Government against the action of the king of Sardinia in sending Massimo d'Azellio[35] as Commissioner extraordinary to the Romagna. The letter was forwarded to all the foreign Ministers accredited near the

[34] Since this is merely a formal receipt and adds nothing to the facts of the case, it is not printed.

[35] Massimo d'Azeglio was the author of a famous pamphlet on the emancipation of the Jews. He once said, "The Romans, by reason of their historical traditions, can never be other than Republicans or Papists"; De Cesare, *Last Days of Papal Rome*, pp. 179, 266. Earlier references to him will be found on p. 140, and see also G. Majoli, *Massimo d'Azeglio salvatore di Bologna e delle Romagne nel 1859* (Rome, 1931).

holy seat, and it concludes with the request that they will forward it to the Government they represent. It is an important paper and worthy of your Excellency's attention.

It sets out by stating that the Holy Father had hoped to remain tranquil during the deplorable war, on account of the manny assurances he had received, among others the king of Piedmont by the counsel of his ally the Emperor of the French had refused the offered dictatorship of the rebel provinces of the Romagna. He then recounts the action of the king of Piedmont in appointing d'Azelio as commissioner which he says renders illusory his refusal of the dictatorship. It is charged to be a flagrant violation of the law of nations which has filled with bitterness the mind of the Holy father, and with indignation and surprize to see a Catholic Sovereign commit these outrages, notwithstanding the advice of his august ally not to accept the dictatorship.

The letter concludes by invoking the assistance and protection of the nations to whom the circular is addressed against the open violation of the law of nations, and the sovereignty of the holy father.

The particulars in reference to the sudden termination of hostilities, have no doubt reached your excellency. Among the various reasons given, two seem to me from what I have seen and heard to be nearer the truth than the others. It is said and important facts are stated to prove it by those well informed, that France was not able to make the next years campaign without such exertions as would have made discontent at home, and this with the fear of a European alliance against him influenced the Emperor.

My own belief is that the numerous societies in Italy are all merging in a great National Society, and the strong republican tendencies of this movement were alarming to all the Monarchical governments.

France and Sardinia have taken one step towards the regeneration of Italy by driving away the Austrians, but the next step is one they do not desire to see.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE IX.

ALLOCUTIO HABITA IN CONSISTORIO SECRETO DIE XX. JUNII MDCCCLIX. ROMAE MDCCCLIX

Venerabiles Fratres

Ad gravissimum, quo cum bonis omnibus propter bellum inter catholicas nationes excitatum premimur, dolorem maximus accessit moeror ob luctuosam rerum conversionem ac perturbationem, quae in nonnullis Pontificiae Nostrae ditionis Provinciis nefaria impiorum hominum opera ac sacrilego prorsus ausu nuper evenit. Probe intelligitis, Venerabiles Fratres, Nos dolenter loqui de scelesta sane perduellium contra sacrum legitimumque Nostrum, et huius Sanctae Sedis civilem principatum coniuratione et rebellione, quam vaferrimi homines in eisdem Nostri provinciis commorantes, tum clandestinis pravisque coetibus, tum turpissimis consiliis cum finitimarum regionum hominibus initis, tum fraudolentis, calumniosisque editis libellis, tum exteris armis comparatis et invectis, tum per-

versis quibusque aliis fraudibus, et artibus moliri, fovere, et efficere minime reformidarunt. Nec possumus non vehementer dolere, infestam huiusmodi coniurationem primum erupisse in civitate Nostra Bononiensi, quae paternae Nostrae benevolentiae ac liberalitatis ornata beneficiis duos fere ab hinc annos, cum ibi diversati sumus, suam erga Nos et hanc Apostolicam Sedem venerationem ostendere, ac testari haud omiserat. Bononiae enim die duodecima huius mensis, postquam Austriacae inopinato discesserunt copiae, nulla interposita mora coniurati homines audacia insignes, omnibus divinis, humanisque proculcatis iuribus, laxatisque improbitatis habenis, haud exhorruerunt tumultuari, atque urbanam cohortem, aliosque armare, cogere, educere, atque Cardinalis Nostri Legati aedes adire, ibique ablatis Pontificiis Insignibus eorum loco rebellionis vexillum attollere et collocare cum summa honestiorum civium indignatione ac fremitu, qui tantum facinus improbare, ac Nobis et Pontificio Nostro Gubernio plaudere haud extimescebant. Hinc ab ipsis perduellibus eidem Cardinali Nostro Legato profectio fuit denunciata, qui pro sui muneris officio tot scelestis ausibus obsistere, ac Nostram, et huius Sanctae Sedis dignitatem et iura asserere ac tueri minime praetermittebat. Atque eo sceleris et impudentiae rebelles devenerunt, ut minime veriti sint gubernium immutare, et Sardiniae Regis Dictaturam petere, et ob hanc causam suos ad eumdem Regem deputatos mittere. Cum igitur Noster Legatus haud posset tantas impedire improbitates, easque diutius ferre et intueri, solemnem tum voce tum scripto edidit protestationem contra omnia quae a factiosis hominibus adversus Nostra et huius Sanctae Sedis iura fuerunt patrata, ac Bononia decedere coactus Ferrariam se contulit.

Quae Bononiae tam nefarie peracta sunt, eadem similibus criminosis modis Ravennae, Perusiae, ac alibi flagitiosi homines communi bonorum omnium luctu agere minime dubitarunt, haud timentes posse suos impetus a Pontificiis Nostris copiis reprimi ac refringi, cum illae numero paucae eorum furori et audaciae resistere minime possent. Quocirca in eisdem civitatibus a perduellibus omnium divinarum, humanarumque legum conculcata auctoritas, et suprema civilis Nostra atque huius Sanctae Sedis oppugnata potestas, et defectionis erecta vexilla, et legitimum Pontificium Gubernium de medio sublatum, et Sardiniae Regis Dictatura petita, et Nostri Delegati publica emissa protestatione ad profectionem vel impulsi, vel coaeti, et alia multa rebellionis admissa facinora.

Nemo vero ignorat quo isti civilis Apostolicae Sedis principatus osores semper potissimum spectent, et quid ipsi velint, quid cupiant, quid exoptent. Omnes quidem norunt singulari Divinae Providentiae consilio factum esse, ut in tanta temporalium Principum multitudine et varietate Romana quoque Ecclesia temporalem dominationem nemini prorsus obnoxiam haberet, quo Romanus Pontifex summus totius Ecclesiae Pastor nulli unquam Principi subiectus supremam universi Dominici gregis pascendi, regendique potestatem auctoritatemque ab ipso Christo Domino acceptam per universum, qua late patet, orbem plenissima libertate exercere, ac simul facilius divinam religionem magis in dies propagare, et variis fidelium indigentiis occurrere, et opportuna flagitantibus auxilia ferre, et alia omnia bona peragere posset, quae pro re ac tempore ad maiorem totius christianae reipublicae utilitatem pertinere ipse cognosceret. Infestissimi igitur Romanae Ecclesiae temporalis dominii hostes civilem eiusdem Ecclesiae, Romanique Pontificis principatum caelesti quadam rerum dispensatione, et vetusta per tot iam continentia saecula possessione, ac iustissimo quovis alio optimoque iure comparatum, et communi omnium populorum et Principum vel a catholicorum consensione uti sacrum inviolatumque Beati Petri patrimonium semper habitum ac defensum invadere, labefactare, ac destruere connituntur, ut, Romana Ecclesia suo spoliata patrimonio, Apostolicae Sedis, Romanique Pontificis dignitatem maiestatemque deprimant, pessundent, et liberius sanctissimae religioni maxima quaeque

damna, ac teterrimum bellum inferant, ipsamque religionem, si fieri unquam posset, funditus evertant. Huc sane semper spectarunt ac spectant nequissima illorum hominum consilia, molitiones et fraudes, qui temporalem Romanae Ecclesiae dominationem convellere exoptant, veluti diuturna ac tristissima experientia omnibus clare aperteque demonstrat.

Quamobrem cum Nos Apostolici Nostri muneris officio, solemnique iuramento adstricti debeamus religionis incolumitati summa vigilantia prospicere, ac iura et possessiones Romanae Ecclesiae omnino integras inviolatasque tueri, et huius Sanctae Sedis libertatem, quae cum universae Ecclesiae utilitate est plane coniuncta, asserere et vindicare, ac proinde ipsius Principatum defendere, quo ad liberam rei sacrae in toto terrarum orbe procurationem exercendam Divina Providentia Romanos Pontifices donavit, illumque integrum et inviolatum Nostris Successoribus transmittere, iccirco non possumus non vehementer damnare, detestari inpios nefariosque perduellium subditorum ausus, conatus, illisque fortiter obsistere.

Itaque postquam per reclamationem Nostri Cardinalis Secretarii Status missam ad omnes Oratores, Ministros et negotiorum Gestores exterarum nationum apud Nos, et hanc Sanctam Sedem nefarios huiusmodi rebellium ausus reprobavimus ac detestati sumus, nunc in amplissimo hoc vestro consessu, Venerabiles Fratres, Nostram attollentes vocem, maiore qua possumus animi Nostri contentione, protestamur contra ea omnia, quae perduelles in commemoratis locis agere ausi sunt, et suprema Nostra auctoritate damnamus, reprobamus, rescindimus, abolemus omnes et singulos actus tum Bononiae, tum Ravennae, tum Perusiae, tum alibi ab ipsis perduellibus contra sacrum legitimumque Nostrum, et huius S. Sedis Principatum quovis modo factos et appellatos, et eosdem actus irritos omnino, illegitimos, et sacrilegos esse declaramus, atque decernimus. Insuper in omnium memoriam revocamus maiorum excommunicationem, aliasque ecclesiasticas poenas et censuras a sacris Canonibus, Apostolicis Constitutionibus, et Generalium Conciliorum, Tridentini praesertim (Sess. 22 cap. 11, de Reform.) decretis inflictas, et ulla absque declaratione incurrendas ad iis omnibus, qui quovis modo temporalem Romani Pontificis potestatem impetere audeant: in quas proinde eos omnes misere incidisse declaramus qui Bononiae, Ravennae, Perusiae, et alibi civilem Nostram, et huius Sanctae Sedis potestatem, et iurisdictionem, ac Beati Petri patrimonium opera, consilio, assensu, et alia quacumque ratione violare, perturbare, et usurpare auso sunt.

Dum vero officii Nostri ratione compulsi haec non levi certe animi Nostri dolere declarare, et edicere cogimur, miserrimam tot filiorum caecitatem illacrimantes a clementissimo misericordiarum Patre humiliter enixeque exposcere non desistimus, ut omnipotenti sua virtute efficiat, ut quamprimum optatissimus illucescat dies, quo et ipsos filios resipiscentes, atque ad officium reductos iterum paterno sinu cum gaudio excipere, et omni perturbatione sublata ordinem tranquillitatemque in tota Pontificia Nostra ditione restitutam videre possimus. Hac autem in Deo fiducia suffulti ea quoque spe sustentamur fore, ut Europae Principes, uti antea, ita hoc etiam tempore suam omnem operam in temporali Nostro, sanctaeque huius Sedis principatu tuendo, et integre servando consociatis studiis consiliisque impendant, cum eorum cuiusque vel maxime intersit, Romanum Pontificem plenissima frui libertate, quo Catholicorum conscientiae in eorumdem Principum ditionibus commorantium tranquillitati rite consultum sit. Quae quidem spes augetur, propter-eaquod Gallicae copiae in Italia degentes, iuxta ea quae Carissimus in Christo Filius Noster Gallorum Imperator declaravit, non modo nihil contra temporalem Nostram et huius S. Sedis dominationem agent, immo vero eamdem tuebuntur atque servabunt.[36]

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[36] Printed in *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. I, Vol. III, 84-89.

(*Translation.*)[37]

(4864)

FROM THE CHAMBERS OF THE VATICAN, July 12, 1859.

Amid the trepidations and anxieties arising from the present deplorable war, it has seemed to the Holy See that it might rest tranquil on account of the many assurances received, to which was added another that the King of Piedmont, by advice of the Emperor of the French, his ally, had refused the proffered Dictatorship of the rebellious provinces of the Pontifical State. But it is painful to notice that things have happened quite otherwise, and that such acts have developed themselves under the eyes of the Holy Father and of his Government as to render every day more uncharacterizable the conduct which has been observed by the Sardinian Cabinet towards the Holy See—conduct which clearly demonstrates that it wishes to usurp an important part of the temporal dominion of the Holy See.

After the rebellion of Bologna, which has been already lamented in the allocution of His Holiness of the 20th of June last, that city became the rendezvous of a great many Piedmontese officers, who went thither, moreover, from Tuscany and Modena close by, with the intention of preparing quarters for the Piedmontese troops. Into that place they introduced from those foreign States thousands of muskets to arm the insurgents and volunteers; and into it they took cannon to increase the excitement in the rebellious provinces, and to render more audacious the disturbers of order. These open violations of neutrality, together with an active co-operation with the insurrection in the States of the Church, have been about carried to their highest pitch by another of more importance, and which renders entirely illusory the refusal of the Dictatorship—that is to say, by the appointment of the Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio as extraordinary commissioner in Romagna, as appears from the decree of his Royal Highness the Prince Eugene of Savoy, Lieutenant General of his Sardinian Majesty, of the 28th of June, and from the letter of Count Cavour of the same date, in order to direct their throngs to the war, and this under the specious pretext of preventing, the so-called national movement from degenerating into disorder—thus fraudulently appropriating to themselves an office in derogation of the rights of the territorial Sovereign. And so rapidly have matters proceeded, that the Piedmontese troops are already within the Pontifical territory, occupying Fort Urbano and Castelfranco, and they have been joined by the Piedmontese riflemen and by a part of the royal naval brigade; and all this is either that the factions may unite in offering an efficient resistance to the Pontifical troops who are hastening to avenge the usurpation of the rebellious provinces, or it is to create new obstacles to the execution of this just design. Finally, in completion of the usurpation of the legitimate sovereignty, two officers of engineers were despatched into Ferrara, one of them a Piedmontese, in order to mine and blow up that fortress.

These abominable attempts, in which is manifested a flagrant violation of the law of nations, could not but fill the heart of His Holiness with bitterness and cause him to feel a more lively and just indignation, which was not unmingled with surprise at perceiving that such atrocities were practised by the Government of a Catholic Sovereign, notwithstanding this Sovereign had been advised by his August Ally not to accept the proffered dictatorship. Every measure which has hitherto been supposed to prevent the remove this series of evils having proved vain, the Holy Father, mindful of the obligations which are incumbent on him

[37] This is the protest of the Papal Government against the action of the King of Sardinia in sending d'Azeglio as commander to the Romagna, referred to in Stockton's letter.

for the protection of his States and for preserving the integrity of the temporal dominions of the Holy See, which are essentially connected with the independence and free exercise of the Supreme Pontificate, complains of and protests against the violations and usurpations still committed in contempt of the accepted neutrality, and he wishes that this protest may be communicated to all the Powers, confident that the justice for which they are distinguished will render them willing to give him their support, and that they will not permit the continuance of such an open violation of the law of nations and of the sovereignty of the Holy Father, but that, on the contrary, they will not hesitate to co-operate in defending him, for which purpose he invokes their assistance and protection.

The undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State, in fulfilment of the Pontifical command, sends the present note to your Excellency, with a request to transmit it to your Government; and he profits by this opportunity to reiterate the assurances of his distinguished consideration.

G. C. ANTONELLI.

LEWIS CASS TO JOHN P. STOCKTON. No. 5.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, September 5th. 1859.

Sir:

Your Despatches Nos. 10 and 11, with their various enclosures, on the subject of the late gross outrage on Mr. Perkins of Boston and his family at Perugia have been received at the Department and read with the more interest as the subject had attracted much public attention in this country. I am instructed by the President to express his satisfaction with your correspondence with the Papal Government and with the measures you saw fit to take on the occasion. Those measures, coupled with the moderation of Mr. Perkins' reclamation and his readiness to accept the atonement, together with the promptness of Cardinal Antonelli in meeting the expressed wishes of the injured party, have fortunately closed and settled a grave transaction which might have involved the two Governments in a serious misunderstanding. You have, in your reply to the Cardinal Secretary of State's note of the 26th. July, so justly answered every assumption of a questionable kind, that your Government does not think it necessary, at this juncture, and in view of all the circumstances, to reopen and continue the correspondence, especially after the parties aggrieved have expressed themselves entirely satisfied. You will therefore take an early occasion to inform His Eminence the Cardinal of the views taken by your Government of this disagreeable affair, which he will recognise as based upon our sincere desire to avoid needless misunderstanding and to cultivate, as far as possible, amicable relations with the Government of His Holiness.

Lewis Cass to John P. Stockton. No. 8.[38]

Department of State, Washington, November 12th. 1859.

Sir:

Herewith I transmit certain documents marked A, B, C, D, E, and F; and a brief explanatory memorandum, relating to the alleged claim of J. B. Sartori upon the Papal Government,[39] together with a transcript of the letter, dated the 9th. instant, of the attornies of the parties who now represent this claim, and also a copy of a letter addressed to them by this Department on the 26th. ultimo. From the latter you will perceive that the Department, though unwilling, as it has always been, to interfere officially in the prosecution of the claim in question, is not indisposed to promote the interests of the claimants so far as this may be done by commending the case to such friendly notice, as in the exercise of a sound discretion, you may deem it proper to take of it. You will accordingly be governed in this respect by the wishes of the Department, as expressed in its letter to Messrs. De Selding and Yowle,[40] and be careful to abstain, in using your good offices in their behalf, from any formal intervention in the case, especially in writing.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 12.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome December 1st 1859

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the despatches of the department dated July 27 and September 5th and numbered 4 and 5 in reference to the matter of Mr. Perkins.

The kind expressions of satisfaction on the part of the President, and the approval of Your Excellency, could not fail to afford me the highest gratification.

In accordance with the instructions, I took an early occasion to inform his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State of the views expressed by your Excellency in reference to this disagreeable affair.

I have the honor also to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No. 6

[38] No. 6, Sept. 7, 1859, asks of Stockton information concerning the number of days spent by him in traveling from his residence to his post of duty. No. 7, Nov. 10, 1859, requests Stockton's good offices in obtaining for Dr. Bell, chairman of a committee of the National Quarantine and Sanitary Association, the quarantine regulations of other countries.

[39] Sartori was the first consul to represent the United States in the papal dominions. He served from 1797 to 1823. The claim here presented by his heirs, for $122,500, arose from Sartori's purchase, during the invasion of the French in 1798, of confiscated property which, after the treaty of Vienna, was returned to its lawful owners. As will be seen in a later document, the claim was finally rejected. L. F. Stock, *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 234.

[40] Representing the Sartori heirs. The enclosures are not given.

dated Sept. 7 in which the department request[s] information in reference to "the number of days actually and necessarily employed by me in making the transit from my place of residence to my post of duty at the commencement of my official career."

I have the honor to reply that the number of days *actually* employed is a simple question of fact, but whether they were *necessarily* employed is a mixed question in reference to which the construction put upon the act by the custom of the department is necessary to reach a conclusion.

In reference to the time actually employed I reply that by reference to my despatch (No. 1) the department will find that I left New York on the 21st day of August and arrived at Rome on the 14th day of November.

In reference to the question whether this time was necessarily occupied, I can only say, that the sickness of myself and members of my family at various points of the journey, and the necessity of delaying my arrival at Rome until the sickly season was passed, made the whole of the time necessary under the circumstances.

Yet the department is aware that the mail frequently comes in 20 days; and that a person may with diligence make the journey from Washington to Rome in a month.

I have the honor in conclusion to say that any conclusion to which the department may arrive, will meet my cheerful acquiescence.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 13.

Legation of the United States of America Rome Dec. 5th 1859

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a despatch from the department (No. 7) in reference to the proceedings of the "National Quarantine and Sanitary Association" on the arrival of the report alluded to, the subject will receive immediate attention.

I have the honor also to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No. 8 with its various enclosures; It will be a source of much gratification to me if I can be the means of assisting Mr. Sartori in his claims, and bearing in mind the caution of the department in reference to a formal or official interference, I will give the matter my best attention. In the meantime let me suggest that Mr. Sartori or his legal advisers should employ counsel here with whom I can confer, and that he should also send me information in regard to the members of his family still resident in the Roman States.

This claim I am informed has been in the hands of our representatives here on two previous occasions, and while it is evidently a demand which our goverment [*sic*] cannot officially enforce it may be one which with

a proper countenance from the Minister may be enforced by private means.

But in order to ascertain speedily the position of similar claims, and the best method of attack, it will be necessary to consult some one familiar with the legal history of the matter here.

JOHN P. STOCKTON TO LEWIS CASS. No. 14.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT ROME December 10th 1859

Sir

I have the honor in compliance with the request therein contained to enclose to your Exc. a communication from the Cardinal Sec. of State in reference to the recent acts to the prejudice of the Papal Government which have taken place in the Romagna. After recapitulating these acts and charging them to be against the irrefragable right and Sovereign power of the Pontificate; His Em. in the name of the Holy Father solemly [*sic*] protests, and asks the valued influence of our country and its representative to hinder the consummation of these offenses agt. National law.

I have replied to this communication as to all of a similar character by acknowledging its receipt, and expressing my willingness to comply with the request therein contained, and forward it to the government I represent.

Every thing in Rome is tranquil, and will probably remain so until the congress shall assemble, beyond which time, no human eye may look.

It is not yet ascertained whether the Cardinal Antonelli will go to Paris as the representative of the Papal Government, but I am inclined to think, that it is most probable that he will be delegated to that position. If another should be chosen it will probably be the Cardinal de Pietro.[41]

(7571) DALLE STANZE DEL VATICANO

7. Decembre 1859.

Mentre nel corso delle Conferenze che avevano luogo in Zurigo sulle basi accettate dalle due Grandi Potenze belligeranti, come dal Piemonte, dovevasi ritenere che non cessando nelle Romagne la ribellione contro la legittima Autorità, vi cessassero almeno da parte di un Governo regolare gli attentati in onta di essa, duole gravemente il vedere che gli effetti sieno stati del tutto contrarii alle concepite speranze.

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[41] A full account of the European Congress, desired by Napoleon to settle the Roman question, will be found in Thayer, *Cavour,* II, pp. 148 *et seq.*; and see bibliography listed by Mollat, *op. cit.,* pp. 315-316. Because of the anti-papal suggestions in the pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congrès,* which appeared about this time, and for the further reason that the Pope refused to send a delegate, Austria declined to take part and the congress was abandoned.

Il Piemonte, non pago di aver provocato la rivolta nelle Romagne, di averla in ogni modo mantenuta e favorita, di aver fatto sì,—prescindendo da tutt'altro che l'armata e gl'Impiègati prestassero giuramento al Re di Sardegna, che Truppe Piemontesi stanziàssero in quelle Provincie, che la Giustizia fosse amministrata in nome di Lui, che ogni Atto prendesse il titolo di Regio, che vi fosse publicato lo Statuto Sardo, che fossero emanate leggi ostili alla Chiesa, che si cangiassero al confine gli officii doganali a seconda della eseguitasi territoriale usurpazione, che vi fosse proclamata l'annessione al Piemonte e ne venisse offerta la Reggenza al Principe di Carignano—, ha in oggi portato le cose anche più oltra col destinare un Gerente di quel Principe e coll'affidare al medesimo l'amministrazione anche delle Romagne.

Qualunque sia il motivo, il pretesto ed il nome onde studiasi di colorire tale Missione, egli è indubitabile risultarne una nuova invasione del potere legittimo del S. Padre, ed un nuovo attentato ai diritti internazionali. A convincersi di ciò basti il dare una occhiata alla lettera, nella quale il Principe di Carignano traccia al suo Delegato il carattere della Missione, ed alla circolare diretta dal Ministro degli affari Esteri di Torino il 14. Novembre alle varie Legazioni del proprio Sovrano.

Egli è perciò che contro questo novello atto commesso a danno della Sovranità pontificia e de' suoi irrefragabili diritti, il Sottoscritto Cardinale Segretario di Stato, in nome del S. Padre, si crede in dovere di protestare Solennemente, portando fiducia che il Governo della Eccellenza Vostra vorrà far ragione a tale protesta e adoperare la valevole sua influenza per impedire che presso il lamentato recente disordine vada a consumarsi uno spoglio, che tanto ingiustamente e da sì lungo tempo s' imprese a pregiudizio degli Stati della Chiesa e ad offesa di Chi n'è il Sovrano.

Per tale effetto il Sottoscritto prega la E. V. di voler portare a notizia del Suo Governo la presente Nota; e si pregia di confermarse i sensi della sua distinta considerazione.

G. C. Antonelli

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 16.[42]

Legation of the United States of America at Rome Jan. 11th 1860

Sir

Since my last despatch information has no doubt reached you of the indefinite postponement of the European Congress.

This result is attributed to the unwillingness of Austria and the Papal Government to take part in a Congress, after the publication of the pamphlet entitled "Le pape et le Congrés".[43]

I do not think it is the pamphlet itself; but the direct expression of similar views by the Emperor to the Papal Nuncio; which has caused the present state of things.

I have no doubt that there has been a good understanding between Piedmont and France in reference to the course to be pursued from the

[42] No. 15 transmits the usual accounts of salary and expenses.

[43] This pamphlet, which appeared Dec. 22, 1859, is discussed by Thayer, *op. cit.*, II, 165-169.

time of the peace of Villafranca,[44] and that their differences were only in appearance.

I have no doubt that the general policy in reference to Central Italy is well understood between England and France, for with out this England would never have consented to have taken part in the Congress.

I feel sure also that the question which as far back as June 16th (In despatch No. 7) I foresaw would be the great knot to be untied has now become the one great point of difference, has postponed the Congress, and occupies at the present moment the attention of all the politicians of Europe to the exclusion of every minor point.

"What shall be the fate of the Romagna"!

Under date of June 16th I wrote to the department

"It is I think certain that his Holiness will never consent to govern with a constitution, and if this Italian question is ever settled satisfactorily, it must be by giving to the different Italian States either separately or collectively a constitutional government. So that we are almost driven to the conclusion that no *final settlement* of this difficult question can be made, without *depriving the Pope of his temporal power, or confining his jurisdiction within the limits of the comarca.*"

I also added that allthough I was satisfied that the Emperor had guarantied the integrity of the Papal Government; that this would not interfere with the result predicted, as the end would come without his immediate and direct action.

That the government of the Romagna is a legal existing government; that the revolution of the Legations is a "fait accompli" is now the doctrine of *Le Pape et le Congrès.*

It is on account of his objection to this view of the question that Walewski has gone out,[45] It is on account of the announcement of this proposition, that the Congress is postponed, and that France is preparing herself for a desperate struggle with the "ultra montaigne" party.

In a discourse delivered by his Holiness on the occasion of the visit of the French general of division to the Vatican, he refers to the solem [*sic*] guaranties which he holds under the signature of the Emperor, and he gives his blessing to the Emperor because he will not permit himself to doubt such guaranties; but the expression itself was pregnant with distrust. I was informed a few days ago by the French Ambassador

[44] Signed July 11, 1859, between France and Austria. The agreement included the cession of Lombardy to Napoleon, who was to transfer it to Victor Emmanuel, excepting Peschiera and Mantua. Modena, Aromagna and Tuscany were to revert to their former rulers. Venetia was retained by Austria; the treaty further suggested an Italian confederation with the Pope at the head of it. Solmi, *The Making of Modern Italy,* p. 84; Thayer, *op. cit.,* II, 97-102; Mollat, *op. cit.,* pp. 312-314.

[45] The French Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was succeeded by the Marquis de Thouvenel. The latter was more kindly disposed towards the new Italy. De Cesare, *op. cit.,* 247; Thayer, *op. cit.,* II, 182-183.

here that "With a little good feeling on both sides he thought matters could be arranged".

I do not think that we have sufficient evidence yet to induce us to believe that the Congress will not assemble.

The Cardinal Secretary of State in conversation at my house two nights passed spoke of his anticipated trip to Paris, as a thing not abandoned.

It is impossible to know what step the Emperor may now take; but this is sure that on the one hand he must prepare for a desperate fight with the Papacy; on the other he has only the inglorious alternative of betraying the cause of central Italy: and giving up from timidity the hard earned fruits of a glorious campaign.

The latter position would be indeed a new role for the Emperor to play.

Hence negotiations are protracted, and every effort is being used to bring about conciliation, before a congress shall assemble. And although so far apart in their views no one can tell what may be done, when the interest of both parties are absolutely bound together.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 17.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome Jan 13th 1860

Sir

Since my last despatch the diplomatic world in Rome has been occupied in speculating upon the contents of a Private letter which it was whispered was received by his Holiness from the Emperor.

It was asserted by some that it contained a denial of the sentiments contained in the brochure "Le Pape et le Congrès". It was insisted on the other side that the letter was an angry reply to the discourse of his Holiness to the French General Commandant to which I alluded in my last.

This uncertainly still exists, and peace and war, the downfal of the papacy, or a new French Revolution are the impending results on the one side or the other in the opinion of these political deviners.

In these circumstances I took steps to ascertain authentically what was the purport of the letter.

And have been assured from high authority that the Emperor wrote a kind but firm letter to his Holiness urging him *to give up the Romagna voluntarily, as he might rest assured that it could never return to him.*

That his Holiness replied to this letter *that he preferred to lose it by force, as he had no right to part with the patrimony of St. Peter.*[46]

Qui vivrà vedrà.

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[46] See De Cesare, pp. 245-246; Leti, I, 397-399.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 18.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome January 31st 1860

Sir

Since the date of my last despatch (No. 17 Jan. 13) Rome has continued in a state of much political excitement. The extraordinary precautions of the French to prevent an outbreak, gives the city the appearance of a place besieged.

The silent movement of large bodies of troops during the night, the the large number of French and Roman police stationed at every point of importance. The manifest vigilance and activity of the sentinels and officers; with the occasional demonstrations of the multitude which assembles at the piaza Colonna nightly, while the band plays the retreat: has kept the public mind constantly on the stretch.

But there has been no violance, or attempt to resist the execution of the law, notwithstanding the numerous political arrests which occur daily. And I feel confident that nothing serious will occur as long as the French Army remains in occupation.

Rumors in reference to their withdrawal are of daily occurance; but I am assured by the best authority that the French will not withdraw from Rome during the existing state of uncertainty; and my own opinion coincides with this information.

The Emperor could gain nothing by a revolution in Rome. It would place him in a position even more embarasing than the one he now occupies.

He would be obliged to oppose by armed intervention here, the same cause which he has encouraged in the Romagna, or he would be in the position he has so discreetly attempted to avoid, of directly attacking the papacy.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I sought an interview with his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State in reference to the claim of Mr. Sartori: [47] I stated to him in the outset, *that I did not at the present time present the claim on the part of our government,* but as a private claim as a citizen of the United States against their government, and I wished to ascertain from him what view the papal government took of this class of claims.

I then translated to him in French the brief sent to me by Mr. Sartori's counsel in America, and argued the questions which arose to the best of my ability.

His Eminence replied that it was a matter of the last century, with which he was not familiar, he suggested the improbability that there should exist a valid claim for a large amount against the government,

[47] See Cass to Stockton, No. 8, *ante,* p. 158.

which had remained so long dormant, while many of the families were still living in Rome, some of them in the employ of the government.

He said that if his recollection served him there was a statute other than those alluded to in the brief which barred the claim. That the proper course however to establish the claim would be to bring a suit against the government, that this was the usual way of establishing such claims.

I replied that if it were true that the Roman Government had received the money from the French Government to pay these claims, they still held the money *in Trust,* and that neither time nor statutes could bar a just claim under such circumstances.

The Secretary of State was very kind and attentive, he heard every thing I said with interest and with a friendly disposition. He concluded by saying that if I would present the claim in writing he would hand it to the Minister of Finance who would have it examined and send me a reply, with their views of the case. That to prevent the delay which would otherwise occur, he would hand the letter himself with special directions to the Minister of Finance.

The instructions I received from the Department having forbid me from presenting the claim in writing; I replied that I would translate into Italian the brief of Mr. Tendall and his associates, and forward it to him for the purpose designated. I then took my leave of his Eminence.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I was present on an occasion of great interest when his Holiness visited the College called the American College. It is a large building which had been devoted for many years (as some of the finest palaces in Rome have been) to the purpose of barracks for the French soldiers. It was bought for the sum of 50,000 Scudi by his Holiness and after restoring and altering it so as to make it a beautiful structure for the purpose, he presented it to the church, as an edifice to be devoted to the purpose of a college where all Americans who come here to study at the fountain head of the Catholic faith may receive instruction.

I did not know what was the nature of the ceremony I was invited to witness, but accompanied by Mr. Bacon our Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburgh, Mr. Eustis late Member of Congress from New Orleans, Mr. Story the distinguished American Sculptor, and Mr. Glentworth the Consul of the U. S. at this place I presented myself at the College at the time indicated.[48]

[48] An account of this visit of the Pope, on the feast of St. Francis de Sales, Jan. 29, 1860, is given in Henry A. Brann, *Hist. of the American College of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States, Rome, Italy* (N. Y., 1910), pp. 48-53, 57-58, 468-481. A bronze tablet on the walls of the college commemorates this visit. John E. Bacon, here mentioned, was later chargé in Uruguay and Paraguay; George Eustis was in the 34th and 35th Congress; William W. Story's diary, incorporated in Henry James, *William W. Story,* is an interesting account, by an eye-witness, of Roman affairs during his residence in Italy.

We were conducted through the College, and after remaining a few moments in the large Saloon, we were ushered into a spacious hall where a magnificent table had been arranged, with much taste and skill; at one end of the hall there was a band of stringed Instruments, and choice singers who played and sang concerted pieces of music, during the repast.

Upon my entering the hall I saw his Holiness who had just seated himself at a small table which was placed at the head of the table I have before spoken of; As soon as I entered he extended his hand to me saluting me with much cordiality and kindness. He *said he was most happy to meet me in America.* To which I replied that it always gave me sincere pleasure to salute his Holiness, but more particularly here in the building which his liberality had devoted to the purpose of educating young Catholic Americans, and where among Americans, he felt himself in America. He then motioned to me to take a seat by him which I did. The General Goyon the French Commander in chief sat on the other side of me; Bishop Bacon from Portland Maine was nearly opposite to me,[49] and the table was soon surrounded by many Catholic dignitaries and some few of the Roman princesses who had previously attended a religious services [*sic*] in the chapel below.

Chocolate was then served to his Holiness and the invited guests, followed by Roman punch, and a variety of other delicacies.

After the Entertainment the President of the college the Rev. Dr. Smith [50] read an address to his Holiness. When Bishop Bacon of Maine on the part of the Catholics of America, returned thanks to his Holiness for the kindness he had exhibited to them. After which all the young Americans who are connected with the institution as students, read productions in prose and verse in honor of the occasion, and in pra[i]se of the holy father.

After some remarks by the Cardinal Barnibo,[51] His Holiness spoke, using his native language, and speaking with much warmth, and eloquence.

He commenced in a low mild conversational tone, but with a beuty [*sic*] of enunciation, and correctness of accent, which I have never heard surpassed in Italy.

While speaking of the present condition of the Holy seat, he became much excited, at times his eyes filled with tears, and again he denounced with vehement utterance, and violent gesticulation the " ferocious ene-

[49] Bishop David W. Bacon who, in 1855, was consecrated bishop of the newly-created diocese of Portland. Dr. Reuben Parsons, speaking of this affair, says: " I can well remember how the enthusiastic prelate's pedal gyrations, accentuating his delivery, once caused him to plunge into the skirts of the Princess Borghese . . . to the great amusement of the Pontiff." Brann, *Hist. Am. College,* pp. 51-52.

[50] The Very Rev. Dr. Bernard Smith, O. S. B., for many years professor of theology at the Propaganda, and at this time pro-rector of the college. *Ibid.,* p. 86.

[51] Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò was Prefect of the Propaganda. He represented His Holiness at the opening of the American College at Rome. *Ibid.,* p. 460.

mies["] of the Holy seat who sought to " rob " her of the patrimony of St. Peter.

This is said to be the first occasion in which a pope has eaten in public for 50 years, and the only occasion in the history of the popedom where his Holiness has eaten in the presence of ladies.

This fact, with the political significance given to the speech, with the time and place chosen for this demonstration, makes the incidents above related matters of history; and makes it my duty to detail to your Excellency, facts which otherwise would be of small importance.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 19.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome March 22d 1860

Sir:

I regret that it becomes my duty again to report to yuur Ex'lcy a case of assault by the soldiers of The Papal Government on citizens of the United States.

About half past six o'clock on the evening of the 19th of March as Mr. Glentworth the Consul of the United States at this place was passing from the door of the consulate to his carriage which was a few paces off, accompanied by a captain in the French Army in full uniform; he was assaulted and menaced by one of the Papal " carabiniere " in the uniform of his corps, and with a drawn sword in his hand. Mr. Glentworth believes he owes the preservation of his life to the interposition of his friend Capt. Delherbe.

There was no crowd present at the time, but about twenty of the " carabinieri " who were striking wildly about everyone they met. Mr. Glentworth saw two others struck down in the vicinity.

A short distance above the consulate which is at the corner of the Via Fontanella di Borghese and the Corso, about the same time Mr. Hill and Mr. Hall two American citizens were met and struck by the " Carabinieri ". They were walking quietly from the Piazza del Popolo when they heard the cry " in casa " and saw three or four men running rapidly towards them, followed by a troop of mounted carabinieri and others on foot, brandishing naked swords. The Americans stepped into a door way where there was scarcely space to stand. A moment after Mr. Hall made a step forward with the view of seeking a more secure spot, when a " carabiniere " on foot struck him on the shoulder with his sword. Mr. Hall cried out that they were Americans, but the " Carabiniere " replied " non importa " and struck him again with the sword, cutting him on the brow between the eyes and the temple, a wound which bled profusely. An attempt was made to cut Mr. Hill by another " carabiniere " but the blow fortunately failed to reach him.

There are various stories in Rome both as to the origin of the attack of the " carabinieri " on the People, and the results of it.

By examining the Map of Rome you will observe a large open space in the Corso about half way between the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza Venetia, this is the Piazza " Colonna ". It is here that the band plays in the evening, and at that time there are always more or less of the Roman people present. The lower class of the people after the fatigue of their daily labor make it a place of reunion, where they often walk with their wives and children. It was at this time and place that the movement commenced, and while the " Corso " was full of carriages returning from the customary drive on the Pincian Hill.

It appears that some popular manifestation of feeling had been anticipated as it was the " fête " of Garibaldi. So that the corso was unusually full both of French infantry and Roman Carabinieri all of whom are under the order of the French General Commandant, who is under the orders of a French General of Division.

I passed through the corso in my carriage about a quarter past six returning from the Pincian Hill, the street was then a continuous line of carriages. I passed from the Legation which is below the Piazza Colonna (in the Palazzo Lenimonetti) over the same route a few minutes after seven having heard that there was a fight between the Romans and the " Carabinieri " the street was then principally filled with French Infantry, and I was told the fighting was over for the night.

It was then between half past six and seven, that some persons in the crowd assembled in the Piazza Colonna commenced to hiss the Roman Carabinieri as they were in the discharge of their duty on the square, and immediately the Carabinieri assisted by others who were mounted were ordered to clear the Square; they met with one or two cases of resistance from unarmed men who did not like to be cut down passiv[e]ly; but of course every one who could fled from them for safety, after clearing the Piazza they continued up the Corso which was full of strangers for more than a quarter of a mile, cutting every one they met without regard to age sex or condition.

A gentleman who was himself wounded tells me that immediately after he was struck he saw the carabinieri attack two ladies who were in a carriage and cut the bonnet off of one of their heads.

The Corso was of course at this time clear of all except the unsuspecting who returning from their evening ride or walk on the Pincian encountered, these wild animals dashing in their fury at all they met.

Mr. Glentworth has the Consulate fronting on the Corsa; but the entrance is from the side in the Via Fontanella di Borghese, so that he was not in the Corso at all, and was nearly a quarter of a mile from the scene of the occurrence. Not only had all resistance ceased, but you will see by the statement I enclose that there was no crowd in the vicinity.

Mr. Hall and Mr. Hill were attacked still further from the scene of action, perhaps a hundred feet further up the Corso.

On the evening of the occurance Mr. Glentworth made a statement to me which at my request he reduced to writing and which was certified by the French officer who accompanied him.

With this statement in my hand I called on the Secretary of State the next morning (the 20th) I read him Mr. Glentworths account, and after going over the principal details of the evening, I said that he was aware that our country watched their citizens all over the world with a vigilant eye; and it was my duty to inquire of him an explanation of the attack upon Mr. Glentworth.

He said that he had not yet received the official reports, and that he would reply to me in writing. But that in the mean time he assured me that the government disclaimed and disavowed all acts of the kind I had alluded to, he knew that no orders had been given which could justify them, that it was a personal act on the part of the "Carabinieri" who after obeying their orders, had exceeded the limits assigned, by reason of their exasperation etc. etc. That every effort should be made to seek out the individual who had attacked Mr. Glentworth and he should be sent to apologize etc. *that any individual identified should be punished.* He deplored the matter very much, and the government would make every proper explanation. He wished me also to assure Mr. Glentworth of the disavowal of the Government and his regret at the incident which had occurred to him.

I mentioned the conversation to Mr. Glentworth who having received no injury or material dammage, expressed himself as satisfied with the atonement made.

On the 21st the day after my interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State Mr. Hill and Mr. Hall called at the Legation and made their complaint, I had it reduced to writing and enclose a copy herewith.

On the 22d I enclosed to his Em. the Cardinal Secretary of State a translation of the complaint of Mr. Hall and Mr. Hill with a short communication of which the following is an exact translation.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NEAR THE HOLY SEAT

ROME the 22d March 1860

To His Reverend Eminence the Cardinal Antonelli Secretary of State.

The undersigned Minister Resident of The United States of America had the honor on the 20th to present to his Reverend Eminence the case of Mr. Glentworth the Consul of the United States of America at Rome, who while passing from his house to his carriage on the evening of the 19th was attacked by one of the Papal "Carabiniere" in uniform. He now finds it his duty to enclose herewith the complaint of two American citizens who while passing from the Piazza del Popolo towards the Via Condotti, in the vicinity of the latter street were assaulted by two of the Pontifical Carabinieri.

His Eminence will observe that Mr. Glentworth was assaulted although accompanied by a captain in the French Army in full uniform, and notwithstanding he was an officer of the United States executing his duties here by the permission of the Papal Government, and who ought from this fact to have been recognized particularly while in the act of coming out of the Consulate.

His Eminence will also observe that in the case of Mr. Hall, the response to the declaration of his nationality, was *a sabre-cut in the face, accompanied by the words "Non importa".*

The regret and sympathy manifested by [Your] Eminence on the occasion when the undersigned presented the case of Mr. Glentworth, and his prompt disavowal on the part of the Government of all the acts of excess which occurred, make it proper for the undersigned to refrain from comment until he can ascertain where the true responsibility should rest.

The undersigned profits by this opportunity to renew to his Reverend Eminence the assurance of his high consideration[.]

JOHN P. STOCKTON

I now await the reply of the Cardinal for an explanation of both cases, as soon as it is received I will forward a copy to the government.

It is very difficult to ascertain the particulars of the transaction, the populace exagerate the number wounded to over two hundred, while on the other hand the friends of the government make it less than fifty.

It was at first asserted that the attack was due to orders from the chief of police. But this is not the fact. The order was given by the French Captain commanding, who was on duty in the Piazza: The French General defends the order on the ground that the "Carabinieri" were a part of his corps acting in accord with them, and that no man who wore a uniform should suffer his corps to be insulted. They do not however hold themselves at all responsible for the results which occurred. They say they intended only the peaceful dispersing of the crowd. It is further said that nearly all the officers in the French Army here are exceedingly indignant that such an order was given. It is said that they have turned the officer who gave the order out of the mess.

I cannot ascertain *certainly* what were the words of the order, although it is said they were "Balayez la place" ("Sweep the Piazza"). The Carabinieri were stopped in their work of blood by the French Gendarmes. There were persons from other countries injured, but I have heard of the interference of no other minister.

Personal matters lose their importance in a period pregnant with the fate of nations.

The Papal Government in one point of view are responsible for all that occurred.

The original order arose more from a desire for vengence [*sic*] on those who insulted the troops, than from any necessity.

Its execution was committed to a corps which was odious to the people, and exasperated against them, at a time when the piazza and the

corso were crowded with women and children, and unsuspecting strangers.

If the order was not absolutely necessary as a precautionary measure, If its execution was not committed to the safest hands: the Government are responsible for such results, as could have been avoided. They were bound to do it in the best possible manner; they are responsible for want of proper precaution.

No one can doubt that if the order had been given to French infantry who were under arms in the Square, the object would have been accomplished without a blow.

On the other hand: It is certainly true that no one had any intention to injure an American citizen. It is beyond doubt, that neither those who gave the order, or those who executed it, intended wrong or injury to an American knowing him to be such, for among those badly wounded are two French officers in citizens dress, and a relative of the General Commandant.

It is true that Mr. Hall declared his nationality but as the whole attack upon him occupied but a moment, he doubts much, whether the "carabiniere" comprehended his remark before the blow was struck; although the words "non importa" would seem to indicate that he did.

Under all these circumstances after a prompt and full disclaimer on the part of the Government, and a promise to seek out and punish the guilty, I do not think that we have a right to demand "*Vindictive damages*". As no one was touched but Mr. Hall, and he was so slightly injured that he was not prevented from making an excursion to Tivoli the next day, we can claim no damages by way of "*Compensation*" strictly. So that to make any pecuniary demand would appear to be taking low ground, and putting ourselves in the condition of demanding a few dollars for the healing of national honor.

Mr. Perkins' case differed in these two points.

1st. The Injury was an absolute pecuniary loss—they robbed him.—

2d. They saw his passport—knew his nationality—and committed the acts alleged deliberately after all fighting was over—"*knowingly and wilfully*"[.]

It seems to me therefore that we had better not make any demand for damages.

The acts themselves being more in the nature of an insult than an absolute damage, are more properly atoned for by a disclaimer, and apology, and the punishment of the guilty individuals, than by pecuniary damages.

The acts being *unintentional* as far as our citizens were concerned, perhaps our national honor will be as effectually satisfied, by the atonement offered, as by insisting upon making them legally responsible for their culpable want of precaution. But I desire to submit all these ques-

tions to the decision of Your Excellency, having purposely placed myself in a position, where I can take any course that Your Excellency may think the honor of our country, and the protection of our citizens travelling abroad may demand.[52]

[*P. S.*] Signori Santangeli, Silvestrelli, Maestricola, Tittoni, and Ferri, distinguished members of the liberal party have been banished from Rome.[53]

ROME March 19th 1860.

John P. Stockton,

U. S. Minister

Sir,

It becomes my duty to inform you that on stepping out of the Consulate to enter my carriage which was at the door this afternoon at six and a half o'clock I was assaulted by a roman Carabiniere in full uniform with drawn sword. He aimed a blow at my head and but for the timely interference of my friend Capt. Delherbe of the 20th Batalion of Chasseurs who accompanied me, would certainly have proved fatal. I have since understood that there had been previously a collision between the people and the Carabinieri on the Piazza Colonna, but this event occurred at the door of the Consulate in the "Via della Fontanella di Borghèse".

At this time there was no crowd collected and those persons I saw were only a few defenceless persons trying to escape from the Carabinieri, who were striking wildly in every direction.

I remain with sentiments of estime [*sic*]

Your Obt. Servant

H. DE V. GLENTWORTH

U. S. Consul

Hon. John P. Stockton Minister Resident of the United States of America at Rome.

Sir,

I beg leave to call your attention to an occurrence concerning me three days ago.

Monday evening last about 6.1/2 o'clock, I was walking on the "Via del Corso", with my friend Mr. Hill, coming from the "Piazza del Popolo", towards the "Via dè Condotti"; when we were between the "Via delle Carrozze", and the "Via dè Condotti" we heard before us the noise of a commotion, and saw three or four men or more running rapidly towards and past us. Suddenly came a troop of gendarmes on horse and on foot, brandishing naked swords, we heard the cry "in casa", or the like and stepped into the nearest doorway, where, the door being closed, there was scarce room to stand. I stepped out one step for a moment to seek a more secure place, when a gendarme on foot struck me over the shoulders with his bare sword, I said we were American, to which he replied "non importa" or some thing of the kind, and struck me again with his sword, this time on the head, cutting me on the brow between the eye and the temple, a wound that bled abundantly. Then they swept on, another gendarme having been at his side all the while, and we walked unmolested to the

[52] This affair is related by Leo F. Stock in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, III, n. s., p. 10, XV, pp. 239-240.

[53] Leti, *op. cit.*, II, 133-134.

"Condotti" and the "Piazza di Spagna". There was no crowd around us at the time; the street was almost empty at that point.

Respectfully

WILLIAM WARE HALL

ROME, March 22, 1860.

I was with Mr. Hall at the time of the occurrence above described and can certify to the truth of the foregoing statement. I may add that the gendarme in company with the one who struck Mr. Hall, aimed a blow at my head with his sabre, which fortunately did not reach me: He then swept on with his fellows, I standing in the doorway throughout.

ADAMS S. HILL

ROME, March 22d. 1860

JOHN P. STOCKTON TO LEWIS CASS. NO. 20.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT ROME April 16th 1860.

Sir

I had the honor under date of the 22d of March in despatch No. 19 to state to Your Excellency the circumstances connected with the attack of the Papal troops upon the populace in the Corso, on the evening of the 19th of March, and the course I had taken in reference to the American citizens who had made complaints.

Since that time most of the facts have been spread before the world in the French and English journals, I shall therefore confine myself to a statement of some few cases which have come under my own observation, or which I have seen stated over the signatures of the parties concerned.

Nicholas Fischer is a painter from Wiesbaden in Nassau, he went to the Pincian Hill at a quarter past six on the evening of the 19th, about sunset he passed from the Piazza del Popolo into the Corso, he was approaching the house of the Russian Minister (nearly three quarters of a mile from the "piazza Colonna") when he met 12 or 15 people flying from the piazza Colonna towards the Popolo, immediately before him was a carriage which prevented him from seeing the "Carabinieri" who pursued until they were close upon him, he was cut down by a sabre without any warning in front of the Russian Ministers house. When he came to himself he was almost alone, and his wound was bleeding profusely.

Signor Pachetti was quietly taking a cup of coffee in a Caffé with the Marquis Venuti, every thing was quiet, he heard no sound, when suddenly the door was burst open and four Gendarmes entered and without any reason or motive commenced to cut down every one they saw, some of the younger persons escaped, but he being an old man was cut down where he sat, and severely wounded.

An English gentleman was walking in in [*sic*] the Corso with his mother an elderly lady, he was struck with a sabre, and upon his remonstrating, his mother was struck also.

The cook of the Russian Legation was wounded in the legation as he was looking out of the window.

A Belgian Gentleman was wounded while walking in the corso, and immediately after leaving him the same persons attacked a carriage containing ladies.

Three or four English and one American gentleman were dining together on the corso, they heard a noise and went to the window, they saw few people in the street, but they saw the Gendarmes cutting the doors and windows and crying out " fuori " " fuori ".

These gentlemen are all men of the highest positions, and the evidence cannot be disputed. The " Giornale di Roma " the official organ of the Government contains the following article.

A disagreeable event which happened in this Capital on the afternoon of Monday last the 19th was so insignificant that we did not chose to speak of it: But from newspapers which have arrived to day we see that it was thought worthy of a telegram from Rome which was " yesterday (19) an attempt to get up a demonstration was immediately repressed. Quiet was maintained ".

This telegram though kept within the limits of truth will not prevent the ordinary correspondents of the newspapers of upper and central Italy, from issuing some of their high flown accounts, the offspring of their fanciful imagination. Therefore we deem it proper to outstrip them in giving a brief and true account of what happened.

On Monday last 19th in the afternoon the revolutionary faction desired to make a demonstration in the Corso hostile to the Pontifical Government, by means of disturbances made by hired people. Such a plot being discovered, and the necessary precautions being taken, the French troops and the Pontifical Gendarmes were placed in such a manner as to be able to repress at all events any disorder. In fact towards five o'clock actual disturbances took place, led by two tanners, who were quickly arrested by the Gendarmes. The excited multitude began now to abuse and hiss the Gendarmes, attempting even to free the arrested men.

As they did not succeed the rioters to whom were added a great many idle people belonging to the lowest order assembled in the Piazza Colonna continuing to provoke with abuse the public force. Then a fraction of Gendarmery valiantly moved against the rioters, and this was sufficient to disperse and set them to flight.

Men of order applaud the action of the brave Gendarmes. In less than an hour the greatest quiet prevailed every where. In the unhappy encounter very few people were wounded, and their wounds have proved to be light.

It will be observed that the charge was made *without any notice or warning*—That it was made after the arrest of the two tanners, and after the alleged unsuccessful attempt to liberate them—That it was made at an other time, and in another place—That it was made *because* the people " were continuing to provoke with abuse the public force ".

An order of the day by the Commander in chief takes substantially the same view of the matter.

ROME 20th

Deplorable events occurred on the corso last evening, but we must examine their origin in order to understand them. In fact, to hiss is equivalent to a blow. It is offering an insult from a distance instead of close at hand. It provokes a revenge which justifiable indignation does not always allow to be taken with proper calmness. Such is the cause of the lamentable circumstances, which followed the onset of the insulted Pontifical Gendarmery. But the order was given by a French officer, who could not permit that insult to be endured by men in military uniform, without degrading them and humiliating himself. The order was therefore properly given, but its execution unhapily was not such as it would have been with men knowing that a cool and firm repression is infinitely better because it avoids the irritation, which blind passion suggests. Let us be calm ourselves and moderate in our judgments. Let us remember that according to the Emperors orders our duty is to maintain here the supremacy of the law and respect for authority, and that for that purpose we are the supports of the pontifical troops. If we obstruct or paralyse their action we weaken the power we ought to support and we place ourselves under the necessity of fulfilling their duties ourselves. There is no alternative. The latter would make our service much heavier, let us therefore confine ourselves to the former which is our strictest duty. The General is profoundly afflicted at the disasters which have befallen officers and soldiers under his command, but he has too much confidence in their nobleness of character not to feel sure they will acknowledge that this lamentable occurrence arose from no ill feeling towards them, but from the rash conduct of men blinded with passion, when provoked by unbearable insults. The General recomends the soldiers to avoid crowds, and to retire to their barracks, or to the troops stationed for the maintenance of order. He will receive the complaints of the wounded and prosecute the guilty parties if they can be identified.

It is a curious fact that confirms the point so clearly admitted above, that none of the Gendarmery were wounded, nor have I heard of a single weapon being used by the populace, or of any manner of deadly instrument being found on any of those arrested. I have the honor to submit to your Excellency the following reply to my letter to his Eminence the Secretary of State.

(*Translation from the original.*)

FROM THE VATICAN April 5th 1860.

To The Minister Resident of the United States of America near the Holy Seat.

The undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State felt a sincere grief on the receipt of the valued note of Your Excellency dated March 23d last, in which after having renewed in writing his complaint for what befel, the Consul of the United States on the evening of the 19th of the same month, he added the other wrongs of his countrymen respectively in the same case.

Taking the most lively interest in such a representation, he hastened to call the attention of Monsignor the Director General of Police and Superior Commander in chief of the Gendarmes (Pontifical) to the subject, in order that an exact inquiry should be instituted. From the answer received from him it results, that the whole body of the Gendarmes deeply regret that any of their number have committed the excesses of which your Excellency complains and which are corroborated by the documents annexed, but it is hoped that the injured people will believe that the Gendarmes (from whom it is now spoken) did not act from

any want of respect to the American natiionality, nor from individual hate, much less from any disparagement of the Consular representatives.

It is known to every body that the Gendarmes provoked with insults by a gang of insubordinate people, were obliged to act in a military manner against the tumultuous crowd, to pursue and disperse it; behavior which was approved by the French Commander, as your Excellency has seen in the official Journal. So that some French officers who were wounded have made no complaint of any kind.

It is evident that in the heat of the conflict it was impossible for the soldiers to distinguish one person from another, and it was not from animosity that the Consul of the United States was attacked, and his countrymen wounded, but from an inevitable consequence of an unfortunate circumstance, in which some inocent people were injured, as usualy happens in similar cases.

Nevertheless although it may be difficult to ascertain these soldiers whom it is supposed committed the excesses, notwithstanding we will continue to seek out those who have abused their weapons, that they may be subjected to the measures of Justice.

The Cardinal undersigned hopes therefore that Your Excellency in his high rectitude and impartiality will be able to remove from his mind every bad impression, which may have been produced by the matter in question, and that he will consider it as an involuntary accident deeply lamented.

In this firm persuasion the undersigned begs leave to renew the sense of his most distinguished consideration.

G. C. Antonelli.

To this letter of his Eminence I replied under date of the 16th as follows.

(*Translation from the original.*)

Legation of the United States of America near the Holy Seat

Rome the 16th April 1860.

To His Reverend Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State

The undersigned Minister Resident of the United States of America near the Holy Seat has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from his Reverend Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, under date of the 5th of April, in reply to the note of the undersigned of the 24th of March.

The expressions of regret at what had occurred on the 19th, the assurance that the attack did not arise from any want of respect to the nation or official position of the parties respectively; with the promise to ascertain and punish the soldiers who had misused their arms: will enable the undersigned so to present the matter to his government, that he hopes the government of the United States actuated by a strong desire to avoid all cause of difficulty with the Papal Government, and a proper consideration for the present position of the States of the Church, will rest satisfied with the explanation offered.

As soon as the undersigned can receive a reply, he will communicate to his Eminence the views of his government on the subject.

The undersigned regrets that the direct reference his Eminance has made to the "Giornale di Roma" as the *official* journal, makes it necessary in order that silence may not be construed into acquiescence, that the undersigned should plainly express his disent from the view of the matter taken in that journal.

The undersigned disents from the unqualified approval of the Gendarmes contained therein.

As the unlawful acts committed more than a half mile from the Piazza Colonna,

are justified under no order given, that "fraction" of the body which after executing the duty assigned, charged down the Corso committing the acts of excess alleged, were engaged together, mutually assisting in an unlawful enterprize. They are all equally guilty. *Each Individual is a Principal in every act that occurred.* They should have been excepted from any reward or praise bestowed; nor can the terms "brave" and "valiant" be properly applied to such men or such deeds.

In Justice to those rules of right the preservation of which is the common duty of all civilized nations; and which it is more particularly the duty of the undersigned on his part to vindicate, on account of the large number of his compatriots resident and sojourning in Rome: The undersigned is obliged to say that he cannot consider the events which have happened as unavoidable, or the injury of the innocent and unsuspecting as "*inevitable accident*"[.]

Where an act produces injury to the innocent, in order to Justify under the doctrine of inevitable accident or the act of God, It must be made to appear that the thing done was legal in itself, and was executed with all the precautions the case admitted of. The undersigned has seen no account of this unfortunate affair which presents such an emergency as would justify an indiscriminate attack, *without notice or warning.*

If however the absolute safety of the public demanded such immediate and violent action, as to make all notice to the innocent *impossible*: The undersigned must still believe that it was *possible* to have selected for that delicate duty another corps than that which his Eminence admits had already been "provoked with Insults"[.]

In reply to the observation of his Eminence that the two French officers wounded had made no complaint, the undersigned has the honor to say, that this fact could not by any possibility affect the undersigned in the discharge of his duty, Neither is it a matter upon which it would be proper for the undersigned to comment. But as his Eminence has stated the fact in a manner which might lead to an erroneous inference, the undersigned can see no impropriety in referring his Eminence on this point to the same high authority to which his Eminence has himself referred. His Eminence will find the following in the French journals, as well as in Il "Monitore Toscana" of the 2d. from which it is copied.

"ROME 23d. of March

"The General of Division hastens to make known that he received yesterday on the part of the Pontifical Government the most feeling expressions of regret for the wounds received by two officers of the division in the riot of the 19th. Moreover a deputation of officers of the Pontifical Gendarmery in full uniform headed by a superior officer, had come to express similar sentiments, and obtain the names and addresses of the wounded, in order to present to them the same testimony of sympathy. The General therefore trusts that no unpleasant feeling will be left by the accident fortunately not very serious, but still most regrettable and deeply regretted.

"The General Commanding Division, Aid[e] de
camp of His Majesty the Emperor.
COUNT DE GOYON."

It appears then that before Mr. Hall or Mr. Hill made their complaint, the Roman Government had already made such apology, with such forms and ceremonies as were deemed applicable to the case of the wounded officers.

The undersigned submits to the good judgment of his Eminence, that the innocent and unsuspecting stranger, unarmed and defenceless, returning from a cus-

tomary promenade on the Pincian Hill, or the Consul of the United States of America as he stepped from under the Consulate, were quite as much entitled to protection; and explanations and apologies were quite as requisite in their case, as in that of any individual of the corps, who were the actors in this unfortunate affair.

The undersigned takes this opportunity to renew to his Reverend Eminence the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

JOHN P. STOCKTON

It is hardly necessary for me to comment on this correspondence; it speaks for itself. The letter of the Secretary of State would not have demanded a prompt reply, if he had not referred me to *The Giornale di Roma* as the *official* journal.

To have remained silent would have been to admit, that whenever the troops of the Government who are on duty, are " provoked with insults " by any persons in a crowd, an immediate order to charge among the multitude of women and children and strangers who may throng the Corso at the moment, is not only justifiable, but the act is a " valiant " one, and the individuals are to be applauded as " brave ". That no notice or warning is necessary on such occasions. That after selecting a body of furious men and turning them lose on an unarmed populace, all injury which happened to the innocent even three quarters of a mile from any disturbance is " inevitable accident " or the act of God. The excitement among the strangers here at the article in the *Giornale* and the order of the day, which came to us in the French papers was very great. Several gentlemen informed me that a public expression of opinion would be made by the English and American visitors; this of course I discouraged, and refused to be connected with any movement of the kind.

I make any demand on this government with great reluctance on account of the difficulties with which the Italian question is still surrounded.

But unpleasant as it is to be dissenting and protesting upon questions of this kind; neither my duty to my countrymen here, or the honor of my country permitted me to remain silent.

I think your Excellency will be convinced that no milder expression of dissent could have been made, consistently with a proper vindication of the principles attacked.

JOHN P. STOCKTON TO LEWIS CASS. No. 21.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT ROME April 25th 1860

Sir:

I am in the receipt of a small pamphlet from the department entitled A " List of officers of The Department of State including the List of

Ministers, Consuls, and other Diplomatic and Commercial Agents of The United States in Foreign Countries, on March 19 1860.["]

Upon examination I find that " Carrara " is put down as a Consulate within the Pontifical States, which is I presume an error as I know of no place of that name within the limits of this Legation. The place of that name which is so celebrated for its marble is in the kingdom of Sardinia now, and was before the revolution, in Modena.

My attention was called by this list to the fact, that while there was a person acknowledged by the Roman Government as *Consul of the United States at Civita-Vecchia,* and acting as such; *that there was no such place or such officer in our list.*

I therefore sent for the person Mr. Edgar T. Welby and asked him who gave him his appointment and whether he was an acknowledged officer of our government. He told me that he held his position by virtue of a commission as consul from my predecessor, and handed me the commission with an Exequatur duly endorsed. He also informed me that he was an Englishman and had never been in America.

I took a copy of the commission which I enclose herewith, and told him that the list I received from the Department did not contain his name, and that my opinion was that he could not be appointed a full consul without the action of the President, and that as he was not an American citizen, his commission certainly was not legal. But as he had no doubt been appointed by my predecessor for good reasons, and as the government here had formally acknowledged him by endorsing an Exequatur, I thought is was more courteous towards the action of my predecessor not to interfere in any way with his act myself; but at the same time my duty required that I should state the facts to the department.

I have never had any complaint in reference to the conduct either private or official of Mr. Welby, I believe that a consulate is much more necessary at Civita Vecchia than any other sea-porte in the Roman States. I therefore suggest that the name Civita Vecchia be inserted in the next list, and that I should be authorized to give an appoinment as " Vice-Consul " to Mr. Welby.

As the matter now stands the Roman Government could if aware of the facts find fault, and if from any matter arising which would make the legallity of his appointment a question we should be called upon to explain, it would be difficult to sustain, the commission a copy of which I enclose.

Not having any reason whatever to object to the appointment, and being only desirous to make legal as far as possible the act of my predecessor I suggest the course above mentioned. If the Department however deem it proper to give him an appointment as full consul and can do so legally, his name should be inserted in the list of consuls.[54]

[54] The Department of State apparently made no reply on this subject. The lists of appointments do not contain the name of Welby.

There is here a young American named Henry Seton,[55] who has a promise of a commission in the Austrian Army, if he can get a certificate from the Minister here; that he has the right to Expatriate himself, I presume that our principle is that a man may expatriate himself, and that I may say that much on paper, but I shall await your Excellency's advice.

(*Copy.*)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA April 17, 1858.

The Undersigned, by virtue of the Authority within him vested, hereby nominate and appoint Edgar Welby, Vice Consul at Civitavecchia, to be Consul at the same port.

L. CASS.

Exequatur.

Registrato negli atti della Segretaria di Stato e di parola in parola transcritta dal suo originale come al No. 238 del relativo Registro e del Protocollo No. 92430—Roma Ventuno Maggio 1858.

Per Monsig. Sostituto D. Guidi Minutante

ALESS. GIOVANNINI ARCHIVISTA.

L. S.

Tassa scudo uno

Registrato negli atti della Segretaria Generale e di parola in parola transcritta dal suo originale come al No. 293 del Registro Relativo, e del Protocollo No. 2384 Civitavecchia 13 Giugno 1858.

Il Segratario Generale

IGNAZO MARCHETTI

L. S.

JOHN P. STOCKTON TO LEWIS CASS. No. 22.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NEAR THE HOLY SEAT.

ROME 29th May 1860

Sir

I have the honor to transmit herewith a communication from the Cardinal Secretary of State in reference to an alleged aggression on the papal territory by persons coming from Tuscany.

11401 DALLE STANZE DEL VATICANO

21. Maggio 1860

Quasichè fosse poco il sacrilego spoglio delle Legazioni negli Stati della S. Sede, si aggiunge ora una nuova aggressione a mano armata nel territorio Viterbese

[55] An older brother of Archbishop Robert Seton. He later became a lieutenant in a rifle battalion of the Austrian army, but resigned at the outbreak of the American Civil War to accept a commission of captain with the Union forces. Archbishop Seton, *Memories of Many Years, 1839-1922* (London, 1923), p. 134.

da un'orda di fuorusciti provenienti dalla limitrofa Toscana. Il Giorno 19. del Corte secondo un rapporto del Colonnello Pimodan un Corpo di così delli Volontari in tto di 350, passarono il Confine e saccheggiarono Latera. Avvisatone il detto Colo. Pimodan in Montefiascone, mosse contro di essi con un distaccamento di 60. Gendarmi a cavallo, e conosciuto che i ribaldi eransi introdotti nel paese " Le Grotte ", accorse tosto sul luogo ove costoro eransi riuniti in tt. di 200.

Impegnatasi la mischia, sebbene con forze assai disuguali, i Gendarmi si slanciarono con tale un ardore contro quegl'invasori, che ne uccisero parecchi, fra quali un certo Orsini, molti ne ferirono e dispersero. Disgraziatamente nella lotta la Gendarmeria che diè prova di ammirabile valore e coraggio, soffri la perdita di due di loro, restando gravemente ferito un Ufficiale e due Comuni.

Questo nuovo attentato commesso al Patrimonio della Chiesa per opra di gente armata a' foggia di ordinata milizia che irrompe da un vicino Stato, che, sotto gli occhi di coloro i quali reggono ora i destini della Toscana, si provvede liberamente di armi, ed a cui si permette contra ogni legge internazionale, contro ogni diritto divino ed umano di portare la rapina ed il saccheggio ovunque ad essa talenta, muoverà senza dubbio a giusto sdegno il Cattolicismo ed ogni Governo amante dell'ordine, della giustizia e del diritto delle genti.

Il Sottoscritto Cardinale Segretario di Stato si affretta di partecipare questo fatto di vandalica scorreria a Vostra Eccelenza, affinchè voglia renderne istruito il Suo Governo e farlo persuaso che, laddove non si arresti col concorso dei Potentati sì inaudita baldanza tutta propria dei Secoli di barbarie, avranno a deplorarsi le più fatali conseguenze, la responsabilità delle quali ricadrà su quelli che, messo da parte ogni rispetto al diritto, minano la base della Società.

Profitta il Sottoscritto di questa occasione per confermare alla E. V. i sensi della distinta sua considerazione

G. C. Antonelli

Sig. Ministro Residte. degli Stati Uniti di America.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 23.

Legation of the United States of America near the Holy Seat

Rome, May 29th 1860

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No 10 dated April 27th 1860,[56] in which the receipt of my despatch of the 22d March no 19 containing the account of the attack upon citizens of the United States by the Papal Carabinieri is acknowledged.

It is a source of much satisfaction to me that the course I pursued as well as the views expressed have met with Your Excellency's approval.

Your Excellency has no doubt since the date of No. 10, received my despatch no. 20 containing all the subsequent events in the affair.

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[56] This instruction, approving Stockton's course in the matter of the recent assaults on Glentworth, Hill, and Hall, is not printed, since it adds nothing to the record.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 24.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome. June 9th 1860

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that at the request of Monsignor Berardi the Under Secretary of State, I received two large cases and a package, directed to Mr. Bince at New York, the Consul General of the Papal States.[57]

I am informed that these boxes contain presents to the Government of the United States from the Papal Government.

The package I forwarded by the Consul of the United States at this place Mr. Glentworth who goes directly to New York. The boxes I have had shipped from Leghorn to New York.

I shall charge the freight as a special matter in the Contingent account.

Since the affair on the frontier (in despatch no. 22) the Papal States have remained tranquil; Lamoriciere is exhibiting great ability and energy in his effort to reorganize the papal army.[58]

The taking of Palermo on the 27th by Garibaldi was anticipated here by all familiar with the history of the movement.[59] My impression is that Sicily is lost to the house of Bourbon; and unless some of the great powers interfere it will not be long before another step is taken in the great march to Italian unity, towards constitutional liberty.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 25.

Legation of the United States of America near the Holy Seat

Rome 12 June 1860

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I am in the receipt of a communication from his Reverend Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State; informing me that the Government of the Holy Seat for the safety and security of navigation in the waters which wash their coasts had determined to place at the ports of "*Ancona*" and "*Civitavecchia*" two new light houses *alla Fresnel,* which will in a short time be in operation.

The enclosed notice was forwarded to me at the same time with the request that I would forward it to the Government of the United States.[60]

I have forwarded a copy in the care of our minister at Naples, to the Flag officer commanding the Mediterranean Squadron.

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[57] L. B. Binsse represented the Papal States as Consul General in New York.

[58] Gen. Cristoforo de Lamoricière was later defeated at Castelfidardo, Sept. 18, 1860, and after taking refuge in Ancona was forced to capitulate Sept. 29. De Cesare, *Last Days of Papal Rome,* pp. 281-291; Leti, *Roma e lo Stato Pontificio,* II, pp. 22-44.

[59] Thayer, *Cavour,* II, pp. 295 *et seq.*; Solmi, *The Making of Modern Italy,* pp. 98-101.

[60] The enclosure was not given.

Lewis Cass to John P. Stockton. No. 11.[61]

Department of State, Washington, June 16th, 1860.

Sir:

I transmit a copy of a letter of this date addressed to the Department by the counsel of the claimants in the Sartori case. In the instruction to you upon the subject of the 12th. of November, last, you were directed to abstain from any formal intervention in behalf of the claimants, especially in writing. As it appears, however, that Cardinal Antonelli has asked for a written statement, a memorandum of the principal facts, to be handed to him in an interview, would not, perhaps, be inconsistent with that instruction, or with the reserve upon the subject which is deemed best under existing circumstances. As Mr. J. B. Sartori, however, the person originally aggrieved, is reputed to have been a worthy man and a faithful United States Consul at Rome, and as his children are natives of this country, no objection is entertained to your informing Cardinal Antonelli orally, at the time when you may present the memorandum referred to, that this government would be gratified if the Pontifical Government would do anything which may be in its power, towards causing justice to be done to the heirs of Mr. Sartori.[62]

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 26.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome June 24th 1860.

Sir:

The Papal States have remained tranquil since the date of my last despatch. The recruits from Ireland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Smaller German States have been coming in daily: Even the Russian Language is distinguished among this heterogeneous collection. Gen. Lamoricière is energetic and untiring in his efforts to organize and discipline them, but the diversity of language, and the fact that they are mostly the worst portion of the population of the respective countries from which they come makes the task a difficult one.

There are also here many young men of good families in France belonging to the Legitimist party, who have come down to take service in the cause of " divine right " they are called the crusaders.

A circumstance occurred at a caffé which is situated in the same palace as the head quarters of the General commanding in chief the French Army of occupation, which is much spoken of in Rome, and which serves to show the troubles in which Gen. Lamoricière and the Papal Government find themselves. It is said that on the evening of the 5th there was at the caffé Nuovo a Supper given by the French Legitimists

[61] Concerning No. 10, see note 56, *ante*.

[62] See pp. 158, 159, 164, *ante*.

and "crusaders" in the Service of the Holy Seat, and that General Lamoricière was present. The festivity was kept up to a late hour, *they toasted Henry 5th* and pronounced the most offensive and insulting discourses against the Emperor Napoleon and Victor Emanuele. A calf's head was brought on the table, one of the party arose, and brandishing a knife struck it violently with many blows saying "Cosi possa accadere alla testa di Napoleone III.["]

General Goyon [63] who as I said inhabited the same palace made useless efforts to stop the noise, and at last ordered a French battalion to patrol to Corso, and placed pickets in the vicinity of the revellers.

It is further said that General Goyon telegraphed to Paris and has received orders to remove all the Roman troops 25 miles from the city of Rome.

I am not certain that all these details are true, but this is the story as it is believed here in diplomatic circles. I have not written to the department in reference to the important movements in Sicily since my despatch of the 9th as they have exercised no important influence here except to make the government tremble at the effect the progress of the great General may have on the Legations.

I have no doubt the plan is to attack Naples, and then the "Marches" and form a junction with the Tuscans.

The Commander Martino who is the Neapolitan Minister near the Holy Seat, and who is considered one of the ablest diplomats in Europe, passed Civitta Vecchia in the Steamship *Carmel* on Monday morning last on his way from Marseilles to Naples. He had been sent to see the Emperor and beg for assistance on any terms, the point was not to *regain Sicily* but to *preserve Naples.* The Emperor I am credibly informed told him "it was too late, the Government of the Kingdom of Naples had refused his advice when he had tendered it, and had no right now to expect his interference".

I expect no trouble in Rome as I think the Emperor knows the "programe" and will keep his troops here to preserve order, nor do I think Garibaldi will make any movement that the Emperor will "*sincerely*" disaprove of.

There are so many false statements in the papers, that it may be useful to your Excellency to have a correct summary of the events which followed the taking of Palermo, referred to in my last.

After a Bombardment of 19 hours, which destroyed a part of the town, and a sharp combat lasting 3 days in the streets of Palermo, an armistice of 24 hours was agreed upon to gather up the wounded, and bury the dead, who encumbered the streets. These bodies under the hot sun of Sicily threatened to poison the air. During this truce the Left. General Lanza representing the King of Naples in Sicily, demanded an

[63] In command of the Army of Occupation.

interview of Garibaldi.[64] The interview took place on an English Ship. Lanza said that by virtue of full powers he would yield all the demands that could be made. Garibaldi replied that he confined himself [to] the military part that for the rest he would consult with the Sicilian Committee established in Palermo. This Committee being sent for came on board the ship. Lanza assured them that the heart of the King was very good, that he would pardon all, that he would yield every thing, that in his quality of representative, he gave his word of honor, and would in case of need make oath, that the Sicilians, would have only to make known their wishes, the committee replied, that they thanked the King and his Lieut. General but that the Sicilians, *wished only* and *demanded only* two things.

1st The departure of the troops from the Island.
2nd The renunciation of the reigning dynasty.

That the Sicilians absolutely wished nothing *more.*

The General Lanza not being able to consent to these demands, asked permission to Embark for Naples with his troops, the committee and Garibaldi granted it to him, on condition that they embarked ["]without arms". Lanza not having dared to assume the responsibility of the acceptance of these humiliating proposals, demanded a second truce of 48 hours, to enable him to take the orders of the King. This being accorded Lanza sent to Naples, in the ship the *Saetta,* General Letizia and Colonel Buonopane,[65] the King convoked immediately the Counsel of State, after which he sent in great haste, Letizia to Palermo, that He might arrive there before the expiration of the truce.

That which they decided in this counsel I do not certainly know. But the troops almost immediately commenced to depart from Palermo, I learn from a good authority that the King has submitted himself to the decision of France, and that the departure of Martino [66] for Paris, had for its end the demand for intervention of France. The Carnage at Palermo was horrid. *Every body the priests, the Monks, infants, women, Nuns, fought in despair against the troops.*

Among the details " *piquante* ", it is added that Garibaldi had invited Lanza and other Neapolitan officers to dinner, and that they had accepted. I am assured that Garibaldi and the Neapolitan Generals were seen riding in the same carriage.

At Naples they are very uneasy, strong patrols promenade the streets, but I do not think there will be an explosion, until the Iniative comes from the provinces or abroad, because the Liberals themselves fear the La[n]zaroni.

I have heard here indirectly through another Legation that an Ameri-

[64] An account of this interview, on board the *Hannibal,* will be found in Thayer, II, pp. 297-303.

[65] *Ibid.,* p. 302.

[66] Neapolitan minister to Rome.

can ship *The Charles and Jane,* had been taken on the High Seas, by a Neapolitan Steamer, and all on board taken to the fortress at Gaeta.

And it was added that Mr. Chandler had demanded indemnity and release.[67] But as the department have no doubt authentic information direct from Mr. Chandler, I shall not trouble them with any of the particulars, which came from a source less authentic.

I am satisfied that my prediction will be verified and that Rome will for some time to come remain tranquil, because the Emperor cannot strengthen the church party or ultramontanes by assisting their Union with the Legitimists, which he would certainly do, if the Pope were obliged to leave Rome for want of his protection.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 27.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome Sept. 11th 1860.

Sir

The important events which were anticipated by the tenor of my last despatch, and which have resulted in the departure of Francis II from Naples on the night of the 6th with the triumphant entry of General Garibaldi on the 7th, proclaiming Victor Emanuel and his descendants King of Italy:[68] have not failed to exercise an important influence on affairs in the Papal States.

Within a week past I have observed large bodies of troops composing the flower of the Sardinian army moving towards the Papal frontier, and taking positions which denoted either expectation of an attack from the Papal troops some 30,000 strong under General La Moricière, or an intention to pass the frontier themselves to raise the Legations and unite with the Neapolitan movement.

The news from Naples together with these movements has encouraged the popular party and produced a Revolution in "Umbria" and "the Marches". They have risen to the cry of Long Live Victor Emanuel[!] Pesaro! Urbino! Montefelto! Feltria! and Pieve are all in revolt.

At "Urbino" it commenced at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 8th. The Papal Carabinieri having been invited to fraternize, replied with

[67] Joseph R. Chandler, former representative from Pennsylvania in 31-33 Congress, and minister resident in the Two Sicilies, 1858-1860. This vessel was on her way to Trapani to purchase a cargo of salt and had agreed to carry for the Garibaldi Committee 800 men and munitions as far as Cagliari, which was used as a station for supplies for the near-by island of Sicily. The capture, off the island of Elba, was held illegal, and the Neapolitan government released the vessel. Marraro, *op. cit.,* p. 285.

[68] Francis II, popularly called "Franceschiello", withdrew to Gaeta, Feb. 12, 1861. After the seizure of that fortress, he withdrew to Rome where he remained until 1870. He died in Austria, Dec. 27, 1894. Marraro, *op. cit.,* pp. 279-298; Thayer, *op. cit.,* II, 370-371, 441.

their guns, but two of their officers were wounded, and two privates killed before they made their escape from the city.

At " Pieve " It commenced at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 9th the populace crying " Viva Vittorio Emanuele *Re d'Italia* ".

The Carabinieri were disarmed and a provisional government appointed. It is said the Enthusiasm of the people is incredible.

We also know that Umbria and the Marches have sent a deputation to Turin of the most honored of their citizens to invoke the protection and aid of Victor Emanuel.

In the mean time, while these formidable military movements are taking place both on the Tuscan and Neapolitan side of the papal frontier, while the Legations in open rebellion call on Piedmont for aid; Count Cavour sends to the Cardinal Antonelli a note demanding that the Papal Government disband the foreign troops enlisted under General La Moricière. The formation of the corps is pronounced a gross violation of the principle of nonintervention which Piedmont it is alleged has scrupulously observed, and the continued existence of the corps is said to be a permanent peril to Piedmont.

General La Moriciere at this important moment is said to be sick with the Roman fever, and Monsignore De Mérode the present Minister of War has left Rome for the head of the Army.[69] De Mérode is a nephew of the Marquis de La Fayette, and also a relative of General De La Moriciere. It is De Mérode and not the Cardinal Antonelli who should bear all the responsibility of the attempt to retain the Legations by large levies of foreign troops.

The result which I predicted at the opening of the hostile movements nearly two years ago seems on the point of being realized, the policy was undoubtedly foreshadowed in the recent pamphlet of " La Guerronierre "; [70] and the Pope will be confined both in the object and extent of his jurisdiction. Italy united may be the result. Victor Emanuel will be *King of Italy.* But is this the end! or Is it but the commencement of a long and desperate struggle between " *Cavour* " and " *Mazini* ".

Will the descendants of Victor Emanuel or of any other family remain *Kings* of Italy.

Napoleon the III was necessary to drive out the Austrians, to liberate Tuscany and Lombardy from the house of Hapsburg.

Victor Emanuel is necessary to the downfall of the temporal power of the Pontiffs, and the fall of the Bourbon.

But when the Austrian is driven out of Italy even to the Adriatic, when the house of Hapsburg, and of Bourbon and the Pontiffs are no more;

[69] Mgr. Saverio de Mérode, had been active in organizing papal regiments of volunteers from all countries. He was succeeded as Minister of War by Ermanno Kanzler. De Cesare, *op. cit.,* pp. 270-271, 354; Mollat, *op. cit.,* pp. 320, 354; Mérode's life and works have been edited by Mgr. L. Besson (Lille, 1898).

[70] *Le Pape et le Congrès,* the authorship of which was ascribed to La Gueronnière.

Can the house of Savoy stand long alone to combat that mighty power with which it gained its triumph.

But events are too rapid now for any one to stop and speculate, this moment I have had put in my hand the proclamation of Victor Emanuel. *Soldati Voi Entrate nelle Marche e nell'Umbria etc.*[71]

It speaks for itself and needs no comment; and as I have gained this information by a trip into Tuscany across the Romagna, and feel sure that this proclamation has not yet reached any diplomat in Rome I close my despatch that I may not delay it.

VITTORIO EMANUELE II.

SOLDATI!

Voi entrate nelle Marche e nell'Umbria per ristaurare l'ordine civile nelle desolate Città, e per dare ai Popoli la libertà di esprimere i proprii voti. Non avete a combattere potenti eserciti, ma a liberare infelici Provincie Italiane dalle straniere Compagnie di ventura. Non andate a vendicare le ingiurie fatte a Me ed all'Italia, ma ad impedire che gli odii popolari rompano a vendetta della mala signoria. Voi insegnerete coll'esempio il perdono delle offese, e la tolleranza cristiana a chi stoltamente paragonò all'islamismo lo amore alla Patria Italiana.[72]

In pace con tutte le Grandi Potenze, ed alieno da ogni provocazione, Io intendo a togliere dal centro d'Italia una cagione perenne di turbamento e di discordia.

Io voglio rispettare la Sede del Capo della Chiesa, al quale sono sempre pronto a dare, in accordo, colle Potenze alleate ed amiche, tutte quelle guarentigie di indipendenza e di sicurezza, che i suoi ciechi consiglieri si sono indarno repromessi dal fanatismo della setta malvagia cospirante contro la mia autorità e la libertà della Nazione.

SOLDATI!

Mi accusano di ambizione. Sì: ho una ambizione: ed è quella di ristaurare i principii dell'ordine morale in Italia, e di preservare l'Europa dai continui pericoli della rivoluzione e della guerra.

[11] Settembre 1860. VITTORIO EMANUELE.

C. Cavour. Farini.

Firenze. Nella Stamperia Reale.

JOHN P. STOCKTON TO LEWIS CASS. No. 28.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT ROME Sept. 15 1860

Sir

I have the honor to enclose the correspondence between the Count Cavour and the Cardinal Antonelli referred to in my last despatch no. [27.][73]

[71] Appended to this despatch.

[72] Gen. Lamoricière, commander of the papal army, had said: "La revolution, comme autrefois l'islamisme, menace aujourd'hui l'Europe"; Leti, II, 33, where this proclamation is probably more correctly printed.

[73] The enclosed newspaper clippings recording this correspondence were not copied. Sept.

On the morning of the 12th the day after the proclamation was received, It was announced that the Sardinian troops had crossed the frontier in two divisions, one under General Cialdini at Rimini, the other at or near Castello under General Lonaz, (General Fanti Il Ministro della Guerra di S. M. Sarda—is now in Command of this division).[74]

Cialdini's division moved along the coast towards Ancona, (where General La Moriciere by the last accounts had concentrated some 10,000 men). Capturing Pesaro and taking 1200 prisoners including Monsignore Bellá the Delegate.[75]

The other division under General Fanti entered *Perugia* on the 14, the city was captured after a sharp combat from street to street. The papal troops shut themselves up in the fort, but towards night it was taken together with 1600 prisoners. General Schmidt whom your Excellency will remember was promoted for his conduct in capturing this place last year on the occasion of the attack on Mr. Perkins' family was in command of the city, and was among those captured.[76]

I presume these two divisions will unite before attacking Ancona. In the meantime the political world is much agitated in reference to the position which France will take in reference to these movements. The only facts I have at this moment which I can rely on are that the French Minister has been recalled from Turin, and the embassy left in the hands of the Secretary, and that the French garrison in Rome has been strengthened by the 62 Regiment. The General Goyon who had left Rome permanently it is said will return and take the command again.

That every thing will be done to indicate regret and displeasure I am sure. But when I remember that it is in pursuance of the line of policy marked out for the settlement of the Italian question, I am obliged to doubt whether the Emperor will feel bound to act seriously in the matter. It has been said that all the differences between France and Piedmont since the treaty of Villa Franca were feigned. That they had always been in perfect accord.

7, Cavour protested to Antonelli against the excesses committed by the foreign mercenaries under Gen. Lamoricière, and threatened, unless they were disbanded, to send troops across the border to suppress them. Antonelli denied the charges of brutality, declared the disorders were fomented by Cavour himself, and protested against any encroachment upon the Pope's temporal authority. The text of these letters will be found in De Cesare, *Roma e lo Stato del Papa* (Rome, 1907), II, 62-64; see also Thayer, *op. cit.*, II, 386-387; Mollat, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

[74] A biographical note concerning Gen. Enrico Cialdini will be found in Leti, *op. cit.*, II, 35 n.-36 n. He died Sept. 8, 1892. Gen. Manfredo Fanti was Minister of War in Cavour's cabinet from Jan. 21, 1860, to June 6, 1861. He died Apr. 5, 1865. *Ibid.*, p. 39; see also T. Palamengh-Crispi, "Cavour, Fanti e la campagna delle Marche e dell'Umbria", in *Il Risorgimento italiano*, 1917, pp. 254-259.

[75] Mgr. Tancredi Bellà succeeded Pasquale Badìa who had been transferred to Perugia. Leti, II, 37-38.

[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 29.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome Sept. 25, 1860

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that since the date of my last despatch the Piedmontese Army have continued their operations in the States of the church with uninterrupted success.

After the capture of Pesaro General Cialdini by a forced march took a position between Ancona and the Army of La Moriciere, General Cialdini thus forced upon the Papal Army the necessity of action, which on their part they were not slow to take advantage of, as the strategical position they thus occupied was an extremely good one; offering the garrison at "Ancona" the opportunity of taking part in an attack without deserting their stronghold.

On the morning of the 18th La Moriciere with 11,000 men and 14 pieces of artillery commenced the attack in the vicinity of Castel Fidardo. The contest was short, but bloody and violent. A column of 4,000 made a sortie at the same time from Ancona, but were soon obliged to retreat into the city.[77]

The result of the battle of Castel Fidardo by the official despatch of "Cialdini" was to prevent the Union of the corps of La Moriciere with the forces in Ancona, 600 prisoners among whom were 30 officers, 6 pieces of artillery, with arms bagage etc.

The United Neapolitan and Sardinian fleets have blockaded the city of Ancona. The other division now under General Fanti has advanced nearly to the limits of the "Comarca". Viterbo was occupied on the 21st by the "Caciatori de Fevere" and the city has declared itself for the government of Victor Emanuel.

In the mean time a serious difficulty has arisen between Garibaldi and "Cavour" which threatens to produce most important results.[78]

Although Garibaldi has headed his proclamations in the name of Victor Emanuel, he has always opposed an *immediate* annexation either of Sicily or Naples. He says "they desired me to annex Sicily immediately in order that I should not cross the Straits, they now desire the immediate annexation of Naples in order that I may not go to Rome and Venice". It is said that "Cavour" has explained to the French Government that their reason for crossing the frontier and entering the Marches was that

[77] Gen. Lamoricière's report to Mérode on the operations of the papal army at the battle of Castelfidardo and the siege of Ancona is printed in A. de Saint-Albin, *Histoire de Pie IX* (Paris, 1870), II, 408-465. The Pope struck a medal in commemoration of the bravery of his soldiers who fought there. It was in the form of a cross bearing the words: *Victoria, quae vicit mundum, fides nostra.* De Cesare, *Last Days of Papal Rome,* pp. 295-296.

[78] In addition to the information given below respecting this break between Cavour and Garibaldi, see Marraro, *op. cit.,* pp. 279-280; De Cesare, *op. cit.,* pp. 275 *et seq.*; Thayer, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 368 *et seq.*

he had been informed by Garibaldi that he would only proclaim the annexation as completed when he could proclaim Victor Emanuel King of Italy from the *Quirinal.*

There has been trouble in the government in Palermo arising out of the difference of opinion in reference to immediate annexation.

The dictator found it necessary to go there, and on the 17th (*after he must have heard of the entry of the Piedmontese in the Marches*) he issued a proclamation in which he positively repeats that *only at Rome* will he proclaim the Italian Kingdom. The friends of immediate annexation which in a proclamation of the 10th he called "*Misserabili e Codardi*" in this proclamation of the 17th he calls "*Uomini Corruttori*" *che volevano traviare il popolo di Palmero.*

It is said that Mazzini is with Garibaldi in Naples.

The King of Naples is still at Gaeta and has some 30,000 troops who remain faithful to his fortunes. He has just issued a proclamation setting forth his determination not to lose all without a blow and appealing to the honor of his faithful few.

The French Army have strengthened their garrison in Rome, but it may be well said that *the whole French Army is there,* for "wherever there is a French sentinel *there is the French Army and there France*". This dissension then between "the Ministry" and Garibaldi is sufficiently serious. Two political programes in the name of Victor Emanuel do not appear possible. Yet while the Government of Victor Emanuel declares solemly that it will respect Rome, Garibaldi in the name of Victor Emanuel announces that he will only proclaim annexation from the Quirinal. A general commanding in the name of Victor Emanuel preparing to declare war against France allied with Italy and Victor Emanuel. In conclusion, my observation leads me to believe that the Republican party is much stronger in Tuscany and the Papal States, than it is supposed to be. The struggle I have predicted has already commenced.

If the Piedmontese had not crossed the frontier, and had permitted the assistance needed in "Umbria" and the "Marches" to come from Garibaldi, *there was much more reason to expect the Republic of '48, than the Kingdom of Italy.* This movement would have shaken the Tuscan annexation, and no one can foresee how far it would have extended.

Hence the decided action of Cavour.

I have the honor to enclose a communication from his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, *under date of the 12th* enclosing his official correspondence in reference to the invasion, with a history of the matter.

Also a communication *under date of the 18th* giving an account of the taking of Pesaro and Perugia with subsequent events, and concluding with a solemn protest and appeal to the Catholic world.

DALLE STANZE DEL VATICANO (*14058*)

18 Settembre 1860.

È ben increscevole al sottoscritto Cardinale Segretario di Stato di trattenere i Rappresentanti esteri accreditati presso la S. Sede di sempre più tristi argomenti; ma la forza delle circostanze è così grave, e l'impeto della violenza che si usa al più pacifico de' Sovrani al Capo augusto della Chiesa è si inaudito, che non può non dirigere loro la presente comunicazione, tanto più che al dovere del suo ministero si unisce il comando espresso ricevutone da Sua Santità.

Dopo quanto Egli ebbe l'onore di esporre a V. E. con la Nota del 12. cor. il Governo Piemontese procedendo nella intrapresa via delle ostilità contro il Governo della S. Sede, senza che questo le abbia in alcuna guisa provocate, aggiungendo attentati ad attentati con mano armata ha spinto la ribellione alla sua legittima autorità per far sue le Provincie che dopo l'usurpazione delle Romagne restarono soggette all S. Sede.

Il Governo Pontificio forte nel suo diritto ha fatto e fa ogni sforzo mercè il valore del numero ristretto delle sue truppe per declinarne l'impeto; ma tale è la troppo sproporzionata preponderanza delle forze nemiche, che si rende impossibile tenersi a lungo nella difesa. Occupata Pesaro ne fecero prigioniero il Delegato Pontificio che soffri anche degli insulti, e il Comandante che sostennero l'attacco e la giusta difesa. Dall'altra parte un numeroso Corpo attaccò Perugia, la quale dopo aver respinto un vigoroso assalto è stata costretta a cedere, fattone prigioniere il Generale Comandante col resto della Guarnigione. Quindi revolse la sua marcia verso Foligno, ed è giunto a Spoleto. Orvieto fu invasa dai così detti volontarj che agiscono per conto del Piemonte, e che minacciano di attaccare Viterbo. Egli è perciò che il S. Padre si vede a poco a poco rapire con la forza quasi tutti i suoi dominj, che sono il patrimonio della Chiesa e de' Cattolici, non ostante che S. M. l'Imperatore de'Francesi abbia dichiarate al Piemonte che si sarebbe opposto da avversario alle recente invasione, che avrebbe rotto con quel Governo le relazioni, se non venisse data assicurazione, che il noto intimo fatto al Governo della S. Sede non avrebbe avuto seguito, e che l' armata Sarda non avrebbe attaccato le truppe Pontificie.

In questo stato di cose il sottoscritto Cardinale in nome di Sua Santità reclama e protesta contro atti cosi distruttivi di ogni sagro ed umano diritto, e come lessivi della indipendenza del supremo Gerarca e delle integrita de' temporali dominj, di cui la Provvidenza ha disposto che Egli pel bene della religione della Chiesa sia stato rivestito, e da lunghi secoli ne abbia avuto il legittimo possesso.

Prega Quindi V. E. a voler portare a notizia del suo augusto Sovrano tali reclami e tali proteste. I principj poi di giustizia, d'ordine e di moralità, che ad ogni Principe incombe di sostenere e difendere per la solidità de' loro troni, danno certa fiducia che si vorra porre un' argine ad uno spirito usurpatore, che calpestando ogni legge con eserciti d'armati spinge il disordine negli altri Stati per consumare uno spoglio a danno della legittima Sovranità. Nè minor fiduccia deriva a al S. Padre nel considerare altresì che vorrà farsi ragione al grido di tanti milioni di cattolici sparsi in tutte i Regni, i quali reclamano per le strettezze e calamità in cui è stato gettato il loro Padre comune.

Le scrivente profitta di questa opportunità per confermare a V. E. i sensi della sua distinta considerazione.

G. C. ANTONELLI.

Signor Ministro degli Stati Uniti

DALLE STANZE DEL VATICANO (*13940*)

12. Settembre 1860.

Dopo la cadutà del Reame di Napoli fattosi vieppiù baldanzoso il partito rivoluzionario all'estero, ingeriva non mal fondati timori che volesse ora rivolgere tutti i suoi sforzi verso le Marche e l'Umbria, attesa specialmente la loro prossimità alla Toscana. Il Generale in Capo di tutte le truppe Pontificie andava quindi disponendo i suoi Corpi armati ove immaginava potessero irrompere le orde ribelli nella impossibilità di estendere la difesa su tutta la linea di confine con lo Stato di Etruria. Mentre però ordinava gli opportuni movimenti e i necesarii presidii, una turba di emigrati e bande d'insorti insieme riuniti nel numero di circa 600 presa audacia dalla presenza delle Truppe piemontesi concentratesi in poderoso numero presso la Cattolica, e presso i confini Toscani, il di 8. cor^e^. si gettava sopra Urbino, Città presidiata da un limitato numero di Gendarmi, e di Ausiliarii. Sopraffatti questi dal numero immensamente maggiore, furono costretti a ripiegare, a battendosi in ritirata poterono asportar seco le armi. Intanto un' altra orda penetratà nell'Umbria dalla vicina Cortona, forte di circa 500. armati, piombò su Città della Pieve, guardata da soli 10. Gendarmi, i quali opposero la più eroica resistenza, essendo due di loro rimasti uccisi, tre feriti, e quattro prigionieri, salvatosi l'ultimo con la fuga.

In mezzo a tali avvenimenti, ai quali non si era mancato di accorere con adequate provvidenze, il giorno 10. cor^e^. giungeva da Torino nel Porto di Civitavecchia, il Conte Pez della Minerva latore di un dispaccio del Conte di Cavour al sotto Cardinale Segretario di Stato in data del 7. corrente. Vietatogli l'accesso in Roma pe' ben noti antecedenti, fece Egli pervenire il dispaccio medesimo affidandolo a quel Mons. Delegato Basterà gittar l'occhio nel contenuto di tale scritto (alleg. Lett. A) per formarsi il giusto concetto delle calunniose imputazioni portate da quel Ministro di Stato a carico delle milizie Pontificie, e la quasi intimazione che ne conseguitava in nome del suo Sovrano. Non tardò quindi a darglisi nel giorno 11. cor^e^. la risposta che convenivasi all dignità del Governo della S. Sede, ed alla santità del diritto. (Alla. Lett. B.)

Questo linguaggio del Cavour erase in pari tempo insinuato anche al Fanti, Generale delle Truppe piemontesi, il quale d'ordine parimente del suo Sovrano, scriveva al Generale La Moricière minacciandolo della occupazione delle Regie Truppe nelle Marche e nell'Umbria ne' casi che leggonsi nell'All^o^. Lett. C. Nel momento che davasi corso alla summenzionata risposta, giungeva notizia che le truppe regolari piemontesi avevano già attaccato Pesaro, e che la Cavalleria trovavasi già tra Pesaro e Fano.

Il sottoscritto Cardinale Segretario di Stato per espresso comando ricevuto da Sua Santità porge all' E. V. siffatta comunicazione, affinchè voglia elevarla a notizia della sua Corte. Egli poi nell'astenersi da qualsivoglia rilievo, dappoichè la gravità de' qui annessi allegati evidentemente dimostra l'affronto recatosi al Governo della S. Sede, e il vilipendio dei diritti che secondo le universali massime del gius delle genti appartengono ad ogni governo, non può a meno di non protestare altamente contro questo ulteriore attentato commesso, del tutto inaudito, e che l'Europa e il mondo intero saprà ben qualificare.

Lo scrivente profitta di questa occasione per confermare all'Eccellenza Va. i sensi della sua distinta considerazione.

G. C. ANTONELLI

Copia (*Alleg'o. lett'a A*)

TORINO li 7 Settembre 1860

Eminenza

Il Governo di Sua Majestà il Re di Sardegna non poté vedere senza grave rammarico la formazione e l'esistenza di Corpi di truppe mercenarie straniere al servizio del Governo Pontificio. L'ordinamento di siffatti Corpi non formati ad esempio di tutte i Governi civili di cittadini del paese, ma di gente d'ogni lingua, nazione e religione offende profondamente la conscienza pubblica dell'Italia e dell'Europa. L'indisciplina invente a tale genere di truppe, l'improvvida condotta dei loro capi, le minaccie provocatrici di cui fanno pompa nei loro proclami, suscitano e mantengono un fermento oltremodo pericoloso. Vive pur sempre negli abitanti delle Marche e dell'Umbria la memoria dolorosa delle stragi e del saccheggio di Perugia. Questa condizione di cose, già da per se stessa funesta, lo divenne vieppiù dopo i fatti che accaddero nella Sicilia e nel Reame di Napoli. La presenza dei Corpi stranieri che ingiuria il sentimento nazionale, ed impedisce la manifestazione dei voti dei popoli produrrvà immancabilmente la estensione dei rivolgimenti alle provincie vicine.

Gli intimi rapporti che uniscono gli abitanti delle Marche e dell'Umbria con quelli delle provincie annesse agli Stati del Re, e le ragioni dell'ordine e della sicurezza de' proprii Stati impongono al Governo di S. M. di porre per quanto sta in lui immediato riparo a questi mali. La coscienza del Re Vittorio Emanuele non gli permette di rimanersi testimonio impassibile delle sanguinose repressioni con cui le armi di mercenarii stranieri soffocherebbero nel sangue italiano ogni manifestazione di sentimenti nazionali. Niun Governo ha diritto di abbandonare all'arbitrio d'una schiera di soldati di ventura gli averi, l'onore, la vita degli abitanti d'un paese civile.

Per questi motivi dopo aver chiesto gli ordini di S. M. il Re mio augusto Sovrano, ho l'onore di significare a Vostra Eminenza che le truppe del Re hanno incarico d'impedire in nome dei diritti dell'umanità che i Corpi mercenarii pontificii reprimano colla violenza l'esspressione dei sentimenti delle popolazione delle Marche e dell'Umbria.

Ho inoltre l'onore d'invitare Vostra Eminenza, per i motivi sovra espressi, a dar l'ordine immediato di disarmare e discioglere quei corpi la cui esistenza è una minaccia continua alla tranquillità dell'Italia.

Nella fiducia che Vostra Eminenza vorrà communicarmi tosto le disposizioni date dal Governo di Sua Santità in proposito, ho l'onore di rinnovarle gli atti dell'alta mia considerazione

Di Vostra Eminenza

Devmo ed obbmo Servitore

C CAVOUR

A Sua Eminenza il Cardinale Antonelli Segretario di Stato di Sua Santità Papa Pio IX.

(*Alleg. lett. B*)

Eccellenza

Astraendo dal mezzo, di cui Vostra Eccelenza stimò valersi per farmi giumgere il suo foglio del 7 corrente, ho voluto con tutta calma portare la mia attenzione a quanto Ella mi esponeva in nome del suo Sovrano, e non posso dissimulare che ebbi in ciò a farmi una ben forte violenza. I nuovi principii di diritto pubblico ch'Ella pone in campo nella sua rappresentanza mi dispenserebbero per verità da qualsivoglia risposta, essendo essi troppo in opposizione con quelli sempre ricono-

sciuti dall' universalità dei Governi e delle Nazioni nondimeno tocco al vivo dalle incolpazioni che si fanno al Governo di Sua Santità non posso ritenermi dal rilevare dapprima, essere quanto odiosa, attrettanto priva d'ogni fondamento ed affatto ingiusta la taccia che si porta contro le truppe recentemente formatesi dal Governo Pontificio, ed esser poi inqualificabile l'affronto che ad esso vien fatto nel disconoscere in lui un diritto a tutti gli altri comune, ignorandosi fino ad oggi che sia impedito ad alcun Governo di avere a suo servizio truppe estere, siccome in fatto molti le hanno in Europa sotto i loro stipendi. Ed a questo proposito sembra qui opportuno il notare che, stante il carattere che riveste il Sommo Pontefice di comun padre di tutti i fedeli, molto meno potrebbe a Lui impedirsi di accogliere nelle sue milizie quanti gli si offrono dalle varie parti dell'orbe cattolico in sostegno della S. Sede e degli Stati della Chiesa.

Niente poi potrebbe essere più falso e ingiurioso, che l'attribuirsi alle truppe pontificie i disordini deplorabilmente avvenuti negli Stati della S. Sede, nè qui occorre il dimostrarlo. Dappoichè la storia ha già registrato quali e donde provenienti siano state le truppe che violentemente imposero alla volontà delle popolazioni, e quali le arti messe in opera per gettare nello scompiglio la piu gran parte della Italia, e manomettere quanto ha di più inviolabile e di piu sagro per diritti, e per giustizia.

E rispetto alle conseguenze di cui si vorebbe accagionare la legittima azione delle truppe della S. Sede per reprimere la ribellione di Perugia, sarebbe in vero stato più logico l'attribuirle a chi promosse la rivolta dall' estero; ed Ella Sigr. Conte troppo ben conosce donde quella venne suscitata, donde furono somministrati danaro, armi e mezzi di ogni genere, e donde partirono le istruzioni, e gli ordini d'insorgere.

Tutto pertanto da luogo a conchiudere, non avere il carattere della calunnia quanto declamasi da un partito ostile al Governo della S. Sede a carico delle sue milizie, ed essere non meno calunniose le imputazioni che si fanno ai loro capi, dando a crederli come autori di minaccie provocatrici e di proclami proprii a suscitare un pericoloso fermento.

Dava poi tennirsi all sua disgustosa communicazione l'E. V. nell'invitarmi in nome del suo Sovrano ad ordinare immediatemente il disarmo e lo scioglimento delle suddette milizie, e tal invito non andava disgiunto da una specie di minaccia di volersi altrimenti dal Piemonte impedire l'azione di esse per mezzo delle Regie Truppe. In ciò si manifesta una quasi intimazione, che io ben volontieri qui mi astengo di qualificare La S. Sede non potrebbe che respingerla con indignazione, conoscendosi forte del suo legittimo diritto, ed appelando al gius delle genti, sotto la cui egida ha fin qui vissuto l'Europa, qualunque siano del resto le violenze, alle quali potesse trovarsi esposta senza averle punto provocate, e contro le quali fin da ora mi corre il debito di protestare altamente in nome di Sua Santità

Con sensi ecc.

Di V. E.

Roma 11 Settembre 1860

G. Card. Antonelli

Sigr. Conte di Cavour Ministro degli Affari Esteri Torino.

(*Alleg. letta. C.*)

Avezzo le 9 7bis 1860

Excellence

S. M. le Roi Victor Emanuel II qui s'interesse di vivement au bonheur de l'Italie

est très préoccupé des événements qui ont lieu dans les Provinces des Marches et de l'Ombrie.

S. M. n'ignore pas que toute manifestation dans le sens national près de la frontière meridionale de son Royaume, qui fût reprimée par des troupes étrangères n'ayant pas même entr'elles aucun lien de nationalité, produirait inévitablement un contrecoup funeste dans tous ses états.

C'est à la suite de ces graves considerations que S. M. a ordonné une concentration des troupes aux frontières des Marches et de l'Ombrie, et qu'il m'a fait l'honneur de me confier le commandement superieur de ces troupes.

Il m'a prescrit en même temps de me diriger à V. E. pour vous faire connaître que ces troupes occuperaient au plutôt les Marches et l'Ombrie dans les cas suivants, c'est-à-dire:

1. Si des troupes à vos ordres, se trouvant dans une ville des Marches et de l'Ombrie eussent à faire usage de la force pour comprimer une manifestation dans le sens national.

2. Si des troupes, dont vous avez le commandement eussent à recevoir l'ordre de marcher sur une ville des mêmes provinces pontificales toutefois qu'une manifestation dans le sens national vint à se produire.

3. Toutefois qu'une manifestation dans le sens national s'étant produite dans une ville et ayant été comprimée avec l'usage de la force par vos troupes, celles-ci ne reçoivent pas immédiatement de vous l'ordre de se retirer en laissant la ville qui s'était pronouncée libre d'exprimer ses voeux.

Personne mieux que V. E. peut comprendre comment le sentiment national doive se révolter devant une oppression étrangère, et j'ose avoir confiance qu'en acceptant franchement et de suite les propositions que je viens de vous faire au nom du Gouvt. du Roi, vous *épargnerez la protection* de nos armes à ces provinces de l'Italie, et les consequences fâcheuses qui pourraient s'ensuivre.

Agréez ecc.

FANTI [79]

JOHN P. STOCKTON TO LEWIS CASS. No. 30.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT ROME October 1st 1860

Sir

I have the honor to enclose the "Allocutio" of his Holiness Pio Nono in the secret consistory on the 28th of September, sent to me by his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State. I have the honor also to enclose the notice of new lights which will be interesting to navigators.

I have the honor to inform Your Ex'y. that on the 29th at 20 minutes past one Ancona capitulated. La Moriciere and the garrison are prisoners of war.

It is said by officers in La Moricieres army that at the commencement of the battle of Castel Fidardo, the Italian levies cut the traces of the artillery in response to the order to advance. That they shot their allies in the back as they advanced to meet the enemy. It is even said that one

[79] See note 74, *ante*. This letter was addressed to Lamoricière, commander of the papal army. Thayer (*Cavour*, II, 386-388) discusses all this correspondence.

of the balls found in the body of General Pimodan after his death was an Italian ball.[80]

The Swiss Mercenaries fled from the field of battle. The Irish brigade being surrounded surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The Austrians composing the largest part of the force fought bravely and well. But the French Legitimists and Belgians fought like heroes with an enthusiasm that called forth the admiration of the enemy, and died as martyrs in a sacred cause.

I had an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State yesterday, and I am sure that no one can yet see the final result of the difficulty which has arisen between these who having the control of the destiny of Italy cannot agree as to her future.

The division of Garibaldi under Medici[81] has received a check at Capua by the Kings troops, but is is perhaps no misfortune to Italy, as it will keep him occupied in the Neapolitan territory, until other enemies overcome, the Sardinian Army will be prepared to meet him, if he carries out his determination of marching to the Holy Seat.

General Goyon has occupied Corneto, and advanced the French outposts two leagues from Rome. There are about 10,000 men in the two brigades of French at Rome and Civitta Vecchia.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE IX

ALLOCUTIO HABITA IN CONSISTORIO SECRETO DIE XXVIII SEPTEMBRIS MDCCCLX.

ROMAE MDCCCLX

Venerabiles Fratres

Novos, et ante hunc diem inauditos ausus a Subalpino Gubernio contra Nos, hanc Apostolicam Sedem, et Catholicam Ecclesiam admissos denuo cum incredibili animi Nostri dolore vel moerore potius deplorare ac detestari cogimur, Venerabiles Fratres. Ipsum, uti nostis, Gubernium victoria abutens, quam bellicosae hagnaeque nationis opibus adiutum ex funestissimo bello reportavit, suum per Italiam regnum contra omnia divina et humana iura extendens, populis ad rebellionem excitatis, legitimisque Principibus ex propria dominatione per summam iniustitiam expulsis, aliquot Pontificiae Nostrae in Aemilia ditionis provincias iniustissimo ac prorsus sacrilego ausu invasit et usurpavit. Dum autem universus Catholicus Orbis iustissimis gravissimisque Nostris respondens querelis contra hanc impiam usurpationem vehementer clamare non desinit, idem Gubernium alias huius Sanctae Sedis provincias in Piceno, Umbria, et Patrimonio sitas sibi vindicare constituit. At cum videret, carum provinciarum populos omni perfrui tranquillitate, eosque Nobis fideliter adhaerere, nec posse pecuniis largiter profusis, aliisque improbis adhibitis dolis a legitimo Nostro, et huius Sanctae Sedis civili imperio alienari ac divelli, iccirco in ipsas provincias immisit tum perditorum hominum manum, qui turbas

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[80] De Cesare gives a graphic account of Pimodan's action and death (*Last Days of Papal Rome,* pp. 283-285). Thayer makes a sneering reference to his signs of faith before the battle (*Cavour,* II, 389).

[81] Gen. Giacomo Medici, one of the ablest of Garibaldi's generals. An account of this engagement is given by Thayer, *op. cit.,* II, 396-397.

seditionemque ibi excitarent, tum ingentem suum exercitum, qui easdem provincias hostili impetu armorumque vi subiiceret.

Optime nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, impudentes litteras a Subalpino Gubernio ad suum tuendum latrocinium Nostro Cardinali a publicis negotiis scriptas, quibus haud erubuit nuntiare, se suis copiis in mandatis dedisse, ut commemoratas Nostras provincias occuparent, nisi dimitterentur exteri homines adscripti parvo Nostro exercitui, qui ceteroquin ad Pontificiae ditionis, eiusque populorum tranquillitatem servandam fuerat instructus. Nec ignoratis, a Subalpinis copiis easdem provincias ipso fere tempore fuisse occupatas, quo illae litterae accipiebantur. Equidem nemo non potest non magnopere commoveri, et summa affici indignatione reputans mendaces criminationes, variasque calumnias et contumelias, quibus idem Gubernium haud pudet huiusmodi suam hostilem impiamque contra civilem Romanae Ecclesiae principatum aggressionem tegere, Nostrumque Gubernium impetere. Ecquis enim non summöpere miretur audiens, Nostrum reprehendi Gubernium, propterea quod Nostro exercitui externi homines fuerint adscripti, cum omnes noscant nulli legitimo Gubernio denegari unquam posse ius cooptandi in suas copias exteros homines? Quod quidem ius potiori quadam ratione ad Nostrum et huius Sanctae Sedis Gubernium pertinet, cum Romanus Pontifex, veluti communis omnium catholicorum pater, non possit non libentissime eos omnes catholicos excipere, qui religionis studio impulsi velint in Pontificiis copiis militare, et ad Ecclesiae defensionem concurrere. Atque hic animadvertendum existimamus, huiusmodi catholicorum exterorum concursum fuisse praesertim excitatum illorum improbitate, qui civilem huius Sanctae Sedis principatum aggressi sunt. Nemo enim ignorat qua indignatione, et quo luctu universus catholicus orbis fuerit commotus ubi novit tam impiam, tamque iniustam civili huius Apostolicae Sedis dominio aggressionem fuisse illatam. Ex quo porro factum est, ut quamplurimi ex variis christiani orbis regionibus fideles sua sponte et summa alacritate ad Pontificiam Nostram ditionem convolaverint, suumque nomen Nostrae militiae dederint, quo Nostra, huius Sanctae Sedis, et Ecclesiae iura strenue defenderent. Singulari autem malignitate Subalpinum Gubernium Nostris militibus mercenarii notam per summam calumniam inurere minime veretur, cum non pauci ex indigenis exterisque Nostris militibus nobili genere nati, et illustrium familiarum nomine conspicui, ac religionis amore unice excitati, sine ullo emolumento in Nostris copiis militare voluerint. Neque latet Subalpinum Gubernium qua fide et integritate Noster exercitus praestet, cum eidem Gubernio perspectum sit, irritas fuisse omnes dolosas artes adhibitas ut Nostri milites corrumperentur. Nihil vero est cur immoremur in refellenda feritatis accusatione Nostris copiis improbe illata, cum nullum plane argumentum obtrectatores valeant adducere; quin potius huiusmodi criminatio in ipsos iure converti possit, quemadmodum vulgatae Subalpini exercitus Ducum truculentae proclamationes manifestissime ostendunt.

Hic autem animadvertere praestat, Nostro Gubernio minime suspicandum fuisse de huiusmodi hostili invasione, cum ipsi asseveratum esset Subalpinas copias prope territorium Nostrum accessisse, non quidem invadendi animo, immo vero ut inde perturbatorum turmas arcerent. Hinc summus Nostrarum copiarum Dux ne cogitare quidem poterat, sibi cum Subalpino exercitu esse pugnandum. Verum ubi, rebus praeter omnem expectationem perperam immutatis, agnovit hostilem irruptionem ab illo exercitu factam, qui sane pugnantium numero armorumque vi maxime praevalebat, providum suscepit consilium se Anconam utpote arce munitam recipiendi, ne Nostri milites tam facili mortis periculo exponerentur. Cum autem ingruentibus hostium copiis in itinere interciperetur, manus conserere coactus est, ut sibi militibusque suis viam aperiret.

Ceterum dum meritas debitasque laudes tribuimus commemorato Nostrarum copiarum Duci, ac illarum ductoribus et militibus, qui inexpectata hostili irruptione

lacessiti pro Dei, Ecclesiae, huius Apostolicae Sedis, ac iustitiae causa fortiter, viribus licet longe imparibus, dimicarunt; vix lacrimas continere possumus noscentes quot strenui milites, ac lectissimi praesertim iuvenes in hac iniusta et crudeli invasione occubuerint, qui religioso sane nobilique animo ad civilem Romanae Ecclesiae principatum tuendum advolarunt. Nos insuper summopere commovet luctus, qui in illorum familias redundat. Utinam eisdem familiis fletum Nostris verbis abstergere possemus! Confidimus vero non levi ipsis solatio et consolationi futuram honorificentissimam mentionem, quam de extinctis suis liberis et propinquis merito facimus ob splendidum sane eximiae eorum erga Nos, et hanc Sanctam Sedem fidei, pietatis et amoris exemplum, quod christiano orbi cum immortali eorum nominis laude exhibuerunt. Atque in eam profecto spem erigimur fore, ut ii omnes, qui gloriosam pro Ecclesiae causa mortem obierunt, illam sempiternam assequantur pacem et beatitatem, quam a Deo Optimo Maximo apprecati sumus, et apprecari nunquam omittemus. Quo loco debitis quoque laudibus prosequimur dilectos Filios Praesides provinciarum, praesertim Urbino-Pisaurensis, et Spoletanae, qui in hac tristissima temporum vicissitudine suo munere sedulo constanterque perfuncti sunt.

Iam vero, Venerabiles Fratres, quis ferre unquam poterit insignem impudentiam et hypocrisim, qua nequissimi invasores in suis programmatibus asserere non dubitant, se Nostras aliasque Italiae adire provincias, ut ibi moralis ordinis principia restituant? Atque id ab iis temere affirmatur, qui acerrimum Catholicae Ecclesiae, eiusque Ministris, ac rebus iamdiu bellum inferentes, et ecclesiasticas leges censurasque plane despicientes ausi sunt spectatissimos tum S. R. E. Cardinales, tum Episcopos, tum probatissimos utriusque cleri Viros in vincula coniicere, Religiosas Familias e propriis Coenobiis expellere, Ecclesiae bona diripere, et civilem huius Sanctae Sedis principatum vastare. Scilicet moralis ordinis principia ab iis restituentur, qui publicas cuiusque falsae doctrinae scholas, et meretricias etiam domos constituunt, quique abominandis scriptis et scenicis spectaculis pudorem, pudicitiam, honestatem, virtutem offendere, eliminare, et sacrosancta divinae nostrae religionis mysteria, sacramenta, praecepta, et instituta, sacrosque ministros, ritus, caeremonias irridere, contemnere, omnemque iustitiae rationem de medio tollere, ac tum religionis tum civilis societatis fundamenta labefactare et evertere connituntur!

In hac igitur tam iniusta, tam hostili et horrenda civilis Nostri et huius Sanctae Sedis principatus aggressione et occupatione a Subalpino Rege eiusque Gubernio contra omnes iustitiae leges et universale gentium ius peracta, Nostri officii probe memores in hoc amplissimo Vestro consessu, et coram universo Catholico Orbe Nostram vocem denuo vehementer attollimus, ac omnes nefarios sacrilegosque eiusdem Regis et Gubernii ausus reprobamus, penitusque damnamus, omnesque actus plane nullos et irritos declaramus, decernimus, ac civilis, quo Romana pollet Ecclesia, principatus integritatem, eiusque iura, quae ad omnes catholicos pertinent, etiam atque etiam reclamamus, et reclamare nunquam desistemus.

Verum dissimulare non possumus, Venerabiles Fratres, summa Nos opprimi amaritudine, cum in tam scelesta et nunquam satis exsecranda aggressione alieni auxilii opem, variis exortis difficultatibus, adhuc desideremus. Equidem notissimae Vobis sunt iteratae declarationes Nobis factae ab uno ex potentissimis Europae Principibus. Attamen dum illarum iamdiu expectamus effectum, non possumus non vehementer angi ac perturbari cum inspiciamus nefandae usurpationis auctores fautoresque audacter insolenterque in nefario suo proposito persistere ac progredi, tamquam certo confidentes neminem sibi reapse adversari.

Haec autem perversitas eo devenit, ut hostilibus Subalpini exercitus copiis ad moenia fere huius almae Nostrae urbis immissis, quaecumque fuerit implicata communicatio, publicae privataeque rationes in discrimen adductae, commeatus inter-

cepti, et, quod gravissimum est, Summus totius Ecclesiae Pontifex in molestam redactus difficultatem Ecclesiae ipsius negotiis, prout res postulat, consulendi, propterea quod maxime coarctetur via cum variis orbis partibus communicandi. Quamobrem in tantis Nostris angustiis, tantoque rerum discrimine, vel facile intelligitis, Venerabiles Fratres, Nos tristi necessitate eo iam ferme impelli, ut vel inviti cogitare debeamus de opportuno suscipiendo consilio ad Nostram dignitatem tuendam.

Interim abstinere non possumus, quin praeter alia deploremus funestum ac perniciosum principium, quod vocant de *non Interventu,* a quibusdam Guberniis haud ita pridem, ceteris tolerantibus, proclamatum, et adhibitum etiam cum de iniusta alicuius Gubernii contra aliud aggressione agatur: ita ut quaedam veluti impunitas ac licentia impetendi ac diripiendi aliena iura, proprietates, ac ditiones ipsas contra divinas humanasque leges sanciri videatur; quemadmodum luctuosa hac tempestate cernimus evenire. Et mirandum profecto, quod uni Subalpino Gubernio impune liceat eiusmodi principium despicere ac violare, cum videamus ipsum hostilibus suis copiis, universa Europa inspectante, in alienas ditiones irrumpere, legitimosque ex illis Principes exturbare: ex quo perniciosa consequitur absurditas, alienum nemque interventum dumtaxat admitti ad rebellionem suscitandam atque fovendam.

Hinc autem opportuna Nobis oritur occasio excitandi omnes Europae Principes, ut pro spectata ipsorum consilii gravitate et sapientia serio perpendant quae quantaque mala in detestabili, quem lamentamur, eventu cumulentur. Agitur enim de immani violatione, quae contra universale gentium ius nequiter est patrata, quaeque nisi omnino coerceatur, nulla deinceps legitimi cuiusque iuris firmitas ac securitas poterit consistere. Agitur de rebellionis principio, cui Subalpinum Gubernium turpiter inservit, et ex quo pronum est intelligere, quantum cuicumque Gubernio discrimen in dies comparetur, et quanta in universam civilem societatem redundet pernicies, cum ita fatali *Communismo* aditus aperiatur. Agitur de violatis solemnibus Conventionibus, quae, uti aliorum in Europa Principatuum, ita etiam civilis Pontificiae Ditionis integritatem sartam tectamque servari omnino postulant. Agitur de violenta direptione illius principatus, qui singulari divinae providentiae consilio Romano Pontifici datus est ad Apostolicum suum Ministerium in universam Ecclesiam plenissima libertate exercendum. Quae profecto libertas summae omnibus Principibus curae esse debet, ut Pontifex ipse nullius civilis potestatis impulsui subiaceat, atque ita spirituali pariter catholicorum in eorumdem Principum dominiis degentium tranquillitati cautum sit.

Itaque omnibus Supremis Principibus persuasum esse debet, Nostram cum Ipsorum causa plane esse coniunctam, eosque suum Nobis auxilium afferentes Nostrorum aeque ac suorum iurium incolumitati esse prospecturos. Maxima proinde cum fiducia ipsos hortamur et obsecramus, ut opem Nobis, pro sua quisque conditione et opportunitate, velint impendere. Non dubitamus autem, quin catholici praesertim Principes ac Populi omnem eorum curam et operam studiosissime conferant, ut pro communi eorum officio universi Dominici Gregis Patrem et Pastorem parricidialibus degeneris filii armis oppugnatum modis omnibus adiuvare, tueri, et defendere properent atque festinent.

Cum autem apprime sciatis, Venerabiles Fratres, omnem spem Nostram in Deo esse collocandam, qui adiutor et refugium est nostrum in tribulationibus nostris, quique vulnerat et medetur, percutit et sanat, mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit; iccirco in omni fide, et humilitate cordis nostri assiduas ferventissimasque ad Ipsum, adhibito in primis efficacissimo Immaculatae Sanctissimaeque Deiparae Virginis Mariae patrocinio, ac suffragio Beatorum Petri et Pauli, preces effundere non intermittamus, ut faciens potentiam in brachio suo inimicorum suorum superbiam elidat, et expugnet impugnantes nos, omnesque Ecclesiae suae

sanctae hostes humiliet et conteret; atque omnipotenti suae gratiae virtute efficiat, ut omnium praevaricantium corda resipiscant, deque optatissima illorum conversione sancta mater Ecclesia quam primum laetetur.[82]

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 31.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome October 12, 1860

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No. 11 in regard to the Sartori claim.

It is evident that either from the extract furnished to the counsel in the case being incomplete, or some other cause they have not understood my despatch No. 18.

The words I find in my copy are " The instructions I received accompanying the claim having forbid me to present it in writing, I replied *I would translate Mr. Fendal's brief into Italian and forward it to him for the purpose designated.*["] This *was done* a day or two after the interview. As my only information in reference to the case was drawn from the brief forwarded to me, I could of course add nothing to a full translation of it, in this stage of the matter. Until the prima-facie case is answered, until they plead or demur there is nothing more to be said, I have filed the declaration, and all that can be done now as we cannot get judgment by default, will be an application for a Rule etc.

" Therefore the apparently favorable progress of the matter " was not arrested, by anything except the delay which is natural to every movement here, and the subsequent troubles of a political character which have exhausted the treasury, and fixed the attention of the government to the exclusion of everything else.

It seems to me indelicate to push the matter at this time, but I will ask for a reply to the brief at my next interview with his Eminence, and if it is not furnished, I will use the " discretion " in which the department has confided, to request a reply in writing.

The department will observe that the words of my present instructions are " a Memorandum of the principal facts to be handed to him in an interview would not perhaps be consistent etc. etc." and again " no objection is entertained to your informing Cardinal Antonelli orally at the time when you may present the Memorandum referred to, that this Government would be gratified if the Pontifical Government would do anything which may be in its power towards causing justice to be done to the heirs of Mr. Sartori."

This has all been done in accordance with my previous instructions, which were so clearly expressed, and plainly understood that they are in no wise altered by the favor No 11. (No. 11) [*sic*]

[82] Printed also in *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. I, Vol. III, pp. 180-189.

I had the advantage some weeks since of an interview with Mr. Sartori at Leghorn, and I would be sanguine in reference to the result at any other time. I will keep the matter alive, and hope for a better season.

The only political changes of importance since my last despatch, are the check received by Garibaldi at Capua, the tendency it has had to heal the difficulty between Cavour and himself, the march of the Piedmontese to the assistance of Garibaldi.[83]

At the same time the French garrison in Rome has already augmented to 21,000 men, and it is said there are 10,000 more " en route ".

Their posts have been advanced to Civitta-Castellana, Viterbo, Ronciglione, Velletri, Pallestrina, and Tivoli.

By looking at the map it will be evident, that this is the boundary line of what is known as " the patrimony of St. Peter ". I infer that the French will protect the Patrimony against all parties, that they will do no more at present, that the piedmontese understand the matter *perfectly,* as with an army of three times the size of the French, they fell back from Corneto, Viterbo etc. at the advance of the French to the limits of the patrimony. According to the tenor of my last despatch the disasters of Garibaldi at Capua, have thrown his movements more under the control of Cavour, and the republican party are more quiet.

[*P. S.*] I have had an interview with his Eminence the cardinal Sec. of State since writing the above, and have requested a reply to the statement of the Sartori case sent to him in February last, he says he gave the translation I sent him to the Minister of Finance,[84] and that he will call his attention to it again.

Another reflection occurred to me in the course of my conversation with members of the Diplomatic Corps at the Vatican this morning in reference to the Italian question *viz:*

That the open part which has been taken by the Piedmontese troops in the Kingdom of Naples will change the political complexion; as a notorious violation of the principle of non intervention, it affords ground for Austria to interfere, and may bring about a new European War, particularly if Austria has strengthened herself, as many believe by new alliances with her neighbours.

In the mean time the idea of a Congress is again brought up.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 32.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome October 15th 1860

Sir:

I have received private letters from Naples informing me, that the Ministry resigned on the 12th, that their places would not be filled until

[83] Thayer, *loc. cit.,* pp. 396-399.

[84] Mgr. Giuseppi Ferrari.

the arrival of Victor Emanuel, which it was said would occur in a few days, although some say it will be postponed until after the election.[85] There was a demonstration in the city of Naples on the night of the 12: The Mazzini party although discouraged were hard at work. The enclosed ticket denoting that the persons bearing them were in favor of Victor Emanuel and annexation are carried in the hats of almost everyone you meet in the streets and Cafés.

Monsignore Liberetti a " Canon " of St. Peters was assassinated yesterday at 9 o'clock in the morning as he returned from the Mass. Although it occurred in one of the most popular quarters of Rome, the assassin walked quietly off, leaving the knife quivering in the breast of his victim.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 34.[86]

Legation of the United States of America at Rome October 29th 1860

Sir:

Since the date of my last despatch, Garibaldi has been obliged to maintain the defensive, on the banks of the Volturno. Sickness and the enemy have reduced his force to about 12,000 effective troops, he is said to have 8000 in hospital. On the other hand the royal forces are about 40,000 in number.

In the meantime the result of the election, and the advance of Cialdini's division, lead to the belief that the next information will be the entry of Victor Emanuel into the Capital, and the fall of " Capua ". We had a telegraph to that effect some days since but it has not been confirmed.

A telegraphic despatch dated the 25th has been received here announcing that " the principle of a Congress has been adopted at Varsavia ".[87]

The warm friends of the government and defenders of the temporal power of the Pope are very indignant with the Emperor, They insist that he had promised to defend the States of the Church against any attack from Piedmont. It is asserted that after the invasion, these views were plainly expressed. They do not hesitate to charge him with falsehood, and insist that they have the evidence. It is said by some that the spiritual ties which bind the French to the head of the church are so strong, that they exaggerate the Emperors promises and exceed his wishes, in their actions in Rome.

[85] Thayer is needlessly offensive to Catholic feeling in his account of Victor Emmanuel's entry into Naples, Nov. 7 (*loc. cit.*, pp. 419-422).

[86] There apparently was no No. 33.

[87] This conference, initiated by France, considered the principle of non-intervention in Italian affairs. Lord Russell, comparing this movement of 1860 in Italy with the revolution of 1688 in England, opposed France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia in their support of the Pope whose temporal power, he said, had ceased to exist. Bianchi, *Storia Documentata della Diplomazia Europea in Italia,* VIII, 364-366.

The *Giornale di Roma* has published an article from Gen. La Moriciere from which it seems, that he believed that Gen. Goyon and the 20,000 French were coming to his assistance, this it is said was published in " Ancona " during the Siege, they charge upon the French therefore that they were deceived by them, that they were promised a support, which in the hour of need they failed to receive.

I have this moment received from a private source a letter which has been sent to the Cardinal Secretary of State by the French Ambassador, It is well written and places Gen. La Moriciere and Mre. Merode in an unenviable position. It charges that the telegraph has been violated, and the official despatch altered to suit selfish purposes.

I enclose herewith these two papers which are of great importance as they are the best evidence of the state of feeling existing at the moment between France and the Holy Seat. The effect of this despatch La Moriciere insists was to lead him to believe that the French garrison in Rome would march to his assistance, the order for the Regiments of French to embark for " Civitta Vecchia " took place about the same time, and this it is alleged confirms the view taken.[88] As I have said many of the friends of the Papal Government are exasperated against the French, and charge the Emperor with duplicity. But my own view is that the entry of the Piedmontese troops into the Romagna was precipitated by despatches sent to " Cavour " that although this matter had been named to the Emperor he had not been prepared for it when it took place, " Cavour " was informed that the determination of Garibaldi to march on Rome, the determination of the Tuscans to enter the Romagna and join him, the well known desire of all the popular leaders for the " Republic ", would create disunion, dismember Italy, in fact all would be lost if he delayed, he was called upon to show his " nerve " and save Italy. *This he did!*

You will remember that but a few days after the bands of " Nicotera " were prevented by force from crossing the Frontier from Leghorn, the very Regiment who assisted in preventing the "Mazzinian" leader from entering to declare *the Republic of 48,* marched up on *Perugia* in the *name of Victor Emanuel.* This sudden Emergency was met with skill, but there was an Interval of some hours before the Emperor understood all the reasons. Before he knew that Victor Emanuel was crossing the Frontier not to "hurry" the programe of "Le Pape et Le Congres" faster than the Emperors ties as the oldest son of the church would permit; but that the Ghost of his own defeated foe had arisen in Italy! *that the spectre of a Republic had Startled the house of Savoy*; this Idea once embraced the Emperor has turned a deaf ear to all papal entreaty, and the evidences of his original misconception, (such as the telegraph of Gramont) are

[88] For a discussion of this correspondence of the Duc de Gramont (here appended) involving Lamoricière and Mgr. Mérode, Minister of War, see Thayer, *loc. cit.,* p. 388; De Cesare, *op. cit.,* pp. 280-282.

explained away, if they cannot be denied. There is no doubt whatever that the Papal Government believed themselves sure of his help in case of invasion; and immediately after the invasion I am informed he still promised to drive out the Piedmontese by force.

In the meantime the great General, the sincere patriot has sacrificed himself and his opinions for the good of his Country. Having been satisfied that unity was absolutely necessary to prevent Anarchy! That a firm Government was more important now to unite Italy, than the triumph of any particular governmental theory, he has sent for Victor Emanuel, and given up the dictatorship, has taken his position again as a General in the Piedmontese Army. Garibaldi has shown himself a true patriot, a close imitator of our own Washington.

If France has any idea of further acquisition of territory, it will eventually lead to trouble between her and England, and thereby Prussia will go over to the Austrian interest, but if the Emperor has wisdom to avoid this error, we may hope that the result of the deliberation which will ensue may be pacific.

(*Copy.*)

ROME le 25 Octobre 1860

S. E. le Duc de Gramont a S. E. le Cardinal Antonelli

Monsieur le Cardinal

J'ai lu dans le Journal de Rome d'hier un article qui m'a causé une pénible surprise. Je fais appel à la loyauté de V. E. pour la prier de faire rectifier une grave inéxactitude.

D'après cet article M. le Pro Ministre des Armes aurait envoyé le 10 Sept. au Général de Lamoriciere à Spoleto, une dépêche télégraphique annonçant que l'Ambassadeur de France, aurait reçu la nouvelle que " l'Empereur avait écrit au Roi de Piémont pour lui déclarer que s'il attaquait les Etats du Pape il s'y opposerait par la force.["] (si sarebbe opposto colla forza.[)]

La nouvelle qu'avait reçue l'Ambassade a été inéxactement reproduite par M. le Pro Ministre des Armes, et V. E. le sait mieux que personne, car je le lui ai communiqué directement. M. le Pro Ministre des Armes y a ajouté les mots *par la force?* (colla forza) qui n'y étaient pas, et le but de cette altération n'échappera à personne.

La dépêche parvenu à l'Ambassade, disait dans le cas d'une agression du Roi de Sardaigne, l'Empereur *serait forcé de s'y opposer,* mais il n'a jamais été question de faire la guerre au Piémont.

J'aurais le droit de m'étonner que le Journal de Rome ait été autorisé à publier une dépêche du Gouvernment de l'Empereur dont je n'aurais pas donné copie à V. E. Je m'abstiens de dire quelle a été mon impression en constactant que le texte en aurait été falsifié.

Je voudrais pouvoir M. le Cardinal ne rien ajoutér aux pénibles observations que je viens de vous adresser, mais il m'est impossible de ne pas protester contre l'abus en vertu duquel saissisant dans les bureaux de l'administration des télégraphes Pontificaux:

Une dépêche privée que j'ai adressée à un des agents placés sous mes ordres, le Gouvernment Pontifical se permet de la divulguer d'une manière qui blesse

autant les convenances que les lois réciproques de la correspondence télégraphique, que des Gouvernements hostiles après s'être emparés par la force des stations télégraphiques, livrent à la publicité les dépêches ennoncées tombées en leur pouvoir. Cela se comprend jusqu'à un certain point sans s'excuser toutefois. Mais qu'un Gouvernement allié profite de la securité que devrait inspirer son honêteté pour violer les règles les plus élémentaires de droit des gens et abuser de la confiance qu'on leur accorde c'est un procédé qu'il appartient à la conscience publique de juger.

Je terminerai en renouvelant à V. E. ma demande de rectification, et je ne dois pas lui cacher, que si contre mon attente cette demande n'est pas prise en considération je me reserve d'adopter telle mesure que je jugerai convenable pour retablir la verité des faits et éclairer le public que l'article de Journal de Rome, a évidemment pour but d'induire en erreur.

Je prie V. E. d'agréer les assurances de mes sentiments les plus distingués

GRAMONT.

ROMA 24 Ottobre

Sua Ecc: il sig Generale de Lamoricière c'invita ad inserire l'articolo sequente:

E vero come dice il *Moniteur* francese del 15 ottobre 1860, che durante l'invasione delle Marche e dell'Umbria per parte delle truppe piemontesi il Generale comandante l'armata Pontificia non ha ricevuto alcun dispaccio di S. E. l'Ambasciadore di Francia a Roma: una comunicazione di tale natura sarebbe stata d'altronde completamente anormale.

Ma il 10 settembre, giorno in cui fu notificata, nei termini che senza dubbio sono ancora presenti alla memoria, la dichiarazione di guerra del Piemonte, il Generale de Lamoricière riceveva in Spoleto un dispaccio telegrafico di Mons. Pro-Ministro delle Armi, annunziando che era pervenuta all' Ambasciata di Francia la notizia "che l'Imperatore aveva scritto al re di Piemonte per dichiarargli che se esso attacasse gli Stati del Papa, egli vi si sarebbe opposto colla forza".

Il 16 settembre facendo sosta a Monte Santo, fra Macerata e Loreto, il Generale de Lamoricière ricevette dal Pro-Ministro delle Armi comunicazione del dispaccio sequente diretto anteriormente da S. E. il duca di Gramont al Console di Francia in Ancona:

"L'imperatore ha scritto da Marsiglia al re di Sardegna, che se le truppe piemontesi penetrano nel territorio Pontificio, egli sarà forzato ad opporvisi: ordini sono già dati per imbarcare truppe a Tolone e questi rinforzi arriveranno senza dilazione. Il governo dell'imperatore non tollererà la colpevole aggressione del governo sardo. Come vice-Console di Francia voi dovete regolare la vostra condotta in conseguenza. *Firm.* GRAMONT"

Appena arrivato in Ancona il 18 settembre il Generale Lamoricière si assicurò che il signor di Courcy console di Francia in quella città, aveva ricevuto questo dispaccio ed allora soltanto ne fece publico il contenuto per mezzo di una Notificazione. Questo dispaccio era stato mandato dal Console di Francia al Generale piemontese Cialdini che era in marcia da Sinigaglia sopra Ancona. Questo Generale si limitò ad accusarne ricevuta e continuò la sua marcia!

Questo fatto ha dato luogo a diversi commenti ma come essi nulla hanno d'Officiale, noi crediamo doverli passare sotto silenzio. Checchè ne dica il *Moniteur,* le espressioni stesse del Dispaccio di Sua Ecc. il Duca di Gramont provano che già da quell'epoca eravi questione d'inviare truppe Francesi negli Stati Pontifici: già il 62 di linea era sbarcato a Civitavecchia li 6 settembre, e Sua Ecc. il Generale di Goyon era aspettato per il 17.

In fine molte persone, compresovi il Console di Francia in Ancona, erano convinte che uno dei bastimenti di guerra della stazione Francese nel mare della Sicilia sarebbe spedito in Ancona per impedire se non il cannoneggiamento contro i forti, almeno il bombardamento della Città che ha durato non meno che 10 giorni.

Sarebbe difficile il sostenere che dal 10 al 28 settembre questo bastimento non avreebe avuto il tempo di arrivare.[89]

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 35.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome November 2d 1860

Sir

Since the date of my last despatch No. 34, the *Giornale di Roma* under date of the 31st of October has published another official article in reference to the " falsified telegraph ".

This is in my judgment a matter of so much importance that I have made a literal translation with my own hand of the articles and the letter of Gramont, from the original Italian and French, and enclose it herewith. Marked *A—B—C.*[90]

The pretended explanation in *C,* has been evidently most unwillingly made, and the admission that the words " colla Forza " were not in the original without any effort to show how or why they were added, will certainly leave a very bad impression.

The tone of the explanation does not all respond to the indignant letter of Gramont, and I am inclined to think will not be satisfactory.

The fact that " Gramont " had written a letter is only known in Rome to two or three, and although the correspondence is of much importance as showing the actual position of France Sardinia and the Holy Seat towards each other, and I hope will come to be published, I have received it in confidence, and must therefore beg Your Exc. to consider it private, until it may become public through other sources.

(*C Translation.*)

Official Article in the *Giornale di Roma 31st of October.*

The Ambassador of France has manifested the desire that an expression used in the telegraphic despatch reported in No. 244 of this paper in date of the 24th of October, which says that the Emperor of France had written to the King of Piedmont to declare to him that if he attacked the States of the Pope he would be opposed *with force* (" *Colla forza*)" should be corrected.

We take care therefore to notify, that the despatch communicated by the Ambassador was precisely in these terms, that is to say " that if the Piedmontese troops should enter into Pontifical territory, the Emperor would be obliged to oppose himself to them, and that the order had been given to augment the garrison of Rome.["]

[89] This communication appeared in the *Giornale di Roma.*

[90] A and B are translations of the two communications appended to the preceding document (*ante*) and are not, therefore, here repeated.

These expressions were thought to be of more importance by almost every one, and have certainly contributed to lead to the error which has arisen in reference to the above cited despatch of the 10th of September. To make the truth more plain, we add that three or four days after other communications were received in which it was said the Emperor would oppose himself as an antagonist, (or would be found opposed, in an antagonistical position) (Si sarebbe opposto *en antagoniste.*[)]

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 36.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome November 6th 1860

Sir:

His Em. The Cardinal Secretary of State informed me yesterday that he had received a despatch by express informing him that the Neapolitans had entered the Papal territory in the neighbourhood of "Terracina". He said that it was a new embarrassment; and he evidently was much annoyed at the position in which it placed the government of his Holiness.

Capua capitulated on the second; 8000 men constituting the garrison laid down their arms and were sent to Naples to be embarked.[91]

On the third the Bourbon's fled and passed the river Garigliano pursued by the Piedmontese Army and attacked in flank, by the guns of the fleet. They disbanded and fled in every direction.

General de Sonnaz pursuing them has occupied Mola di Gaeta. He has made many prisoners, and taken all their materials of war. It is now said that the prisoners taken at Capua were more than 12,000.

The *Constitutional* makes the following observations on the communication of La Moriciere in the *Giornale di Roma* which I had the honor to enclose in despatches No. 34 and No. 35.

The article in question tends to raise a belief that the French government had, by the declarations of the Duke de Gramont pledged itself to repulse the invasion of the Papal States. In the first place we have to remark the shameful conduct of the Coterie which at the present time rules the councils of the Holy Father, and which indulges in such a war of malevolent and calumnious insinuations against France, whose arms are the only protection to the political authority of the head of the Church. But in addition to this remark, there is a circumstance which still better characterizes the morality of this polemic. We are enabled to affirm that in the communication attributed to the Duke de Gramont by Monsignore de Merode an expression has been introduced which is not to be found in it. The Duke is made to say that the French Government will oppose the invasion *by Force.* These words *by Force* do not exist in any despatch, but have been inserted to suit the purposes of the case. We moreover know that this unjustifiable proceding has led to a categorical remonstrance on the part of the French Ambassador at Rome, and we doubt not that Cardinal Antonelli will hasten to pay attention to the application made.

I see in the papers from abroad rumors that the Pope contemplated

[91] Thayer, *op. cit.,* II, 419; Solmi, *Making of Modern Italy,* p. 103.

leaving Rome, I see that Neapolitan and Tuscan papers have published this report, but they get up these idle stories only to contradict them, I have therefore refrained from any reference to the matter. There were some few who pretended to advise the pope to this course, but it was only listened to long enough to enable it to be used as a threat in the diplomatic war with France.

It is of course possible that it may come up again under different circumstances, but up to the present time, I do not believe that any well informed person, has credited the report that his Holiness seriously contemplated leaving Rome, in the existing state of affairs. The Secretary of State has never by any act or word given me to understand that the matter was seriously contemplated.

I need not enlarge upon the general affairs of Europe, because the information reaches the United States by telegraph to Paris, much quicker than I can send it. Suffice it to say that the Secretary of State informed me yesterday that if any thing had been done by the meeting of Sovereigns at Warsaw, it was still a *mystery*. The telegraph which I copied in No. 34 to the effect that, they had agreed upon the principle of a congress is now contradicted.

You have no doubt received information that the French, Russian and Spanish Ministers have left Turin.

On the whole I am of the opinion that the Emperor will continue to support the policy of Piedmont. That the nation [*sic*] who have protested will not take up arms for the king of Naples, and the peace of Europe will not be interupted [*sic*] by a general war, unless the English and French advance should be shaken by the unfortunate attempt to increase the bounds of the French Empire.

At present it seems that Prussia will follow England in preference to the Germanic body, and England is true to the cause of constitutional liberty.

John P. Stockton to Lewis Cass. No. 37.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome November 15th 1860

Sir:

The day after the date of my last despatch no. 36 *i. e.* on the 7th Victor Emanuel entered the city of Naples.

The Neapolitan troops continued their flight into the Papal territory to the number of 30,000, the government of his Holiness determined from motives of humanity to give them asylum, from motives of precaution to disarm them. They were without food or means of subsistence and without money wherewith to obtain it. Their condition was deplorable, and a refusal to give them a temporary asylum would have driven them to desperation.

They have been disarmed and distributed at various places between Rome and Terracina, some as near to us as Frascati and Palestrina.

The Papal government are at a daily expense of more than 8000 scudi for their support, which in the present condition of the finances is a serious matter.

Towards the first of January the coupons on the Loans of the government become due. The last delegations of the Romagna with " Umbria " and the " Marches " constituted that part of the territory from which a large portion of the revenue was derived. These circumstances together with the state of feeling exhibited by the letter of " Gramont " The commentary in the Emperors official Journal, and the unusual circumstance of the arrival of a Portuguese Steamer at Civitta Vecchia, *placed at the disposal of the Legation* of that Nation in Rome, have created much speculation and led many to believe that the Pope intends to leave Rome.

It was said by persons who ought to be well informed that the Cardinal Secretary of State was violently opposed to such a movement, as it would destroy him and his interests forever, but that a large portion of the Pope's friends including the Merode faction were in favor of it. It was added to sustain this view that although large sums had been given to obtain volunteers for the Papal service a short time since, that at the present moment the Minister of War refused recruits who came from France for the purpose.

Having written to Your Excellency under date of the 6th in despatch no. 36 that his Holiness had not up to that moment seriously contemplated a departure from Rome, I took occasion on Monday last the 13 inst. to converse with the Secretary of State on the subject.

I stated to him that I felt it my duty in writing to my government to say nothing on the subject until I found that the Public journals were filled with such reports, after which I had written to the effect that, it had never been seriously, a subject of consideration. This statement of mine seemed to please his Eminence and he conversed with me for an hour with great freedom.

He said that what I had written *was entirely correct,* That up to the moment that he spoke the departure of the Pope had not been seriously considered. That the rumor to the contrary which had misled many who ought to have known better arose from this circumstance. When after the entry of the Piedmontese into the " Marches " General Goyon was sent back to Rome, he sought an interview with his Holiness. The General informed his Holiness that he had been sent back to protect the Holy Father from all danger no matter from what quarter. His Holiness replied by urging upon him to advance his soldiers to Viterbo to support General de La Moriciere, to which General Goyon replied that he had no orders which would enable him to leave Rome; His Holiness then said that Gen. Goyon had better not have come, that he was in no personal danger,

that the only point where he asked assistance he refused to act, and concluded with the hasty and indignant threat that unless the French supported him against Piedmont he would leave Rome.

His hasty expression the Cardinal informed me had been repeated by Gen. Goyon and had led to the report alluded to.

The Secretary of State then continued his remarks by saying that although the matter up to this time had never been seriously considered that he of course did not mean that circumstances might not arise which would make it necessary, For example said he *Suppose the French leave us and the Piedmontese come in to Rome.* In that case I said *Your Eminence has too much sagacity to believe that the Pope's departure would be a good move.*

That is the crisis, that is the time to act, not to give up, *that is the time to make terms with Victor Emanuel.*

A smile of intelligence lit the face of his Em. as he replied " Make terms with the robbers who have despoiled us, what terms could we make with them![”]

I replied Your Em. knows very well that it is necessary to make terms with the devil sometimes. And while it is your Eminence's duty to be patient until the time comes, when it does come I believe that terms can be made which under the circumstances will be the best course for the Holy Seat, and will be consistent with the liberal progress of political ideas. I told him the views of American Catholics, that many a warm Catholic in America was as warm an admirer of Garibaldi.

I then asked him why the government of his Holiness had not accepted the presidency of the confederation when it was proposed, that it was certainly the best course at the time; he replied that they did accept; yes said I as an abstract proposition but you allowed it to be defeated in details.

In the course of the conversation of which the above is only a small part, his Eminence said that " the United States was the only free country in the world,[”] at another time he predicted that the Republican party would sooner or later be uppermost in Italy.

Yesterday I was informed by a diplomatic friend who is as a general rule well informed: that important and powerful influences are being brought to bear on the Cardinals to induce them to be more favorable to Piedmont. He said that five cardinals were already favorable. But the matter was a profound secret and its only hope of success depended upon secrecy.

The enemies of Antonelli would be willing for the Pope to leave Rome I think as they have no other hope of his separation from the Secretary of State. But while there are many to attack, find fault, and embarass his policy, there is not one fit to take his place.

I enclose to Your Ex. a new protest from the Sec. of State against

the right of the People to determine by vote who shall be their governors. In fact a new proclamation of the " Divine Right ".

Your Ex. will be at once struck with the retrograde character of the document, it is characteristic of " Ultra-montain " policy, It is the very reverse of the hope which might be entertained by other parts of this despatch, and for that reason I enclose it, to exemplify my view of the subject.

Which is that from failure of finances, from increasing differences with France, from the inevitable spirit of the age, and the determined policy of Piedmont, this government is fast approaching its end, still adhering with the tenacity of paralysis to its traditional policy.

But that some few of the most sagacious, cramped, suspected, and embarassed in their movements, see the necessity of a change of policy, and the hope yet remains that in the last extremity, the patient may gather that courage from desperation which is necessary to undergo the operation.

P. S.

Nov. 16th

I have this moment been informed that 2000 Piedmontese have disembarked at Terracina, that the Cardinal will protest. It is also said though not official that they have entered Orvietto.

(*Enclosure.*)

DALLE STANZE DEL VATICANO (*14815*)

4 Novembre 1860

Fu poi anzi argomento di querele e proteste per parte del Governo della S. Sede la violenta invasione che in parecchie altre provincie degli Stati Pontificii estese, dopo quella già operata nelle Romagne, un Governo vicino, il quale dominato dalla stravagante ambizione di dilatare per tutta l'Italia il suo Regno con lo spoglio dell'altrui legittima Sovranità, imprese e prosegue tuttora la effettuazione del malnato suo disegno, disconoscendo e sprezzando ogni diritto, come quello che non soffre alcuna remora allo strenato suo genio usurpatore.

Impossessatosi delle provincie suddette, cioé delle Marche, dell'Umbria, e di una parte dei paesi del Patrimonio col mezzo della piú ostile violenza, e di una guerra foggiata al costume di mostruosa pirateria, il Governo Piemontese va ora ivi ponendo il colmo alla violazione della Sovranità Pontificia coll'oltraggioso abuso, giá da lui messo in campo nei territorii precedentemente usurpati, mediante la esplorazione del cosí detto voto universale, pretendendo di creare in tal guisa come un elemento valevole a legittimare l'arrogatasi estensione di dominio in onta dell' altrui diritto. Si prescinde qui dal notare i dolosi ed ignobili artifizii, onde suole apparecchiarsi, e regolarsi il preteso appello al voto popolare, di modo che debba giustamente qualificarsi come prodotto di una vera pressione quel che si osa decantare qual risultamento di libera manifestazione della volontá dei popoli. La cosa é notoriamente dimostrata, e del resto non é sul modo dell'abusiva votazione che or interessi di fare osservazioni e rilievi. Quel che importa si é il censurare e riprovare altamente un tanto abuso e disordine col quale cercherebbesi d'introdurre un principio eminentemente rivoluzionario, distruttivo dei diritti del legittimo Sovrano.

Qualunque siano su tal punto le idee di un Governo che strettosi in alleanza con la rivoluzione presta ad essa le parti di promotore e di condottiero, il principio però, che pretenderebbesi stabilire, riscuote una piena condanna dalle immutabili leggi della giustizia, dalle generali massime del diritto delle genti, dalle fondamentali ragioni dell'ordine sociale e civile, e dal sentimento delle ben ordinate nazioni. Ed in vero, posto un si strano principio, qual Sovranitá, tutto che forte del suo buon diritto e della sua diuturna esistenza, potrebbe mai vedersi sicura dal pericolo di venire arbitrariamente da un momento all'altro scossa e distrutta? A quali funeste incertezze non resterebbero costantemente esposti i Governi, e con essi l'intera civil societá sotto la influenza di un principio sí fecondo per sua natura di agitazioni, di perturbamenti e disordini proprii a trar seco il generale scompiglio?

E' sulla base pertanto di tali gravissime considerazioni che il Governo Pontificio trovasi nel caso di protestare contro l'abuso operatosi, e che prosegue ad operarsi dal Governo usurpatore col presunto appello al voto delle popolazioni per decidere della sorte del loro Sovrano: abuso equivalente all'introduzione di un principio che tutte disconosce, vilipende, conculca le ragioni e prerogative delle Sovranitá legittimamente costituite; deforma e sovverte il diritto che sulla base dei solenni trattati e delle convenzioni internazionali regola il governo degli Stati; tende a sconvolgere le invariabili eterne massime della giustizia; induce il mostruoso diritto della usurpazione; ed insinua nella societá un germe di fatali inquietitudini e turbolenze.

I sentimenti di alta riprovazione, onde si pronunciarono gli altri Governi sulla prevariante politica del Governo Piemontese, e sulla inqualificabile attitudine usurpatrice ch'esso mantiene come in altri Stati d'Italia, cosí in quello della S. Sede non permettono dubitare che non sia per trovare in ciascun di Loro una piena conformitá di avviso la ulteriore protesta che or si avanza dal Governo Pontificio a tutela e difesa della Sovranitá temporale del Romano Pontefice contro il progressivo oltraggioso contegno, onde l'usurpatore insiste a consumare pienamente l'orribile ardita invasione nelle sovrindicate provincie, siccome giá fece nella parte degli Stati della Chiesa anteriormente appropriatasi. Ed avvi pur tutta la ragione di confidarsi che i prelodati Governi sieno per munire del loro efficace appoggio le giuste rimostranze del Governo di Sua Santitá, ed insieme il buon diritto, in cui esso si riconosce nel chiamar responsabile il Sovrano e Governo di Sardegna di tutti i danni conseguenti dalla ostile invasione che si portò e si mantiene nei dominii della S. Sede, e nel reclamarne ed attenderne a suo tempo degli invasori la completa reintegrazione.

E' nella qui sopra ennunciata persuasione e fiducia che il Sottoscritto Cardinale Segretario di Stato di Sua Santitá porge a Vostra Eccellenza l'invito di far giungere a cognizione del suo Governo la presente Nota, e coglie intanto ben volentieri la opportunitá di confermare i sensi della sua distinta considerazione.

G. C. Antonelli

John P. Stockton to J. S. Black. No. 38.

Legation of the United States of America at Rome Feb. 8th 1861

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch dated Dec. 19th 1860 informing me of your appointment as Secretary of State, and that you had entered upon the duties of that office.[92]

[92] Jeremiah S. Black was Secretary of State from Dec. 17, 1860, to March 4, 1861.

I have the honor to forward herewith a plan of the new "batterie masquée["] opened by Gen. Cialdini.[93]

The four platforms revolve and are mounted each with 12 cavalli guns. Between each revolving platform are five rifled canon, and a battery of mortars firing over them. The Cavalli guns are said to be entirely successful, but the distance of the battery from the wall is 1800 metres, which makes it almost impossible to make a breach.

The nature of the position prevents a nearer approach. Those diplomats who have returned from "Gaeta" do not believe the place can be taken by assault, but that it will fall from treason within the walls. Every thing in Rome depends upon events at Gaeta.

John P. Stockton to the Secretary of State. No. 39.

Legation of The United States of America at Rome February 19th 1861

Sir:

I have the honor of informing you that on the 13th Gaeta capitulated.[94] The King, queen and all the Royal family of Naples arrived in Rome at one o'clock on the morning of the 15th, coming from Terracina, escorted by French dragoons, who had been sent to meet him. The diplomatic corps accredited at Naples received the King some distance outside of the gate and accompanied him to the Pontifical palace on the Quirinal. The next day the Pope called upon him in great State, and was on his departure accompanied to his carriage by the King.

There are various opinions as to the cause of the capitulation. It is insisted by a certain portion that treason within the walls was the reason, that the depots of powder were exploded from treachery; but the King denies that such was the case, or that treason of any kind was the cause of the capitulation.

He says "he surrendered the place because it was no longer tenable" [.]

It appears that this fortress heretofore considered impregnable was not invulnerable to the new inventions of science, the vaults of the powder magazine although they had been considered perfectly safe, were proved by experience not to be sufficiently thick to resist the fire from modern artillery, and one after the other burst, doing fearful damage until at last a breach was made towards the sea.

The fall of Gaeta has been waited for with great anxiety by the liberal party, and the event is received with universal joy by the Roman people. It is said that the great barrier which arrested the progress of the Italian

[93] The plan which is here described is enclosed in the original.

[94] Thayer gives Feb. 14 as the date of the capitulation of Gaeta (II, 441).

cause is now removed, and the result of the debate on the removal of the French troops from Rome in the chambers is considered the crisis of Italian affairs.

On the evening of the 14th the same night that the King arrived at the Quirinal there was an organized demonstration of joy at the fall of Gaeta. Suddenly as if by enchantment the whole Corso burst forth into a blaze of pure white light, in a moment it changed to a fiery red, and again as Viva l'Italia! Viva l'Italia! rang out from a thousand tongues, the scene changed to a brilliant green, completing to the eager eyes of the people of Rome the national colours, the sacred symbol of Italian unity.

As the multitude moved along the corso they shouted lume! lume! until almost every house and every window was illuminated, On the steps of the church of San Carlo immediately opposite the Legation blazed the tricoloured flame. When it was observed that our palace refused to show any lights, the crowd stopped under the windows and shouted vociferously: they seemed for a time uncertain and undecided, at last some one in the midst, probably appreciating the delicacy of the position, cried out with a loud voice Viva l'America! Viva l'America! the shout was taken up and reechoed until the piazza was empty.

The piano [95] above the Legation is occupied by a portion of the Royal family of Naples, and proper delicacy towards them would be a controling motive for " non-intervention ", if its inconsistency with diplomatic propriety had not been sufficient.

It is said that more than fifty persons have been exiled from Rome for having taken part in this demonstration, there was no blood shed, nor fighting, because the matter was managed so secretly that there was no resistance or opposition whatever, as far as the eye could reach, there was not a uniform in sight, the few police who were in the neighbourhood removed themselves to places more secure, and it was all over before the French soldiers arrived at the spot.

Upon the arrival at Civitta Vecchia of the news of the demonstration in Rome; the " Vechesi " determined upon making one also, they turned out in large numbers, with blazing torches shouting " Viva Napoleone! " ["]Viva Vittoria Emanuele![”] *"Viva Garibaldi!"*

The police attempted to stop it, and wounded some with their swords, but the most daring disarmed the Lieutenant of the Police, and the people beat him and his companions with their torches, about a dozen arrests have been made.

I find it my duty to inform you that by letter from the U. S. Vice Consul at Civitta Vecchia dated the 14th February I am informed " that an unexampled exaction is daily perpetrated here by the consul of the late King of Naples, by a combination with the pontifical authorities of this

[95] *I. e.,* the story or floor above.

place, every foreigner wishing to go to Naples is obliged by the police to apply first to the Neapolitan Consul for a visa, which costs no less than $1.15, and to return afterwards to the police for permission to embark, *which is not allowed without such visa.*

"Almost always the consul of Naples keeps with him the passports one or two hours, and as it happened yesterday to sundry of our citizens, either accidentally or on purpose the visa mostly are found erroneous, and the poor strangers are obliged to ascend 120 steps to have them concluded at the Consuls office." Upon the receipt of this letter, and after being informed by the police authorities here, that it was a question concerning political policy, which was above their jurisdiction, I sought an interview with the Secretary of State. He insisted that Francis II was still King of the two Sicilies in the eye of the Papal Government, and that it was the duty of the Papal Government to uphold the authority of his officers in the Papal territory, that if I insisted upon the view I had taken, it would be acknowledging the change that had taken place. I insisted that whoever might be sovereign of the two Sicilies " de jure ", the point could not be denied that the government " de facto " demanded no visa to enter their territory. That moreover the papal government had no right to insist upon an American taking any foreign visa as a condition precedent to a permission to depart.

As I did not receive any satisfaction, on my return home I prepared a letter and sent it to his Eminence.

The following is a translation

LEGATION OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA ROME Feb. 16 1861

To His Reverend Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State.

M. Le Cardinal

I had the honor of an interview with you yesterday, in which I found it necessary to protest against the injustice done towards American citizens by the police of Civitta Vecchia in refusing them permission to embark on board the steamers for Naples, alleging that their passports did not bear the visa of the Consul of Francis II[.]

Your Eminence replied that as the Papal Government did not acknowledge any of the changes which had occurred in the Kingdom of Naples, the argument that the visa of the Consul was no longer necessary to enter Naples could not be admitted. Leaving out of the question the great difference between a government " de facto " and " de jure " which distinction by itself will decide the question, without changing in any way the political relations of the Papal Government with that of the Government of the two Sicilies; I desire to repeat to Your Reverend Eminence in writing, that the reply made is in no way applicable to the case, and that the Pontifical Government upon due proof of his nationality is bound to permit the stranger to depart.

If Francis II was still King of Naples both of right and in fact, the pontifical government would have no right to insist that an American citizen should take the visa of his consul.

The prayer of the passport that he be permitted to pass freely is refused, *the*

refusal of permission to embark is a false imprisonment which violates international right. The passport is the proof of his nationality, the visa of the American Consul authenticates it, and if he desires to leave your territory you have no right to detain him. A visa is sought when it is a condition essential to entrance into the port to which the traveller is going. It is sought because it is necessary to the traveller, not because it is an exaction of the country to which the consul is accredited.

You may refuse permission to disembark at Civitta Vecchia without the visa of the Papal Consul at Marseilles, but the French Government cannot hinder the departure of an American citizen from Marseilles because he has not taken a Papal visa.

Your reply would have been applicable if I had aske[d] you to declare the visa of the Consul of the two Sicilies invalid, but I have made no such demand.

I declare simply *that an American citizen his identity being proved by the visa of his own consul has the absolute right after paying the established tax for the police visa to disembark at Civitta Vecchia, without the visa of any third power being made a condition precedent.*

I demand formally that this declaration be made to the police at Civitta Vecchia.

If the traveller neglects to furnish himself with the visa necessary to enter the place to which he is going, it is his own fault, and it is to his own detriment.

But if the visa is not necessary to entrance, you do not possess the power to impose the laws of Naples which are not enforced there, upon citizens of the U. S. within your territorial limits, by making obedience to them conditions precedent to a permission to depart.

I protest against the decision on the grounds alluded to, and it affords me pleasure to hope that the Pontifical Government will change its determination as soon as it comprehends the matter, for it certainly in no way involves the political aspect of this government towards the government of the two Sicilies.

Accept Mr. Le Cardinal the assurance of my high consideration

JOHN P. STOCKTON
Minister Resident of the United States
of America near the Holy Seat.

I have not had time yet to receive any reply, but as there is a principle of considerable importance involved, and as the Americans are justly incensed at the exaction, I felt it my duty not to delay presenting the matter to the department.

JOHN P. STOCKTON TO J. S. BLACK. No. 40.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT ROME March 11th 1861

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that since my last despatch I have been informed by the Secretary of State that orders had been given at Civitta Vecchia in accordance with my views in reference to the Passports of Americans " en route " for Naples.

I have a letter from the consul at Civitta Vecchia to day which says " according to the information I have received from this *divezione di*

polizia passports for Naples after the new instructions received from Rome, are no longer to be subjected to the consular visa of Francis II ".

John P. Stockton to J. S. Black. No. 41.

Legation of The United States of America at Rome March 19th 1861

Sir:

I find it my duty to inform you that on the evening of the 7th March paymaster Clarke and Dr. Vreeland of the U. S. Steamer *Iroquois* called at the Legation of the U. S. in Rome, paymaster Clarke handed me a despatch addressed to " Francis II King of Naples ", stating that Capt. Palmer of the *Iroquois* which had arrived at Civita Vecchia, had directed him to give me the despatch, and request me to hand it to the King, or see that it reached him with all possible speed. Mr. Clarke handed me at the same time an open letter, addressed to Capt. Palmer by the United States Vice Consul at Messina which he said Captain Palmer wished me to read, as it would explain the despatch to the King, the letter of the Vice Consul was as follows

Messina 4 March 1861

Captain Palmer

Commanding U. S. S. Iroquois

Civita Vecchia

Dear Sir

Will you be so kind and send the enclosed letter from the commander of the citadel La Roma with the greatest possible despatch and secrecy. The letter is of the greatest importance and may save the city of Messina from total destruction.

I was requested by the Commander of the Citadel to have the letter despatched, I accepted the mission *in the hopes* that I may save the lives of thousands.

Very respectfully

Yr obd Servant

F. W. Behn

Without a moments delay I took the letter and despatch to the Count Trappani (the uncle of the King) who lives in the piano above the Legation, I stated the matter to him, translating the letter of the Consul; he wrote a short note by which I could gain immediate admission to the King, and begged me to lose no time in its delivery. I went immediately to the Pontifical palace of the Quirinal and handed the despatch to the King within an hour from the time I received it. I also stated to him how it had come into my care, and that I had accepted the charge in the hope that its speedy delivery might be the means of saving thousands of lives, solely on the ground of humanity.

On the 9th the Count Trappani came into my apartment, and said that the King had decided to send an officer with despatches which would terminate hostilities, and prevent the shedding of more blood. He wished to know if the *Iroquois* would take the officers with such despatches, and whether she could start immediately.

I replied that before I would feel justified in asking Capt. Palmer to perform the service required, I must be satisfied that nothing would be sent by the Ship except despatches which had for their object the surrender of the place, and the prevention of a useless sacrifice of human life. This assurance he gave at once and offered to put it in any form I wished.

I called immediately upon Captain Palmer at the Hotel de Londres, and related to him the conversation I had had with the Count Trappani, and urged him to accept the proposition without delay. But I regret to say he took an entirely different view of the matter, and all my arguments proved unavailing.

Captain Palmer said he was surprized at the request of the King, because the King had other means of sending his officer to Messina, that he would not be justified in diverting his ship from her orders except for some special cause of humanity which he alone was capable of executing. That there were constant packet steamers from Civita Vecchia to Naples, and the officer might be sent in that way.

That the Papal ship the *Immaculate Conception*[96] was at Civita Vecchia as well as the French Man of War the *Brandon* that either one or the other could be called upon more properly to do the service required. That he had been already blamed for listening to the application of a consul and taking himself and family on board his ship. That the orders of the department were that they must not permit themselves to be diverted from their orders by ministers or Consuls.

That the despatch he had sent to me for the King had not been brought by his ship but that he had found it on his table at Civitta Vecchia.

I replied that the means of communication by packet to Naples was slow and uncertain. That as the King and his counsellers had decided that his ship was the safest and speediest means of communicating directly with Messina, that question would hardly admit of a doubt.

That the orders he had could not have contemplated an emergency of this kind.

That I would take all the responsibility of diverting the ship from her orders, as he had previously stated that he would remain at Civita Vecchia until the 19th and it was evident that he could go to Messina and back in half the time that he proposed remaining at Civita Vecchia.

[96] Pius IX made frequent jesting references to his navy of one boat, the *Immaculate Conception*. L. F. Stock in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, n. s., III, 10-11, 13 n.

That the case was entirely different from an application on the part of a minister or consul to divert his ship from her orders for "private purposes".

That he was aware that the papal ship was not prepared to perform the service, that the officer of the ship had said in Rome that his ship was the fastest in the Mediterranean, and that after the despatches had been sent to me by him, and the request had been made that he should carry the message of Peace, I should be mortified if he permitted, the French ship to do it.

I insisted that he was losing an opportunity of doing a service in the cause of humanity which would redound to his honor, and that of the navy and country which he represented. That we had a naval depot at La Spezia, that our ships were in Italian ports constantly; that more or less we were indebted to their courtesies; that this was an occasion where without interfering on one side or the other we connected our country in the most proper way with the historical events which were occurring, and in the name of humanity did a service to all parties.

In short I used every argument in my power to induce him to accept the service, but he remained decided in his views of his duty, and declined.

The next morning Capt. Palmer called at the Legation and inquired what reply I had given to the King. I told him that I had told the Count Trappani that the Captain of the Ship had informed me that he was under orders to go North after staying a few days at Civitta Vecchia and that he could not divert his ship from her orders.

On the 12th Capt. Palmer and myself were informed by the French Ambassador, that the capitulation had been signed, that the King had at first told him that he intended to send it by an American steamer, but he afterwards informed him that the American steamer could not go, and requested him to send a French Man of War the *Brandon* which was at Civita Vecchia on the service. That he had sent the proper orders to the ship, and the despatches were at that moment on board of her, but that he had just received a telegraph stating that she could not start immediately, (as I understand she had broken her rudder, but I have since ascertained the cause was the "condition of the Sea") he apprehended that Fergola would fire upon the town before the despatches would get there.

The next morning the 13th I sent the following letter to Captain Palmer.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NEAR THE HOLY SEAT

ROME the 13 March 1861 12M.

To Comr. Palmer Commanding the U. S. Steamer Iroquois

Hotel de Londres Rome

Sir.

You are aware that the capitulation of Messina was signed by the King of Naples yesterday in Rome, and sent on board a French Man of War at Civita Vecchia, in order that it might be carried with speed and safety to its destination. You are also aware that the Duke de Gramont received a telegraph last night stating that the ship had broke her rudder, and could not leave.

Under these circumstances the cause of humanity as well as American interests in Messina seem to me to call upon you to consent to take these despatches, if they have not yet gone.

When I sought an interview with you on the 9th to request you to do this same service on the part of the King of Naples, you gave among other reasons for declining that there was a French Man of War in the harbor, that could be called upon more properly.

This reason no longer exists and the responsibility seems to be thrown upon you of delaying this work of humanity until it may be too late.

I am very truly yrs

JOHN P. STOCKTON

U. S. Minister at Rome

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon Captain Palmer came into the Legation where I was sitting in company with the Vice Consul of the United States.[97] I opened the conversation by asking if he had received my letter, he replied he had received the letter but he could not go, and repeated the argument in reference to his diverting his ship at the request of the diplomatic agent of our country, which he had used on the occasion of our interview on the 9th.

I replied that I had supposed when I called him out from his dinner on the 9th at the Hotel de Londres, that he would have rejoiced at the opportunity I had presented of connecting the American Navy with a work of humanity of this kind.

He said you only ask it then on the ground of humanity, I replied not only on that ground for I insist that the honor and interest of our country call upon you to offer to take these despatches.

He said that if he thought with me he would do it, but he could see no reason sufficiently strong to induce him to violate his orders.

I told him that I would stand between him and harm. That I took all the responsibility. I asked how long it would take him to go to Messina, he said 30 hours! I observed in conclusion that if history recorded the destruction of the town of Messina, and Fergola and the

[97] Antoine Ardisson.

garrison were treated as "Cialdini"[98] had threatened in case he fired upon the town, it would also record that the fastest ship in the Mediterranean belonging to the United States was lying at Civita Vecchia and refused to carry an order of mercy which might have prevented the catastrophe. That whether the order could arrive in time or not, he was in duty bound to make the effort, that he ought to have gone when I first asked him, and that if the French Man of War had not yet gone, he should now offer to take her place. That this declaration of mine should be put upon record. That history would also record the protest of the American Minister at Rome. That if it were true that there were orders from the Navy department which would bear the construction he contended for, and prevent an officer in command of one of our ships of war from listening to an appeal from a Minister of the United States, of such a character as the one I had made, the ships in the Mediterranean had better be at home, but that my opinion was that there were no orders that would sustain his position.

About 7 o'clock the same evening Captain Palmer sent me word that he had just been informed, that the *Brandon* had gone.

Late on the evening of the 15th one of the diplomatic corps accredited at Naples, handed me a large bundle of papers (which I enclose herewith) he said it was the capitulation of Messina, with the accompanying papers, he requested me after reading them to send them to my government. He said they had been sent to all the diplomatic corps accredited at Naples, but as we had no Minister now, they had sent him two copies requesting him to send one to the government of the United States.

The first thing I saw on opening the packet was two copies of a letter from Flag Officer Bell to Fergola the Commandant of the Citadel of Messina, one in English the other a French Translation. From this letter it appears that the Commander of the U. S. forces in the Mediterranean, actuated by similar motives, had on the 3rd at Messina voluntarily offered the services of the *Iroquois,* for the same duty which the Minister at Rome on the 9th had endeavoured to induce Capt. Palmer to discharge. The letter is in these words.

United States Flag Ship Richmond Messina 3d March 1861

Sir:

Should you wish to send a letter to your Soverign, King Francis 2d at Rome, if you will entrust it to my care, I will enclose it to Capt. Palmer commanding the United States Steamer *Iroquois* now at Civita Vecchia, and direct him to hand it in person to the King, or to one near his person authorized to receive it.

Should the King wish to send instructions to you to surrender the citadel, I shall direct Captain Palmer to take charge of them and bring them with his ship immediately to Messina.

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[98] Gen. Enrico Cialdini, who defeated Lamoricière at Castelfidardo, participated in the attack on Ancona, took Gaeta, and after the fall of Messina directed, in 1866, the operations against the Austrians at Veneto. Leti, *op. cit.,* II, 36 n.

This proposition is made to you in order that no effort should be spared to save the lives of faithful and brave men and the destruction of a fine city with all its attending horrors.

Should you accept my proposition be pleased to send your letter in time for the steamer which will leave for Naples to morrow.

I have the honor to be Your obdt. Servt.

CHAS H. BELL

Flag Officer Comd U. S. Naval forces Mediterranean

General Fergola Commandante Superiore della Real Cittadella di Messina

I presume that this letter as well as the other papers were contained in the despatch sent to me by Captain Palmer and delivered to me on the evening of the 7th by paymaster Clarke, and which I had handed to the King.

So that while on the part of Captain Palmer I was assuring the King that he could not divert his ship from her orders, the King was in possession of this letter sent to him by Capt. Palmer [Bell] through my hands, offering the services of Captain Palmer commanding the United States Steamer *Iroquois now at Civita Vecchia,* to take charge of the despatches which the King might wish to send *and bring them immediately with his ship to Messina.*

I showed the letter to Capt. Palmer who said that if he had known of its existence he would have gone at once. The only way I can account for the letter not having been shown to me by the King, is that *the presumption was* that Captain Palmer knew of the offer, and moreover that if I wished the ship to go I could send her, as the French Ambassador did with the French Man of War afterwards.

It is much to be regretted that after the services of the ship had been offered, there should have been any hesitation in her starting immediately.

Whether Fergola accepted the offer or not I think Capt. Palmer should have been made aware of the offer that had been made of the services of his ship " now at Civita Vecchia ".

The only intelligence I have from Messina is contained in a telegraphic despatch in the *Nazione,* and a letter which under date of the 11th states that Fergola had fired on the town but there had been no serious damage as yet.

The telegraph in the *Nazione* is in these words. *" Torino 14 ore 4.10 P. M."* " La Gazetta Officiale publica un dispaccio di Cialdini da Messina, 13 Marzo. La Citadella si è resa a discrezione dopo quatro giorni di fuoco. Noi Facemmo scoppiare vani depositi di granate che hanno prodotto un vaste incendio. Si è rifutata ogni capitolazione. La Flotta ha fatto due ore di fuoco. I prigionieri sono 5 generali, 150 officiali, 5000 uomini; presi 300 cannoni."

If Captain Palmer had left on the night of the 9th the morning of the 11th would have found him in all human probability at Messina.

You will see by the accompanying papers that the Kings consent to making terms with the enemy is under date of the 10th. If on that day a steamer had started immediately for Messina (as far as my information goes up to the time of writing) she would have been in time to have prevented much blood shed and destruction of property. At all events as the citadel surrendered at discretion on the 13th all the destruction of the 12th and 13th could have been saved, and these brave men would not have been obliged to surrender at discretion, subject to the declaration of Cialdini, that they should be treated as assassins.

I hope that subsequent accounts may change the position of the matter so as to make it doubtful whether any good could have been done by a prompt compliance with the request of the King.

Although they asked me on the evening of the 9th whether the Ship could go immediately, the *Brandon* did not get off until late on the 13th. She had the despatches on board on the 12th and was delayed perhaps 24 hours on account of the condition of the sea. Why from the night of the 9th to the 12th no ship was sent I cannot say, and we have the right to hope that it will turn out that there was some delay in the negotiation by which, the papers might not have been ready even if Capt. Palmer had consented.

But if this was the case it will always be a source of deep regret still that Capt. Palmer by an immediate acceptance had not *thrown the responsibility of the fatal delay on other parties.*

In concluding this despatch I deem it my duty as the only Minister of the United States in this part of the Mediterranean to say, that the commanding officer of the squadron in the Mediterranean should always be instructed to communicate the movements of his ships and their object, as far as consistent with the public service to the nearest Ministers of his country.

That upon the entry of a national ship into a port within my Legation I should have the matter officially reported to me, and that the ship should be subject to any order, which I took the responsibility of, and which I declared to be necessary for "*the honor and interest of the country*".

If this is not done the Ministers or the ships had better be called home.

[*Enclosures.*]

ROMA 10 Marzo 1861.

Salvato l'onore dell'armata Napoletana con l'eroica difesa di Gaeta, e colla condotta della guarnigione di Messina credo inutile di prolungare la resistenza di cotesta Cittadella che potrebbe recare danni immensi alla Città, sacrificando sterilmente la vita della prode guarnigione, che con tanta costanza sostiene in cotesta parte del Faro la mia bandiera.

Fedele al sentimento che mi fece arrestare il bombardamento di Palermo ed abbandonare la Città di Napoli credo dover mio salvare nel ogni costo l'emporeo commerciale della Sicilia.

A voi General Fergola, che avete dato un così nobile esempio di attacamento, di

fermezza, e di coraggio, a voi affida il carico di trattare col nemico, ottenendo condizioni onorevoli e vantaggiose per la guarnigione. Voglio conservare il sangue de' miei soldati, ma voglio nello stesso tempo conservare ai medesemi l'onore, ed assicurare il loro avvenire.

(*Copia.*)

No. 202. S. R. M.

Signore

Nel giorno 27 del caduto Febbraro avendo osservato che il nemico costruiva delle opere di assedio al luogo detto le Moselle, ed al Savatore dei Greci, scrissi al General Cialdini, ora comandante in capo i Piemontesi in Messina, che essendo ció una infrazione allo articlo 4. della convenzione, io al tramonto avrei aperto il fuoco delle mie batterie, onde controbattere i suoi lavori, abbenchè fuori la portata delle mie Artiglierie, come V. M. avrá la clemenza leggere nella copia No. 1, e contemporaneamente manifestai tale mio divisamento ai Consoli esteri in questa esistenti ed ai Comandanti dei legni da guerra ancorati nel Porto, Francese, Inglese ed Americano; ed il Generale Cialdini in risposta mi diceva quanto é scritto nella copia No. 2. della quale abbenché niun conto siasi fatto da me, e dai miei uffiziali, pure disgraziatamente é circolata per la Truppa, perchè posta in istampa da Cialdini stesso, e diramata mentre la Fortezza era tuttavia in communicazione colla Città.

Nelle ore pomeridiane del 28 detto Febbrajo si presentarono come parlamentarj diversi Consoli, impetrando a nome di tutti, che avessi io spedito qualche uffiziale presso V. M. per poter prendere i Sovrani oracoli onde risparmiare un'eccidio e la devastazione della Città sú della quale facilmente avrei dovuto tirare onde controbattere le opere di attacco che il nemico stava formando. Intanto il Signor Cialdini all'inchiesta fattagli dai Consoli su tale riguardo fu negativo, e mi diresse l'intìmo della rottura della tregna fino al mezzo giorno del susseguente dì, alche risposi che mi atteneva a quanto gli aveva precedentemente detto, copia No. 1, e che alle 5 del giorno stesso s'intendevano cominciate le ostilitá; e di fatti cominciai facendo tirare qualche colpo di cannone su i legni da guerra con bandiera Sarda che trasportavano il materiale da guerra dal Salvatore dei Greci alle Moselle, ma senza alcun frutto.

Stamane poi il Commodoro Americano mi ha spedita una scritta in idioma inglese che originalmente umilio alla M. V. in unione alla traduzione in francese fatta da lui stesso, onde possa la M. V. vedere quanto contiene.

Tanto premesso, sono nel dovere sommettere a V. M. che il nemico seguita tuttavia a formare delle grandi batterie con cannoni Cavalli, e rigati, di cui questa Fortezza é sfornita, e come ho detto fuori il tiro delle nostre artiglierie, oltre di che le polveriste di questa Piazza, e molti magazzini sono zeppi di polvere immessa in essi perché oltre la dote, nelle presenti emergenze n'é pervenuta molta da Palermo, Termini, ed i Forti Gonzaga, e Castellaccio.

Ch'é necessario, pel proseguimento della difesa, che V. M. si degni spedire quí un legno qualunque onde prendersi le famiglie degli uffiziali e Truppa ascendenti a circa seicento persone, perché la loro presenza é di forte inciampo alle operazioni militari, vi é poco locale a pruova per ricoverarle, ed abbreviano positivamente la durata dei viveri esistenti nelle riserve.

In fine dopo di avere umiliato alla Sovrana saggezza di V. M. quanto di sopra é cenno, mi attendo gli analoghi ordini, e sia certa la M. V. che essi saranno pienamente eseguiti da me, e da questa fedelissima Guarnigione, per come si é praticato sempre.

Fino al momento che scrivo ogni comunicazione é chiusa si da terra, che da mare. Il legno da guerra Francese é partito, e quello Inglese ed Americano sono tuttavia nel Porto.

La flotte Piemontese forte da circa dieci Legni é in queste acque.

Dippiú umilio alla M. V. che atteso i disagi sta soffrendo questa Guarnigione per lo spazio di circa otto mesi la cattiva impressione ricevuta per la caduta della Piazza di Gaeta, dietro l'esplosione delle polveriste, non la veggo animosa come lo era per lo addietro.

Supplico finalmente la M. V. voler accogliere gli attestati di fede, e di attaccamento della Guarnigione tutta, e con essa bacio la sacra destra della M. V.

Umilissimo, e Fedelissimo suddito GENNARO FERGOLA *Maresciallo.*

Cittadella li 3 Marzo 1861.

(*Copia No. 1.*)

REAL CITTADELLA li 28 Febbraro 1861.

Comando Superiore delle Truppe riunite nella Real Cittadella di Messina

No. 196.

Signore.

Conoscendo che siansi intrapresi lavori di attacco contro questa Real Cittadella in opposizione all'articolo 4 della Convenzione stabilita fra il Signor Maresciallo di Campo Clary, ed il Signor Generale de Medici, risulta dal precitato articolo che questa Fortezza deve spiegare i suoi mezzi di difesa contro le opere in construzione non solo, ma mio malgrado contro la Cittá di Messina ancora, come centro degli approvisionamenti di guerra.

Per conseguenza la prego che pria del tramonto i suoi legni da guerra e di trasporto sgombrassero il Porto, avendo in pari data officiato tutti i Consoli delle diverse Nazioni che trovansi in Messina, perché facessero lo stesso praticare ai loro Connazionali.

Il Maresciallo di Campo Comandante.

GENNARO FERGOLA.

Per copia conforme

Il Capo dello Stato Maggiore

Patrizio Guillamat

Al Signore Signor Generale Comandante le Truppe Piemontesi in Messina

(*Copia No. 2.*)

MESSINA 28 Febbraro 1861.

Quarto Corpo di Armata

Al Maresciallo di Campo Comandante la Cittadella di Messina

In risposta alla Lettera ch'Ella mi ha fatto l'onore di dirigermi quest'oggi, devo dirle.

1. Che il Re Vittorio Emanuele essendo stato proclamato Re d'Italia dal parlamento italiano, la di lei condotta sará ormai considerata come aperta rebellione.

2. Che per conseguenza non darò a Lei, né alla sua guarnigione Capitolazione di sorta, e che dovranno arrendersi a discrezione.

3. Che s'Ella fa fuoco sulla Cittá, faró fucilare, dopo la presa della Cittadella, tanti uffiziali e soldati della Guarnigione quante saranno state le vittime cagionate dal di Lei fuoco sopra Messina.

4. Che i di Lei beni, e quelli degli uffiziali saranno confiscati per indemnizzare i danni recati alle famiglie dei Cittadini.

5. E per ultimo, che conseguerò Lei, e i suoi subordinati al popolo di Messina.[99]

Ho costume di tener parola e, senza essere accusato di jattanza, le prometto che Ella e i suoi saranno quanto prima nelle miei mani.

Dopo ció faccia come crede. Io non riconosceró piú nella S. V. Illma un militare ma un vile assassino, e per tale lo terrá l'Europa intera.

Il Generale d'Armata Ajutante di campo di S. M. CIALDINI

Per copia conforme

Il Capo della Stato Maggiore

Patrizio Guillamat

(*Copia.*)

REAL CITTADELLA li 28 Febbraro 1861.

Comando Superiore delle Truppe riuniti nella Real Cittadella di Messina

No. 197.

Signore

Osservo un Piroscafo con Bandiera Sarda dalla parte della Spiaggia delle Moselle che sbarca materiali da guerra; la prego al momento fare allontanare un tal legno, altrimenti mi mette nella dura posizione di fargli fuoco sopra.

Il Maresciallo di Campo Comandante GENNARO FERGOLA.

Per copia conforme

Il Tenente Colonello Capo dello Stato Maggiore—

Patrizio Guillamat

Al Signor Generale Comandante le Truppe Piemontese Messina

(*Circolare.*)

ROMA 10, Marzo 1861.

Signor

Le acchiudo per ordine di Sua Maesta copia delle comunicazioni, che sono state scambiate tra il Generale Governatore della Cittadella di Messina, ed il Generale in Capo dell'Armata piemontese.

Credo inutile ogni comentario sulla risposta del Generale Cialdini. Quando si attacca una Cittadella, che difende i diritti del Sovrano legitimo contro la più iniqua invasione, quando si fa della Cittá di Messina magazzino generale per gli approvvigionamenti del'attacco, il Generale Fergola si contenta di annunziare al Generale nemico, che il suo dovere militare l'obbligherebbe, suo malgrado, ad usare i suoi mezzi di difesa contro la Città, in cui si trovavano i mezzi dello attacco.

La risposta del Generale Cialdini sará letta con stupore in Europa. Il capo piemontese dichiara che in quel caso i difensori legittimi della Monarchia Saranno considerati come ribelli, e fará fucilare tanti Uffiziali e Soldati della guarnigione quante sarebbero le vittime cagionate dal fuoco della Cittadella. Che i beni dei Generali e degli Uffiziali Saranno Confiscati, e che, perultimo, conseguerá il Governatore, ed i suoi subordinati alla vendetta del popolo di Messina. La barbarie dé mezzi adoperati corrisponde fino all' ultimo alla iniquità della aggressione.

Ma come questa aggressione é stata tollerata da tutte le Potenze di Europa, come nessuno ajuto deve sperare il Re per Salvare il diritto pubblico, e l'indépendenza

[99] In margin, opposite these numbered paragraphs: "In quanto al Piroscafo che sbarca materiali da guerra ci tiri pur sopra a suo bell'agio se ha Cannoni chi ci arriviero."

dé suoi popoli, come la difesa di Gaeta aveva già Salvato l'onore dell'armata Napolitana, ha creduto il Re dover mettere un termine alla effusione di Sangue nel Regno di Napoli e nella Sicilia.

Nel chiudere così la Campagna cominciata nel mese di Aprile ultimo, il Re, abbandonato da tutta l'Europa, si ritira, pel momento, nella terra dello esilio, con la coscienza di avere sostenuto fino all'ultimo momento i Suoi diritti, gl'interessi di tutt'i Sovrani, la causa di tutt'i popoli.

Dopo avere resistiti cinque mesi in Gaeta, esponendo giornalmente la sua vita e quella della sua famiglia, affretta adesso la capitolazione della Cittadella di Messina per non sacrificare invano una prode e leale guarnigione. Animato dallo stesso umanitario pensiero, che gli fece sospendere il bombardamento di Palermo, abbandonare la Sua Capitale, ritirare le sue truppe da Messina per risparmiare col suo personale Sacrifizio le calamità della guerra, ed i pericoli della distruzione alle prime Cittá del Regno, non vuole oggi immolare ad un vano amor proprio militare l'emporeo marittimo della Sicilia. Non ci è mezzo de' fare una vera resistenza senza operare contro i mezzi di attacco accumolati nella Cittá; e le munizioni rinchiuse nella Cittadella sono di tale natura ed abbondanza, che sarebbe inevitabile la sua rovina. Questa é la condotta del Sovrano, che si é dipinto all'Europa come anti-italiano e crudele, lasciando á conculcatori di tutt'i principi, agli invasori del suo Regno le fucilazioni in massa dé preti, e dé Contadini negli Abruzzi, il bombardamento spietato di Ancona, di Capua, di Mola, di Gaeta, e di tutte le Cittá italiane che oppongono all loro ambizione una barriere.

Ella dará lettura, e rilascerá copia di questo Dispaccio a cotesto Ministro degli affari esteri.

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward. No. 43.[100]

Sir: Legation of The United States of America at Rome April 2d 1861

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a despatch under date of the 6th of March, informing me that the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate had appointed you Secretary of State, and that you had entered upon the duties of your office.

The receipt of this communication seems to me to be the proper occasion for me to ask the President through you to send me a letter of recall, which I hereby do.

At the same time I desire to express the sincere hope that guided by wise counsels, the new administration may be the means of preserving our beloved Country from the dangers that threaten her.

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[100] No. 42 was not found, although Stockton refers to it in No. 45, *post*. Seward's tenure of office as Secretary of State, 1861-1869, covered the important periods of the Civil War and of Reconstruction.

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward. No. 44.

Legation of The United States of America at Rome April 2d. 1861

Sir:

While I was engaged in writing despatch No. 43 bearing even date herewith, one of the diplomatic Corps came into the " Chancellerie " and informed me that his Holiness Pio Nono had been attacked this morning in the Sistine Chapel, with a malady which had deprived him of consciousness for nearly fifteen minutes, that the Secretary of State had refused to see the diplomatic Corps who had called on business on account of the Pope's illness.

I went immediately to the Vatican and saw the Secretary of State, who said that his Holiness was then much better, that the attack was more in the nature of a fainting fit, than any more serious disease, that he did not consider it at all dangerous; which I hope may prove to be true.

The result of the debate in the French Chambers, particularly the last discourse of " Bilault ", has left the impression here that France is not in favor of Italian unity with Rome as the Capital. Cavour seems desirous to make it so on paper at once, even if it cannot be made so in reality.

My impression is that the Emperor would wear out the patience of Piedmont if possible by keeping his troops at Rome, and that he himself still adheres to his original plan of a confederacy with the Pope as President.

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward. No. 45.

Legation of The United States of America at Rome April 20th 1861

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a communication received from the Papal Government under date of the 15th.

It is a protest against the assumption of the title of " King of Italy "[.] For the reasons given it declares that the Holy Father will never recognize the title of " King of Italy " which the King of Sardinia arrogates to himself. As the protest is of some practical importance from the fact that our government will be called upon no doubt to accredit a minister to the King of Italy, or pursue the opposite course, I have made a literal translation which I enclose herewith.

I have no doubt that you have received full information from England in reference to their policy in reference to the matter. You will observe that according to my prediction in despatch No. 42 [101] Great Britain has not been slow to acknowledge the new State of affairs, but Massimo

[101] See preceding note.

d'Azelio has been received as the representative of the King of Italy. It is said that Switzerland has also acknowledged the new Kingdom.

How long it will be before Rome is in fact the Capital, it is impossible to predict with certainty, because it depends upon the " Emperor " and he unwilling to give strength to the Ultra Montane's and Legitimists, finds it necessary to feel his way. But I do not think it will be long before Rome is the Capital of Italy *upon paper.* You have seen the proposition to that effect which has been made in the Italian parliament at Turin.[102]

It is said that when the change takes place, it will be perfectly peaceful and orderly. That a Piedmontese regiment will be received into Rome by the French; and there [*sic*] position here will then make it unnecessary for the French Army of occupation to remain longer to protect the person of the Pope. The Papal party say that in such a case the Pope would undoubtedly leave Rome declaring that he was no longer independent.

This seems all premature, but experience teaches that the new system of politics, feels the public pulse not only with " brochures " but with rumors which may or may not indicate what follows, according to the reception the report meets with.

I have the honor also to enclose another protest under date of the 16th against the decree suppressing religious communities and corporations " with the object of confiscating or taking possession of the goods which constitute their property ". It gives notice that as the sale will be a violation of the canon law, the title will be invalid, and the purchaser will be taking part in the sacrilegious usurpation, and that not only Catholics, but every one having the principle of Justice or honesty ought to abstain from any connection with it. It also declares any such sale to be an absolute " Nullity ".

Every thing is perfectly tranquil in Rome.

DALLE STANZE DEL VATICANO (*17030*)

16. Aprile 1861.

La violenta invasione operatasi dal Governo Piemontese nella piú gran parte degli Stati della S. Sede, mentre manifesta il carattere di un'atroce violazione degl'incontestabili diritti della temporale Sovranitá Pontificia, porta altresi l'impronta di una tra le epoche le piú feconde di dolore e di lutto alla chiesa pei gravi disastri, che le ne derivarono. La storia delle ostilitá di vario genere, ch'essa ebbe a soffrire nei suddetti Stati per fatto del Governo invasore, é a piena notizia dell'universalitá mercé le frequenti pubbliche rimostranze, che oltre quelle emanate dal Supremo Gerarca, levaronsi con unanime sentimento dai sagri Pastori residenti nelle usurpate Provincie.

Uno dei tristi argomenti di tali rimostranze fu l'ingiusto Decreto, con cui si voller soppresse le Comunitá Claustrali, ed altre Corporazioni Ecclesiastiche, con

[102] Mar. 17, the parliament of Turin confirmed by unanimous vote the decree proclaiming Victor Emmanuel King of Italy; Thayer, *op. cit.,* II, 453. George P. Marsh was sent as U. S. minister to the new kingdom in April; H. Nelson Gay, in *Nuova Antologia,* fasc. 844 (Feb. 16, 1907), pp. 668, 670.

fine di occuparne i fondi constituenti la loro proprietá; dandosi in ció prova di piena alleanza con le rapaci mire del genio rivoluzionario, ed inoltre un saggio di mostruosa contradizione con le leggi fondamentali, che gli stessi invasori pretesero di applicare alle dette Provincie.

Passati in potere del Governo usurpatore i Beni delle Comunitá e Corporazioni ora indicate per effetto della violenza dispoticamente sostituitasi all'altrui diritto, l'Administrazione, che col palliato titolo di cassa ecclesiastica agisce sotto gli ordini e i cenni del Governo medesimo, ha pocanzi notificato al Pubblico la disposizione di alienare gli stabili compresi nella massa degli usurpati Beni, affinche 'ció servisse di norma a coloro che intendessero farne acquisto, indicandosi il modo, che all'uopo debba tenersi dagli acquirenti.

Facendo parte del Patrimonio della chiesa i Beni delle Comunitá e Corporazioni summenzionate, la divisatasi alienazione equivale ad uno spoglio della Proprietá Ecclesiastica. Considerata per tanto in tale vero aspetto la natura del caso, manifestamente si scorge se le ragioni della giustizia e della onestà possano mai consentire l'offertosi acquisto, riducendosi la cosa al senso di entrare in contratti coll'usurpatore sulla proprietà ad altri ingiustamente rapita concorre poi con tale considerazione l'altra, che piú particolaremente si appartiene alla circostanza, onde si tratta, quella, cioé, delle notissime canoniche Leggi, che nel tutelare la integritá, e la inviolabilitá del patrimonio della chiesa, colpiscono con apposite censure ed altre pure come gli usurpatori dei Beni ad essa spettanti, cosi quelli, che in qualsiasi modo prestiero mano, e partecipiero alla ingiusta e sacrilega usurpazione.

Ma prescindendo anche da tali considerazioni, le quali per certo non possono non presentare una somma importanza e gravitá alla coscienza d'ogni cattolico, e di chiunque senta secondo gl'immutabili principi del giusto e dell'onesto, stanno a generale avviso ed avvertenza nel presente caso le solenni parole proferite dal Sommo Pontefice nell' allocuzione Concistoriale del 17 Dicembre del de corso anno, resa di pubblica notizia per mezzo della stampa, ove la Santitá Sua muovendo querele e reclami contro l'infausto Decreto sovraccennato, passava a riprovare altamente, e dichiarava di nium valore ed affatto nullo quanto erasi operato fino a quel punto, e fosse per operarsi in appresso dal Governo invasore in onta dei diritti e del Patrimonio della chiesa, e a danno delle Religiose Famiglie e delle proprietá loro spettanti. Dalla qual dichiarazione si ha quanto basta per inferirne il niun valore e l'assoluta nullitá dell'acquisto, che in qualsiasi estensione taluno s'inducesse a fare dei suddetti Beni dalle mani di un'autoritá del tutto incompetente ed usurpatrice.

Il solenne atto Pontificio per la suprema sua autorevolezza, e per l'avenutane pubblica notorietà sarebbe per se stesso un Documento piú che bastevole a diffidare perentoriamente chicchessia dall'illegittimo acquisto dei Beni provenienti dallo spoglio sovraindicato, qualunque sia del resto il paese a cui egli appartenga, e qualche ne sia la condizione, ed il grado. Nulladimeno perché possa viemeglio raggiungersi l'intento, e precludersi ogni via a pretesti, onde per aventura si pretendesse poter giustificarsi qualche contratto, che particolarmente da persone dimoranti all'estero si divisasse fare intorno ai Beni delle più volte dette Comunitá e Corporazioni, ha voluto il S. Padre che se ne traesse motivo di una officiale comunicazione agli onorevoli Signori componenti il Corpo Diplomatico presso la S. Sede, con invitarli a rechiamare sul grave e dilicato argomento l'attenzione dei rispettivi loro Governi per quelle cure, che essi credano convenire dal loro canto, affinché nei loro Stati sortisca una ulteriore e piú completa notorietá la suespressa pontificia dichiarazione, e la piena diffidazione, che ne consegue; e sia cosí rimosso il caso di devenirsi da qualche parte ad alcun contratto sopra Beni, il cui acquisto risolverebbesi in un fatto pienamente vano e di niun effetto per le regioni e circostanze esposte di sopra.

È a questo fine che il sottoscritto Cardinale Segretario di Stato si rende sollecito d'indirizzare a Vostra Eccellenza la presente Nota, secondo gli ordini ricevuti dal Santo Padre; e mentre La prega di farne presso l'illustre di Lei Governo l'uso inteso dalla Santitá Sua, si vale di questa nuova opportunità per confermarle i sensi della distinta sua considerazione.

G. C. ANTONELLI

Signor Ministro Residente degli Stati Uniti d'America

DALLE STANZE DEL VATICANO
15 Aprile 1861

Un Re cattolico dimentico di qualunque religioso principio sprezzando ogni diritto, calpestando ogni legge, dopo avere a poco a poco spogliato il capo Augusto della Chiesa cattolica della maggiore e più fiorente parte de' suoi legittimi possedimente, si é ora intitolato Re d'Italia. Col quale titolo ha voluto porre il sugello alle sagrileghe usurpazioni già consumate, e che il suo Governo ha già manifestato aver in animo di compiere a danno del patrimonio della Sede Apostolica.

Sebbene abbia il S. Padre solennemente protestato di mano in mano che vedevasi attentare alla sua sovranità, nondimeno gli corre l'obbligo di emettere una nuova protesta contro l'assunzione di un titolo tendente a legittimare la iniquità di tanti fatti.

Sarebbe qui superfluo il rammentare la santità del possesso del patrimonio della Chiesa, e el diritto che vi ha il Sommo Pontefice, diritto incontestabile, e in ogni tempo, e da tutti i Governi riconosciuto. Quindi è che il S. Padre non potrà giammai riconoscere il titolo di Re d'Italia arrogatosi dal Re di Sardegna, perché lesivo della giustizia e della sagra proprietà della Chiesa; emettendo anzi la più ampla e formale protesta contro tale usurpazione.

Il Sottoscritto Cardinale Segretario di Stato prega prega [*sic*] Vostra Eccelenza a voler far noto al suo Governo questo atto emanato in nome di Sua Santità nella sicurezza che sia per riconoscere l'assoluta convenienza, e consociandosi a tale determinazione concorrere con la sua influenza a far cessare uno stato anormale di cose, che da si lungo tempo affligge l'infelice Penisola.

Lo scrivente profitta di questa nuova opportunità per confermare all'Eccelenza Vostra i sensi della sua distinta considerazione.

G. C. ANTONELLI.

Sig. Ministro degli Stati Uniti.

[*Translation.*] [103]

FROM THE VATICAN'S ROOMS April 15th. 1861.

To the United States Minister,

A Catholic King forgetting every religious principle, despising every right, trampling on all law, after having little by little deprived the August Chief of the Catholic Church of the greatest and most flourishing part of his lawful possessions, has taken now the title of King of Italy. With such a title he will put a seal on all sacrilegious usurpation already consumated, and his Gouvernment has already manifested the intention to accomplish the deed, to the prejudice of the Apostolic Seat.

Although the Holy Father, has solemnly protested, from time to time, as he saw attempts made against his sovereignty, he notwithstanding feels it his duty now to make a new protestation against the assumption of a title tending to legitimate the inquity committed.

It would be superfluous to recal here the sanctity of the possession of the patri-

[103] Of the preceding document. Stockton's spelling has been retained.

mony of the Church and the incontestable right that the Great Pontif has to it, from all time, and recognized by all the Governments. Thence it is for these reasons that the Holy Father, will never recognize the title of King of Italy, which the King of Sardinia arrogates to himself, because such a title offends the justice and the property of the Church, and for this he makes also a more ample and formal protest against such an usurpation.

The undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State, begs Your Excellency to make known to your Government, this protest emanating from His Holiness, and feels sure that your Government will acknowledge the absolute necessity of unity itself to obtain such end, and to join with its influence to put a stop to the abnormal state of thing which has so long afflicted the unhappy peninsula.

The undersigned avails himself of the opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

G. C. ANTONELLI.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO JOHN P. STOCKTON. No. 12.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON, April 27th, 1861.

Sir:

Mr. Rufus King having been appointed to succeed you in the mission to Rome,[104] I have now the honor to transmit a letter addressed by the President to His Holiness the Pope, announcing your recall.[105] On presenting this letter, of which I enclose a transcript, you will assure His Holiness of the President's desire to maintain the friendly relations which have always existed between the two countries.

It is hoped that you may find it convenient to await the arrival of Mr. King, who will probably leave for his post in the Havre steamer from New York of today.

P.S. Since the above was signed, General King has, for military reasons, received permission to delay his departure from the United States for three months.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO JOHN P. STOCKTON. No. 13.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Apr. 30, 1861.

Sir:

An instruction, No. 2, and dated the 29th inst. has been addressed to your successor, Mr. King,[106] of which, as it relates to a subject of present moment, I have deemed it expedient to send you a transcript, which you will find enclosed. It is thought desirable that the views therein expressed should be communicated to the Papal government without delay.

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[104] But King resigned before leaving for Rome; see note 1, *post,* p. 237.

[105] This letter was not found.

[106] See No. 2 to King, *post.* Both that letter and this instruction (No. 13) are printed in *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the U. S.* (hereafter cited as *For. Rel.*), 1861, pp. 275-276.

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward. No. 46.

Legation of The United States of America at Rome May 8th 1861

Sir

I enclose herewith directed to the fifth auditor of the treasury the account of the Legation at Rome for contingencies, with the vouchers. Also my account current with the government.

Will the proper officer as soon as the account is audited direct a copy of the same to me care of our Legation at Paris, so that I may be able to know in Paris at the end of the present quarter what unit I am entitled to draw for.

I shall remain here a short time longer in the hope of receiving my letter of recall, or some official notification of the appointment of my successor. If the expected despatch should not arrive soon, in view of the length of time necessary to make the voyage home with a large family, I shall take an informal leave of the government here, notifying them at the same time that my letters of recall will be presented by my successor.

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward. No. 47.

Legation of The United States of America at Rome May 23d. 1861

Sir:

I received yesterday despatch No. 12 under date of April 27th. 1861, enclosing a letter of recall; This letter was delivered this morning with the assurance of the President's desire to maintain the friendly relations which have always existed between the two countries.

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward. No. 48.

Legation of The United States of America at Rome May 29th 1861

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No 13 enclosing a paper which purports to be a transcript of the despatch No 2 of the department to Mr. Rufus King. I am informed that " it is considered desirable that the views therein expressed should be communicated to the Papal Government *without delay.*"

While I cannot but regret that the government should have chosen this manner of communicating their views, instead of expressing them to me directly in despatch No 13 with which they honoured me, yet I shall delay my departure from Rome a sufficient length of time to enable me to communicate to the Papal Government the contents of Mr. Rufus Kings instructions.

I have the honor to inform the department that the records of the "Chancellerie" will be placed by me at my departure in the hands of the Vice-Consul of the United States, and that all despatches arriving in Rome after the 1st of June will be forwarded to me at the United States Legation in Paris.

If therefore the Department have any communication to make to me before my return to the United States it should be directed to the care of Hon. Wm. J. Dayton at Paris.[107]

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward. No. 49.

Legation of The United States of America at Rome June 4th 1861

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No 14.[108] The letter from the President to The Captain Regent of The Republic of San Marino shall receive attention before my departure from my post.

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward.[109]

New York, September 4th 1861

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that after executing to the best of my ability all the matters entrusted to me in Rome, after the receipt of my letter of recal; after awaiting the arrival of my successor until ministers appointed at the same time had arrived at their posts, and being informed by the Department that for military reasons General King's departure had been postponed, in accordance with my despatches from Rome I took my leave of his Holiness, and arrived in this city yesterday morning by the first steamer which left Havre after my arrival in Paris.

I shall report myself in person to the Department as soon as my necessary domestic arrangements will permit, when I will communicate in person the particulars of my final interview with His Em. the Secretary of State, on the occasion when I handed him the instructions directed by the Department to Mr. King.

In the mean time I will thank Your Excellency to direct my account to be audited, in order that I may be able on the same occasion to conclude my mission.

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[107] Minister to France.

[108] May 11, 1861. The enclosed letter here referred to was not found. It may have been one of the circular letters sent by the President to the rulers of European nations respecting the secession of the Southern States.

[109] Unnumbered.

John P. Stockton to William H. Seward.[110]

Washington, Sept. 14th. 1861

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that I left my post of duty on my return home on the 6th. day of June last. But before doing so according to the tenor of my despatch No. 48, I communicated the contents of the instructions of the Department to Mr. King (No. 2) to the government of his Holiness.[111]

I translated all those points of the despatch which I thought necessary into Italian and left it with his Em. as a memoranda. I informed his Em. the Secretary of State that although the despatch was addressed to my successor, I should be most happy to take charge of a reply, as Mr. King had not yet arrived in Rome. His Em. said that he could not know the contents of instructions of the government of the U.S. to Mr. King except privately. Official[l]y Mr. King should be received before any communication directed to him could be noticed.

It was impossible for him to reply, a reply was not appropriate to the occasion.

I suggested that he could state to me privately his views, which I would communicate to the government although my official position was ended.

His Em. consented to this and then said in substance as follows, He said that the Catholics of the United States, as Catholics, as a church, would take no part in the matter, it would not be proper for them to do so, as citizens he had no doubt they would all feel great concern at our internal disensions [*sic*]. He added you are aware that the government of his Holiness concerns itself mainly, in spiritual matters, but we are the supporters of law and order everywhere.

He said he regarded the U.S. as a great and free country, and he hoped that I would be assured, that the kind sentiments of our government towards the Holy See, were appreciated, and reciprocated.

I do not pretend to give either the words, or a verbal translation of the expressions of his Em. but I am sure that I have fairly stated the substance of the conversation.

Perhaps it is not improper for me in concluding my mission to say that I parted from his Holiness, with a profound sense, of the kindness and consideration I had always received from him, and with sentiments of the highest regard and esteem, for his character.

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[110] Unnumbered. Printed in *For. Rel.*, 1861, p. 276.

[111] See *post*, p. 238.

RUFUS KING.[1]

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 1.

Department of State, Washington, April 16th, 1861.

Sir:

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you to be Minister Resident of the United States at Rome, I have the honor herewith to transmit your Commission, together with a copy of the printed Personal Instructions to Diplomatic Agents of the United States in foreign countries, and the documents 1, 2 and 3, named at the commencement of those instructions.

Your salary will be at the rate of $7,500 per annum, besides which a contingent fund to the amount of $500 per annum is placed to the credit of the Legation to be disbursed by you in conformity with the Personal Instructions. Your drafts for salary or for contingent expenses will be drawn on the Bankers of the United States at London. A letter of credit therefor is enclosed.

The instructions given to your predecessor, so far as they may remain applicable or continue unexecuted, will be considered as a part of your own. Special instructions will be transmitted from time to time as occasion may require.

Rufus King to William H. Seward.

New York, April 22nd 1861

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16 inst., apprising me of my appointment as Minister Resident of the United States at Rome. I accept the appointment thus tendered and will en-

[1] Rufus King, grandson of Rufus King, minister to Great Britain, 1796-1803, and son of Charles King, ninth president of Columbia College, was born in New York City, Jan. 26, 1814. He graduated from West Point in 1833, but later resigned from the corps of engineers to become assistant engineer in surveying for the New York and Erie Railroad. From 1839 to 1845 he engaged in newspaper work in Albany, then moved to Milwaukee where he became part owner and editor, to 1861, of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. He served in the constitutional conventions of Wisconsin, was a regent of the University of Wisconsin (1848-1854), and was superintendent of schools of Milwaukee (1859-1860). When he was about to sail for Rome the attack on Ft. Sumter caused him to decline the appointment to the Papal States and to accept a commission as brigadier-general in the federal army. He organized the Iron Brigade and served in the army until Oct. 20, 1863, when because of ill-health (he suffered from epilepsy), he resigned. Reappointed minister to Rome, Oct. 15 of that year, he served until Jan. 1, 1868 (see *post*). Later he was deputy collector of customs for the port of New York, resigning in 1869. He died Oct. 13, 1876. Biography by his son, Gen. Charles King, in *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, IV, 371-381; *Dict. Am. Biog.*, X, 400.

deavour so to discharge the duties of the Office, as to justify the selection made by the President.

Unless otherwise directed, I propose to sail for Europe on the steamer *Fulton,* on Saturday next, 27th instant.[2]

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. NO. 2.[3]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, April 29th, 1861.

Sir:

I am to instruct you what to do, and of course what not to do, as Resident Minister of the United States at Rome. In order to understand the wishes and expectations of the President, please consider first the condition of Rome, and the condition of the United States.

Rome, to a degree hardly comprehended in this country, is protected by a veneration of a large portion of mankind for His Holiness as the expounder of faith and the guardian of religion. Nevertheless, his government is surrounded by the elements of political revolution.

The United States are on the verge of civil war. It happens to them now, as it happened to ancient Rome, and has happened to many other republics, that they must make the trial whether liberty can be preserved while dominion is widely extended. What then shall we say or do in regard to Rome, or what ought Rome to say or do in regard to us?

Assure the Government of His Holiness that the President and the people of the United States desire to cultivate with it the most cordial and friendly relations; that we will not violate the friendship already so happily existing by an intervention in the domestic affairs of the States of the Church. Assure His Holiness that it is the settled habit of this government to leave to all other countries the unquestioned regulation of their own internal concerns, being convinced that intrusion by a foreign nation anywhere tends only to embarrass rather than aid the best designs of the friends of freedom, religion and humanity, by impairing the unity of the State exclusively interested.

What ought Rome to do in regard to the United States? Just what I have thus said they will do in regard to Rome. We could not ask or consent to receive more, and the Government of His Holiness will not propose to do less, for he is a friend to peace, to good order, and to the cause of human nature, which is now, as it always has been, our cause.

Let the Government of Rome set this example and exercise its great influence in favor of a course of natural justice among nations, and the

[2] Apr. 24, King acknowledged the receipt of a draft for $616.43, "salary while waiting thirty days for instructions".

[3] This letter, in accordance with Seward's instructions of Apr. 30, was presented by Stockton before he left Rome (see *ante*). It is printed in *For. Rel.,* 1861, p. 275.

United States will still remain at peace with the whole world, and continue hereafter, as hitherto, to be the home of civil and religious liberty, and an asylum for the exiled and the oppressed.

RUFUS KING TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, Aug: 6, 1861

Sir

Having accepted the appointment of Brigadier-General in the Volunteer Force, mustered into the service of the United States, I beg leave to tender my resignation of the office of Minister Resident at Rome, with which you honored me in April last.

ALEXANDER W. RANDALL.[1]

(August 6, 1861 – August 11, 1862.)

Alexander W. Randall to William H. Seward.

New York City Aug. 7. 1861

Sir:

I see by the morning papers that I have been appointed Minister to Rome.[2] If I go there I shall report myself for instructions at any time suggested by you. I desire, however, if consistent, to be allowed a short time to close up my war account and to aid in fitting out the two additional Regiments of Soldiers accepted by the War Department from Wisconsin. If I can be allowed four or five weeks it would give me an opportunity of doing all this, and of so arranging political movements as to bring the whole people of Wisconsin, without regard to party, to the cordial, hearty support of the administration, and to approve of whatever it has done. I shall be subject however to whatever course you may indicate. I send this by my brother C. M. Randall, Esq, who will return with your directions. Please say to me what is expected.

William H. Seward to Alexander W. Randall.

Department of State, Washington, August 10th, 1861.

Sir:

Your letter of the 7th instant, announcing your acceptance of the appointment as Minister Resident at Rome, and requesting permission to delay your departure from the United States for several weeks has been received.

[1] Randall was appointed at the suggestion of Rufus King. He was a member of the Wisconsin assembly, 1855; circuit judge, 1856; governor of Wisconsin, 1857-1859; and Postmaster General in Johnson's Cabinet, 1866-1869. He died in 1872. *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, IV, 376; M. M. Quaife, *Convention of 1846*, II, 787-788 (State Hist. Soc. of Wis., *Collections*, XXVII). Secretary Seward writing, June 25, 1862, to John Bigelow, U. S. consul at Paris, said: "Our sending a Minister to Rome was just as meaningless as our consenting to Mr. Mercier's going to Richmond. We appointed Rufus King sixteen months ago. He declined. We appointed Mr. Randall a year ago. He waited until he got the Wisconsin forces into the field and then went to Rome to save the appointment." Dept. of State, Instructions to Consuls, Vol. 32. Randall's formal commission was not sent until Apr. 9, 1862 (*post*); his last official despatch is dated June 23, 1862.

[2] See *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 1st sess., p. 454.

There is no immediate necessity for your repairing at once to your post, and, if you see fit to do so, you may delay setting out for the period of sixty days.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO ALEXANDER W. RANDALL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, August 22nd. 1861

Sir:

Herewith I transmit a letter addressed to you by the Revd. Mr Langdon, Rector of Grace Church at Rome, on the subject of the continuance of certain privileges enjoyed by that Church, for some two years past, under your predecessor, Mr. Stockton.[3] Judging from the facts connected with the organization of the place of worship referred to, as stated by Mr. L., it appears to me that you might with perfect propriety accede to what seems to be the general wish among Americans resident and sojourning in Rome. I do not hesitate therefore to command the matter to your consideration and the claims of Mr. Langdon to your friendly regard.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO ALEXANDER W. RANDALL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, 22nd March, 1862

Sir:

The President instructs me to say to you that he deems it desirable that you should, with as little delay as possible repair to your post at Rome. In case however, you should not find it convenient to proceed directly upon your mission, your presence in this City, at as early a day as may be practicable, is desired.

ALEXANDER W. RANDALL TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE MADISON March 26 1862

Sir:

I shall start for Washington on Monday next in compliance with your wishes—I have been unexpectedly detained here for four weeks but hope my business here has been of no prejudice to the administration, or, so far as Wis[.] is concerned to the country.

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[3] The enclosure was not found. On the subject of Protestant worship in Rome see Cass to Clayton, No. 22, Mar. 9, 1850, *ante*.

F. W. Seward to Alexander W. Randall. No. 1.[4]

Department of State, Washington, 9th April, 1862.

Sir:

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, having appointed you to be Minister Resident of the United States at Rome, I have the honor herewith to transmit your Commission, together with a copy of the printed Personal Instructions to Diplomatic Agents of the United States in foreign countries, and the documents 1, 2 and 3 named at the commencement of those instructions.

Your compensation, as fixed by law, is at the rate of $7,500 per annum, besides which a contingent fund to the amount of $500 per annum is placed to the credit of the Legation, to be disbursed by you in conformity with the Personal Instructions. Your draft for salary or for contingent expenses will be drawn on the Bankers of the United States at London. A letter of credit therefor is herewith enclosed.

In accordance with law this compensation will commence when you reach your post and enter upon your official duties, and will continue until you shall cease to hold your office. You will also be entitled to compensation for such time as shall be actually and necessarily occupied in receiving your instructions, not to exceed thirty days, and in making the transit between the place of your residence when appointed and your post of duty, at the commencement and termination of your official service. Of these you will inform the Department.

The instructions given to your predecessor, so far as they may remain applicable or continue unexecuted, will be considered as a part of your own. Special instructions will be transmitted from time to time as occasion may require.

William H. Seward to Alexander W. Randall. No. 2.

Department of State, Washington, 11th. April, 1862.

Sir:

The relations between the United States and the Papal See have always been of the most harmonious character and it is our earnest desire that they should so continue. This wish is fully expressed in the General Instructions to Mr. King, your predecessor, which you will find in the volume of diplomatic correspondence which you have received. You will express to Cardinal Antonelli the views therein set forth, in a way which you may deem most acceptable to him.

Rome, from its position and other circumstances, has advantages for obtaining information in regard to European affairs which may not be

[4] F. W. Seward, son of the Secretary, was Assistant Secretary of State, 1861-1869, and 1877-1881. He published the life and letters of his father.

accessible elsewhere. It is not doubted that of these advantages you will avail yourself and will lose no time in transmitting to the Department the results of your observations and inquiries.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO ALEXANDER W. RANDALL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, 12th April, 1862.

Sir:

A trunk, of which I enclose the key, has this day been sent to your address. It contains the following articles for the use of your Legation.

2 Silk Flags, (1 Large and 1 Boat.)
1 Bunting Flag, (Large.)
Consular Regulations of the United States.
Wheaton's Elements of International Law.
Blue Book for 1861.
Stationery etc.

Be pleased to acknowledge its receipt.

ALEXANDER W. RANDALL TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

FIFTH AV. HOTEL N. Y. April 23. 1862

Sir:

On account of the sudden and strange death of Gov. Harvey of N.Y.[5] it became necessary for me to delay my departure until the next Steamer. I had taken my passage on the *Asia,* and my clerk Mr. Dunn has gone on. Mr. Harvey and myself were the only persons perfectly familiar with our war accts. and with what had been done except my Private Secy. and it became necessary for me to communicate with our state before I left. The box of books and trunks have been shipped. I send receipts.[6]

ALEXANDER W. RANDALL TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

UNITED STATES LEGATION ROME ITALY. June 1st. 1862.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that I arrived here on the 21st. May last and on the 25th May, by appointment, I had an interview with Cardinal

[5] Gov. Louis P. Harvey of Wisconsin (not New York) went South in April, 1862, to visit the Wisconsin soldiers wounded at Shiloh. At Savannah, Tenn., when about to embark for home, he made a misstep, fell into the river and was drowned. *Dict. Am. Biog.,* VIII, 374-375.

[6] On April 20 Randall acknowledged receipt of the articles mentioned in the preceding document.

Antonelli. The interview was a very agreeable one to me, and the Cardinal Secretary expressed himself to the Auditor of the Roto, Mons. Nardi,[7] who introduced me very much gratified.

I spent an hour in conversation with him and was promised an early audience with His Holiness.

The Cardinal Secretary expressed much interest in regard to the Civil War in America, and made many inquiries as to the credit of the Govt. of the United States, its ability to crush the rebellion etc. I advised him that the suppression of the rebellion was certain; that the Government of the United States could command all the monied means it required; that in armed men, munitions of war, and implements of war, the Government was abundantly supplied. I told him that however the accidents of battle might temporarily vary the appearance of the controversy, the government had not the least question of being able to suppress the rebellion entirely, and of establishing its complete authority in every State of the Union, and that the laws of the United States would soon be executed effectually in every state alike.

He manifested much interest in our iron clad ships, our guns and projectiles, and seemed very desirous of learning the character of all improvements in fire arms. He spoke of the troubles of the Papal Government, and undertook to institute some comparison between them, and the difficulties in the United States. I conversed with him through an interpreter, and therefore cannot give so concise an idea of what he said; but he seemed to entertain a good deal of ill will towards the English Government. His sympathies were with the Government of the United States and he hoped our unfortunate controversy would soon be ended.

I presented to him the compliments of the Secy. of State of the United States, of whom he spoke in terms of distinguished admiration. I was careful in what I said to him, because I became satisfied, in a few minutes after the interview commenced, that he could understand and speak the English language.

I hope shortly to learn something of the real condition of things in Italy, and shall report from time to time such facts of importance as come to my knowledge, with my impressions.

The box of books forwarded by me at the instance of the Secretary of State, for presentation to His Holiness, has not yet arrived. On its arrival, it will be at once presented, as desired.

Alexander W. Randall to William H. Seward.

United States Legation, Rome Italy. June 6th 1862.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch, con-

[7] Mgr. Francesco Nardi, made Auditor May 2, 1859. *Annuario Pontificio,* 1864, p. 331.

taining a circular of 2nd. May of the Department of State, giving information " that the mails are now allowed to pass to and from New Orleans and other places, which have heretofore been seized by insurgent forces, have since been recovered, and are now reoccupied, by the land and naval forces of the United States." [8]

I have also the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the circular of the Department of State, of May 5th., giving information " that a collector has been appointed by the President, for New Orleans, and that the necessary preperation [*sic*] are being made, to modify the blockade, so far as to permit limited shipments to be made to and from that, and one or more other ports, which are now closed by blockade, at times and upon conditions, which will be made known, by proclamation." [9]

I have transmitted the information contained in each circular to the Cardinal Secretary of the Government of His Holiness.

Alexander W. Randall to William H. Seward.

Legation d' Amerique pres le Saint Siège Rome le 11 June 1862

Sir:

I have the honor to announce the painful intelligence of the death of Mrs. Genl. Scott.[10] She died on yesterday in this city, at about 2 o'clock P.M. of Acute Bronchitis. The U.S. Consul at once took charge of her effects awaiting the arrival of her daughter Mrs. Capt. Scott, who is now on her way here from Paris.

Alexander W. Randall to William H. Seward.

Rome Italy June 11, 1862

Sir:

I have sent you a package containing my remarks to His Holiness and what is said by the interpreter to be his reply.[11] I cannot tell whether the course I pursued, for reasons I have given, will appear satisfactory to the President or not. I acted according to my judgment after looking carefully at what was to be seen here. The information I have been able to

[8] New Orleans was captured and occupied May 1, 1862, by Commodore Farragut and Gen. B. F. Butler after a four-day bombardment, Apr. 24-27. The circular letter here referred to will be found in *For. Rel.*, 1862, Pt. I, 337.

[9] May 12, 1862, the blockade of the ports of New Orleans, Beaufort, and Port Royal was removed under certain regulations, by proclamation of President Lincoln. Richardson, *Messages*, VI, 89-90.

[10] Mar. 11, 1817, Gen. Winfield Scott married Miss Maria Mayo, daughter of John Mayo of Richmond. The daughter referred to below was Cornelia, the wife of Capt. Henry L. Scott. Marcus J. Wright, *General Scott* (N. Y., 1894), p. 41.

[11] See Randall's No. 3, of this same date, *post*.

obtain thus far is very little, comparatively, and of course the hasty impressions I have formed and crudely presented for your consideration must be received with much allowance. Mr. Seward will excuse me for saying that while I would like to be of service to our Government, it will be seen already that such a position as this I am not fitted for. I am unused to the formalities and ceremonies of Courts. They are distasteful to me. I neither understand the Italian, French, or German. I am liable therefore to be imposed upon. I look upon this, now, as a point where some sagacious man, who can understand, read and talk, French Italian, and German, and who is well versed in the history and politics of Europe, should be stationed. I am not such a man. If it costs more than the salary to find the right man and send him here, our Govt. had better pay the additional expense. As a private citizen the salary is more than enough. As a representative of a great Government there is not salary enough paid to one of our Ministers. They must live respectably and ride respectably, according to the ideas of official respectability here, or have little attention or respect paid to them. I can only ask that if you are now satisfied as I am that I can be of no service here, or that I may be injudicious in my intercourse with this Govt. I may be relieved and my resignation accepted. I shall not leave without your concurrence because some one ought to be here all the time. Of course I can ask nothing more of Mr. Lincoln, and if I go home will do his administration all the good in my power. My devotion to yourself is sincere and great, and there is no living man for whom I would sacrifice more. I beg of you therefore to receive kindly what I write so plainly. I shall be governed by your decision, but I feel that I am not fitted for such a position, at such a time.

[*P.S.*] I hope you will be pleased to consider this a private letter.

ALEXANDER W. RANDALL TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

UNITED STATES LEGATION ROME ITALY June 11, 1862

Sir:

Herewith, I have the honor to transmit the allocution of His Holiness to the Grand Convocation of the Representatives of the Roman Church on the 9th of the present month.[12] A translation will be published immediately in London, under the supervision of Cardinal Wiseman, which will doubtless be sent you from there. The address of the Cardinals and Bishops to the Pope, will also be translated and published in London and will reach you from there also.

From what I hear of it, it must produce a good deal of effect in Catholic Countries.

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[12] *Maxima quidem laetitia,* printed in *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. I, Vol. III, 451-461. Randall sent both Latin and English copies, but since the *Allocutio* had reference neither to diplomatic matters nor to political affairs in Italy it is not here reprinted.

ALEXANDER W. RANDALL TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 3.[13]

U. S. LEGATION ROME, ITALY June 11th. 1862

Sir.

On the 6th of the present month, I had, by appointment, an audience with His Holiness. I was introduced by Rev. Doct. Smith, professor of Dogmatic Theology, in the college of the Propaganda Fide,[14] and my remarks to the Holy Father, were interpreted by Dr. Smith, as was also the reply. I send enclosed, a copy of the address, with which I presented my credentials, and also the reply, in substance as interpreted by Dr. Smith, and under his own hand. The two lines struck out in the reply, contain what was actually said; but for reasons of his own, Dr. Smith drew his pen across them. I think both my remarks and the reply have suffered, some, in the translation, from the fact, that in the reply, I am assumed to have said, what is not warranted by my address.

I thought it advisable to put, in plain language, the character of our home difficulties, and to speak of them, as they deserved, and as I felt. I thought, also, that a plain, direct statement of the course of policy adopted by our own Government towards Foreign Nations, and of the line of policy, which our Government would exact, from Foreign Nations, at all times, towards us, the best mode of dealing, for all parties.

I alluded to the course of a majority of the Bishops and Priests of the Roman Church, in the United States, for the purpose of drawing from the Holy Father, himself, an expression of the duty of the citizens, living under a Government, and protected by its laws, to support that Government, and contribute to its stability; believing that an authoritative expression of the kind, might be advantageous, at home, in the way of improving the patriotic ardor of some of our Foreign born citizens.

I alluded to the case of Bishop Hughes,[15] because an effort had been made to impress the idea, here, that he had injured the cause of the Church of Rome, by consenting to interfere, in any manner, in favor of the Government, and I sought an expression of approval, from His Holiness, of the active agency of the Bishop. I am pleased to report that, since my interview with His Holiness the Bishops and Priests, from the United States, have been very open and unreserved, in favor of supporting our Government, and maintaining its stability.

I had another reason for speaking, freely, as I did, and boldly. At a time, when the power of the Roman Church is threatened, an expression of sympathy, while it could harm no one, except myself, might be turned

[13] Randall's former despatches are unnumbered.

[14] See note 50, *ante*, p. 166.

[15] Hughes was in Rome at this time to attend the canonization ceremonies of the Japanese martyrs. In 1861-1862 he presented the Northern cause in Europe, particularly in Paris and Dublin. See bibliography in *Dict. Am. Biog.*, IX, 355.

to advantage, in case of collision, between our own Government, and England or France. The Church of Rome, notwithstanding its difficulties, wields, as you are aware, an immense power, in Europe, and in the British Empire. I learned, what has since taken place, that the Cardinals and Bishops, in their convocation, here, were to prepare and present to the Holy Father, an address sustaining him in the maintenance of the temporal power, as the act and right, not of the Holy Father alone, but of the Church. These representatives of the Church come from Great Britain, and from almost all over Europe. There is among them great hostility to Great Britain, and no good will towards Louis Napoleon. If the French Emperor should pursue a line of conduct either aiding or assenting to, the destruction of the temporal power of the Church, the ill will of the French Church Representatives, already strong, would be greatly increased, and the United States would have, in France, a strong and active sympathy, and also the sympathy of the Roman element, among the British subjects.

The United States would also, in such a contingency, independent of the general relations that might exist between the Governments, themselves, have the sympathy of the Six Millions of Catholics in Russia, of the Catholics of Bavaria, of the seven millions of Prussia, and also of Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Austria, etc. I understand that Russia, Bavaria, Saxony, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Austria, Denmark, and some other lesser powers have not formally recognized the right of Victor Emanuel over all the states, and Territory he claims, as belonging to his Kingdom. These representatives of the Church will carry home with them from here, to their different and distant nations, the knowledge of the feeling I have expressed, as being entertained by the Government of the United States towards the Government of the Holy See, and they will also carry home with them ill will towards Great Britain and the distrust of the Church towards Louis Napoleon. They will go from here, understanding the true character of the issues in our civil war, the position of our Government towards other nations, and what it expects, and has a right to expect, in the conduct of other nations towards itself.

The considerations above, indefinitely presented, in the main, induced me to adopt this style of address on my presentation to the Holy Father. If I have erred it is because, what I have felt, from the beginning, is true, that I am unfit for a diplomatic position.

Those who appear, here, to be in near relation with the Holy Father, do not seem to think the loss of the temporal power at all imminent. I have difficulty in reaching definite and reliable information, with any degree of rapidity; but I have ascertained, very satisfactorily, that the strength of the opposition to the temporal power, here, is not so great as has been represented.

Victor Emanuel lost the moral strength of his Government, when he

lost his Secretary, Count Cavour.[16] The King, himself, is not a great man, and is far from being a wise one. A majority of the people, who are directly his subjects, in regard to Government are fickle. There can be no settled, permanent, stable Government, where there is no settled, pervading moral principle among the people. Victor Emanuel is gross and licentious in his habits, and in Naples took no pains, on one occasion to conceal this.

Garibaldi is a brave, patriotic man, loving liberty, and a good soldier; but he is no statesman. He is an enthusiastic revolutionist, so that, while, at times, he has been of great service to the King of Sardinia, he is, almost constantly, giving him annoyances. He is more popular, and has more strength, with the masses, in Emmanuels Kingdom, than the King himself. In Naples, the last demonstration over Emmanuel, was a forced one, and cost a great deal of bread, distributed the day before, and a great deal of money, on the day of the demonstration. The vivas, for Garibaldi, were louder and more numerous, than those for the King. The Neapolitans, like similar people, everywhere, delight with pomp and circumstance of kingly power; and while, among the young men of Naples, there is a strong desire for a Republic, and while Emanuel has a paid strength, the masses are growing dissatisfied, because *Naples has no King*; and because they have lost the show and glitter of a Court, and because, more than all, their nationality has been practically absorbed. The power, therefore, of Victor Emmanuel, I judge has not been permanently established there, or in some other Italian States, over which, for the time, he holds sway. The people of Italy are not content with the present condition of things, and they are not ripe for a permanent change, which will bring, speedily, a settled, well defined system of Government. There is a revolutionary element all over Europe, here, as every where else. It may manifest itself at Rome, and in many other states, and cities, at almost any time. It is, however, more a feeling of aggravated discontent, than any well defined idea of what kind of a change is most desirable, or of what is to grow out of a revolution, when it comes. It requires an armed power to keep the people submissive to established Government all over Italy; and if a change should be made, every year, in a system of Government or in several systems for different localities, it would still require an armed force and the exercise of an arbitrary power to hold them subject and submissive to the new system or systems. The Pope might be driven away tomorrow and come back, in three months. Victor Emmanuel, as King of Italy, might come with his armies, and establish the seat of his Government at Rome, and the very people, who now hate the temporal power of the Church, and clamor for the King, and an Italian Parliament, in less than a year, quarrel for the honor of leading in a revolution which would dissolve the Parliament and drive the king from Rome. Naples

[16] Cavour died June 6, 1861. Thayer, *Cavour*, II, 484-491.

is revolutionary, but has *no head.* Other Italian states are revolutionary, but have no head. Italy has no great mind, to day, and the people have no distinct ideas of a good Government. It may be that revolutions are near, and may chase each other, like waves, in fast succession, rolling on a shore, and it may be, that, for months, perhaps, for years, the present condition of things will continue. Louis Napoleon is an enigma to Europe. While he is sagacious as a statesman, and a man of most remarkable ability, he is, evidently, in a predicament, and, to preserve his consistency, must be constantly inconsistent. He is feared and distrusted, a great deal in France, and almost universally, everywhere else. He is thought to have great plans revolving in his mind for the permanency of Napoleonic Empire, for the glory of France; and for holding the mastery in Continental Movements. He, no doubt, has many such plans. *Half his strength is in his mystery.* He will have trouble, bye and bye. I think his reticence is as much evidence, half the time, of his want of a definite plan, and of his not knowing what to do, as of concealment of actual designs. So far as our own Government is concerned, there can, of course, be no interference in European affairs. We can only wait and watch. You will please excuse this lengthy and, doubtless, uninteresting despatch. I shall learn as fast as my limited knowledge of European language will permit, and report to the State Department. I shall go this week, to Naples, and if I can learn anything of importance will forward information.

[*Copy.*]

If the Holy Father please:

I have been sent as Minister Resident of the United States of America at Rome, and I come now, to present to the Holy Father my credentials, and with them, the greeting of the President of the United States, with the assurance, that towards Your Holiness, and towards your Government, the President entertains sentiments of respect and great good will.

The cordial relations that have, so uniformly, existed between the two Governments, are subjects of congratulation, and an ardent desire is expressed that they may always continue.

I am directed to assure the Government of Your Holiness, that the President and the people of the United States, wish to cultivate with it the most friendly relations, and that they will not violate the friendship, already so happily existing, by any intervention in the domestic affairs of the States of the Church. I am directed, also, to assure Your Holiness, that it is the settled habit of the Government of the United States to leave to all other countries, the unquestioned regulations of their own internal concerns, being convinced, that intrusion by a foreign nation, anywhere, tends to embarass, rather than aid, the best designs of the friends of freedom, religion and humanity, by impairing the unity of the States exclusively interested.

It is happening to the United States, now, as it happened to ancient Rome and as it has happened to many other Republics, that they are making the trial whether liberty can be preserved while dominion is widely extended.

The Government of the United States asks the Government of Rome to continue its example of nonintervention and to exercise its great influence in favor

of a course of natural justice among nations. The Government of the United States cannot ask or consent to receive more, and it is confidently believed, the Government of Your Holiness will not propose to do less; for the Holy Father is a friend of peace, to good order and to the cause of human nature, which is now, as it always has been, the cause of the Government of the United States. Both Governments desire and require stability. In just judgements, in the certain execution of the laws, and in stability alone, can Governments be made useful to mankind, the rights of the people be protected, and the citizen, or subject, be made prosperous and happy.

It is not improper for me to say, here, that the character of the war now existing in the United States, and the cause of that war, have been most grossly misrepresented, and are almost universally misapprehended abroad. It is not resistance, by the South to oppression, for there has been no oppression by the Government, its officers or agents. It is not a struggle, by the South, for rights; for every right guaranteed by the constitution, or ever enjoyed, since the Government began, was protected and enjoyed, by and under the laws, at the commencement of this war. It is not a war of the North against the South, nor a war waged, by one portion of the country, to subjugate or conquer another portion of the country. It is a war of principles. It is treason, and rebellion, on the one hand, and law, order, and constitutional Government, on the other. On the one hand, it is the rebellion of disaffected, ambitious bad men who desire, not to change the form of the government, or the character of the Government, but to destroy it, altogether. On the other hand, it is a struggle for peace, law, stability, liberty, Government itself. It is Government and existing institutions against an armed rebellion seeking to overthrow them. However the accidents of fierce conflicts may, temporarily, vary the appearance of the strife, it is certain that the Government will sustain itself. It is certain, because, under God, justice is always certain. This causeless, inexcusable, wicked rebellion will be crushed,—ground as between an upper and a nether Millstone. The Government is in the right; it has the will and the power. It will come out of the Conflict, stronger than ever before, with elements of power, newly developed, and prepared for sterner conflicts, if they must come, to vindicate its honor, maintain its rights and the rights of its people. It is like the fabled rock, so aptly poised, that, while the touch of a child might jostle it to its centre, yet, no opposing human force could move from its foundation.

The Government of the United States will concede to all other nations every right belonging to them, without mischievous interference, and will exact the same for itself.

Under the Government, I represent, complete religious toleration is guaranteed. No religion or peculiar form of worship is prescribed by law. All men and all denominations, are free to establish religious ordinances and worship God in their own way, unmolested.

It is with much satisfaction, I will presume to say that a large majority of the Bishops and Priests of the Roman Catholic faith, in the United States, able and learned men, while remembering and acknowledging their obligations to the Holy Father, and their duty of obedience to the ordinances of the Church of Rome, have not forgotten that they are citizens of the United States, and while, not mingling, inconsistently with their sacred duties, in angry strife, have, like true patriots, in all proper ways, by advice and counsel, given aid to that Government, by whose strong arm, they have been protected in the practice and enjoyment of their religious faith and worship. Among those, who have been so true and noble, at home, is one, who has, by months of anxious labor, performed important services abroad, a man, sagacious and distinguished, John, Arch-Bishop of New York. It is a source of regret, to thousands of good men, that the Government of the

United States cannot, in any appropriate way, testify its appreciation of such services. It is certain that they have softened the asperities between different religious denominations to a very large degree and drawn a people, differing widely in religious views, civilly and politically, much nearer together.

If the Holy Father please, while the Governments of the world are disturbed and are "boiling like a pot"; while care and toil weigh, heavily, upon men, in high places, and the hopes of humanity tremble in the balance, it becomes all good rulers to lean, more and more, upon him, from whom and for whom, they hold and exercise power, only in trust, doing justice always, and asking His direction and aid in all things, for His glory and the good of mankind. And here, in Rome,—old Rome, yet new,—new Rome yet old, where Empires have been founded, where sleep the bones of Martyrs, and where Christianity hath wept over the slain of her people, the Holy Father may still sit, telling the nations, by his precepts, that God must reign everywhere, as in the humble cottage, so, in the palaces of Princes and in the Courts of Kings.

[*Copy.*]

His Holiness replied to the following effect:

We feel grateful to the President of the United States and to his government for their friendly sentiments; and request your Excellency to convey to the government at Washington, Our thanks for their good wishes to us personally, and for their sympathy with us in our present difficulties, as well as for their wishes for the preservation of the temporal power which has endured so many ages; [and will still endure notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemies of religion.] [17]

We have listened with satisfaction to the sentiments Your Excellency has so well expressed as to the duty of supporting government, of contributing to its stability, and of observing just laws. And it has ever been the maxim of the Catholic Church to support constituted authority and just laws.

With regard to the past we have to speak only in terms of praise of the Government at Washington for its conduct towards us personally; for we have received during Our Own Pontificate various proofs of its kind feelings.

As to the kindly relations so happily subsisting between the government at Washington and the Catholic Church in the United States of America We are delighted to hear that the government is not only not opposed to it, but speaks of it in such terms of eulogy. And We may take this opportunity of stating that what it asks is not favor or state protection but its own natural freedom and indefeasible right to maintain its existence, to secure its independence with a view to the good of religion and the true interests of society.

When we reflect upon the fact that under the Constitution of the United States all forms of religious worship are placed upon an equality; when we reflect upon the almost innumerable ministers who represent these different forms of worship; and when we reflect, moreover that the government of the Unitd States, at a most critical moment, has singled out John Archbishop of New York to be entrusted with a most important mission, and as one in whom the government has thought proper to place its frank, its full, its unreserved confidence; of this selection we may justly feel proud: As also of the distinguished approbation which your government has been pleased to bestow on the Catholic hierarchy in the United States.

The selection of your Excellency as Resident Minister of the United States at Rome; as well as the sentiments you have expressed give us the assurance that nothing will disturb the friendly relations which We wish to cultivate with your Government.

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[17] These are the lines (in brackets) which Randall says Dr. Smith "drew his pen across".

As Vice-Gerent on earth of the God of peace we cannot but profoundly deplore the present state of things in the United States and from our heart we implore that same God of peace to put an end to the unhappy strife for the welfare both of the United States and of Europe. And humbly and fervently do We implore the blessing of the Most High on that great country and its rulers.

Alexander W. Randall to William H. Seward.

United States Legation Rome Italy. June 18, 1862

Sir,

I have the honor to state that I have received a communication from the Cardinal Secretary of State, a copy of which is enclosed, informing me, that the Government of the Holy See, had come to the determination, to establish a General Consulate, at San Francisco, Calafornia [*sic*], with jurisdiction in the State of Oregon and Territory of Washington, and that the Holy Father had deigned to confer the office upon Mr. Eugene Kelly, of San Francisco etc.[18]

In acknowledging the receipt of the communication, I assured the Cardinal Secretary, that it would please the Government of the United States to grant, at once, the usual Exequater [*sic*], and extend to Mr. Kelly every protection, in the discharge of his duties.

[*Translation.*]

From the Halls of the Vatican. June 16, 1862.

The Government of the Holy See having come to the determination to establish a General Consulate, at San Francisco, in California, with jurisdiction in the Neighboring States of Washington and Oregon, the Holy Father has deigned to confer this Office upon Mr. Eugene Kelly, residing in the said City. Having forwarded the necessary commission, it becomes the duty of the undersigned, Cardinal Secretary of State to advise your Excellency, in order that you may notify your Government, and Mr. Kelly may meet with no obstacle in obtaining the usual Exequater.

In the confidence of full approval, the undersigned begs leave to repeat the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

G. C. Antonelli

Mr. The Minister Resident of the United States of America near the Holy See.

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[18] Eugene Kelly (1808-1894), born in County Tyrone, Ire., went from New York to San Francisco in 1850, there becoming successful in business and banking enterprises. His second wife was Margaret Hughes, niece of Archbishop Hughes. He later returned to New York where he was prominent in Catholic, civic, and Irish affairs. He was treasurer of the Catholic University of America from its founding until his death. His sketch in *Dict. Am. Biog.* (X, 307-308) makes no mention of this appointment as consul general of the Papal States.

ALEXANDER W. RANDALL TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

UNITED STATES LEGATION ROME ITALY June 23d. 1862.

Sir:

On yesterday, I had a conversation with Mons. Nardi, a Judge holding intimate relations with the Government, at Rome.[19] He informed me that the French Minister Lavalette,[20] on behalf of the French Government, had just proposed to the Holy Father, that he should yield up all claim to the exercise of the temporal power, in Italy, except where the Emperor Napoleon now sustains him. In case the Holy Father would make such a concession the Emperor would guarantee him permanent, undisturbed temporal rule, to this limited extent and pay him three millions of dollars. The Holy Father promptly refused the proposition and offer for reasons: as the Head of the Church he had a right to what, by force, had been taken away from him; As the depository of the Temporal Power, he had no right to give up that power, and, if he had, the right, would decline to do so.

The Emperor is in trouble, not only in Mexico, but at home.[21] The action of the Cardinals and Priests is placing him in a very awkward predicament. Victor Emmanuel is pursuing the traditional policy of the House of Savoy between France and Austria. Austria is afraid of revolt in Venetia and that Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon will aid a revolution there, to a certain extent, now, looking to a change of Territorial limits, bye and bye. I do not believe Napoleon desires the Unity of Italy under Victor Emmanuel who is growing, every day, less popular. It is said, by some of the revolutionists, with a leader among whom, I have become acquainted, that Napoleon desires to make Prince Napoleon *President,* of the two Sicilies, with the consent of Victor Emmanuel, of course, to the end, ultimately, that a Buonaparte shall have a permanent Empire in Italy; and that for this concession, by Victor Emmanuel, upon the first reasonable pretext, which will be an excuse to other powers, France will help take and hold Venetia, as part of the dominions of Victor Emmanuel. They are afraid of England in this and move with great caution. Nothwithstanding the disavowal, in the Italian Parliament, it is confidently asserted, that the late movement of the friends of Garibaldi, which failed, through discovery and arrest, was instigated with the knowledge of Victor Emmanuel, and that it cost him a million francs. It is true, the arrests were made by the Italian authorities; but the *discovery of the movement was made by the French, who notified Victor Emmanuel.* I hope to be able, in a short time, to write you, understandingly, of the

[19] Note 7, *ante,* p. 244.

[20] Some reference to this ambassador will be found in Leti, *op. cit.,* II, 219 n.-220 n.

[21] In Mexico it was the Maximilian affair; at home the Clericals resented his encroachment upon the papal dominions, the Liberals were dissatisfied because he did not go further.

strength and disposition of the different parties and factions, among the people of Italy. There are, at least, four parties here, disagreeing, radically, as to the kind of changes which ought to be made, in Government. While a large majority, in these parties, insist upon change, there is no one system favored or likely to be favored by a majority, and there is likely to be no end to the confusion. The antipathy to Napoleon, among the members of the Temporal Power party, is strong; because he has favored Victor Emmanuel, at all and it is growing intense among the friends of Victor Emmanuel, because he interferes to prevent the absorption of Rome, by the Kingdom of Italy. The Catholic nations, outside of France, watch him, and the Catholic Cardinals, Bishops, and Priests, in France watch him. He will not interfere in our affairs. The Catholic Bishops and Priests are now, in France, I am told here, talking sympathy with the Government of the United States, and against the propriety, and against the right of foreign interference. Bishop Hughes informed me, when he left, that he should go to Madrid.

William H. Seward to Alexander W. Randall. No. 3.

Department of State, Washington, 8th July, 1862.

Sir:

Your despatch No: 3, containing an account of your presentation to the Holy Father and also a copy of the speech made by you and a copy of the reply received from him on that occasion, have been received.

I have not yet found an opportunity to submit these papers to the President. I was absent from the City last week and he has just now left it for a few days.

I shall take his instructions upon the subject upon his return. Meantime, I am sure that every good citizen will approve the generous and noble sentiments which inspired your address.

Alexander W. Randall to William H. Seward.

Washington D. C. Sept 29, 1862

Sir:

In the fore part of August 1861 I was appointed Minister Resident at Rome, and, on account of my then engagements connected with the prosecution of the pending war, about the 10th of August 1861 leave of absence from my post as Minister was granted me by you for two months, which leave of absence was subsequently extended until such time as in your judgment it should become necessary for me to repair to my post of duty. I desire to present briefly a claim to my Salary as

Minister from the date of such leave of absence as an equitable claim, based upon the following considerations:

I was at the time and up to the time of my departure for Rome actively and earnestly engaged either as Gov. of Wisconsin or in other capacities, in fitting out Regiments, and urging forward enlistments to aid the Government in the war. I was in fact in the service of the Government. My Salary as Gov. was $1200 per year. My necessary expenses were large and I actually expended in the services I was performing for the Govt. over seventeen hundred dollars for which I have never been reimbursed, and over one thousand of which I now owe. I can have no claim upon my State for such expenses. I believe the services I rendered were of some value to the Government. The Salary of Minister to Rome is too small or the expenses of the office too large to be at all remunerative, and I therefore desire to submit the equity of this claim to your consideration.

Again: I returned home upon a leave of absence granted, upon the ground, as stated in the note to Your Excellency, that I might be of service in raising the new levies called for by the President. That leave expires to day, so that if my term of office expires with the end of the present Quarter I lose my claim for transit. If my term is construed to continue until the departure of my Successor, to wit: the 9th of October next it will relieve me to that extent.

If the first claim is allowed I am indifferent about the latter. If neither are allowed I shall be compelled to borrow money to pay a balance due the Govt. and my expenses home. There are some expenses due to persons who have done the business of the Legation, for rents, and care of public property, during the time of my absence from Rome, and before I reached there, which should be properly paid out of my Salary, if it is allowed me, and which will be unjustly lost by the claimants unless it is allowed me.

William H. Seward to Alexander W. Randall.

Department of State, Washington, 29th September, 1862.

Sir:

Your letter of this date in regard to the commencement and termination of your salary as United States Minister to Rome, has been received.

In reply, I have to inform you that this is a question which must be determined by law. The Department has no authority to take supposed equitable circumstances into consideration. By the Act of Congress of August 18, 1856, the salary of a Diplomatic Agent begins when he reaches his post of duty. He may also be allowed compensation at the same rate, not exceeding thirty days, while awaiting instructions, and

also for the time actually and necessarily occupied in proceeding from his place of residence to the place of his mission.

The salary of a Minister on his return home is also allowed for such time as may have been actually and necessarily employed for that purpose. Insomuch, however as you came home on leave of absence, you will be entitled to your salary until that leave shall have expired.

The proper course for you to pursue would be to make out and submit to the 5th Auditor of the Treasury, for adjustment, your final account with the Government. Any unusual items therein, or charges of such a character as to require the sanction of this Department, would be submitted by the Auditor for approval, and be allowed or disallowed as the law and circumstances might warrant.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD.[1]

(August 11, 1862—October 6, 1863.)

William H. Seward to Richard M. Blatchford.

Department of State, Washington, 11th August, 1862.

Sir:

The President having appointed you to be Minister Resident of the United States at Rome, I have to request that you will inform this Department how soon, in the event of your accepting the appointment, you will be prepared to proceed to your post.

Richard M. Blatchford to William H. Seward.

New York Aug: 13, 1862

Sir

I have recd. your letter of 11th: inst: announcing my appointment by The President to be Minister Resident of The United States at Rome and requesting me to inform the Department how soon in the event of my accepting the appointment I will be prepared to proceed to my Post.

In reply I beg leave to say that duly appreciating the partiality of The President and the honor conferred upon me I accept the appointment, and that I will be prepared to proceed to my post in about a month.

William H. Seward to Richard M. Blatchford. No. 2.[2]

Department of State, Washington, 27th September, 1862.

Sir:

This Government has not now, it seldom has had, any special transaction, either commercial or political, to engage the attention of a Minister at Rome. Indeed, till a very late period the United States were without

[1] Blatchford (1798-1875), the 9th of 17 children, was born at Stratford, Conn. After graduating from Union College, Schenectady, he taught school, studied law, and engaged in its practice in New York City. He served one term in the New York assembly (1855). After his return from Rome, he resumed his former interest in the public park system of New York, and in 1872 was appointed commissioner of the public parks of the city. He died at Newport, R. I. *Dict. Am. Biog.*, II, 359.

[2] This instruction, No. 2, is printed in *For. Rel.*, 1862, Pt. II, p. 851, but is dated Sept 25. No. 1 of this same date, contained the formal instructions to Blatchford, with no material variation from those sent King (Apr. 16, 1861), and Randall (Apr. 9, 1862). See *ante*.

any representation at that ancient and interesting capital. The first colonists in this country were chiefly Protestants, who not merely recognised no ecclesiastical authority of the Pope, but were very jealous lest he might exert some ecclesiastical influence here which would be followed by an assumption of political power unfavorable to freedom and self-government on this continent. It was not seen that the political power of the Catholic Church was a purely foreign affair, constituting an important part of the political system of the European continent. The opening of our country as an asylum to men of all religions, as well as of all races, and an extension of the trade of the Union, in a short time brought with them large masses of the faithful members of that Church, of various birth and derivation, and these masses are continually augmenting. Our country has not been slow to learn that while religion is with these masses, as it is with others, a matter of conscience, and while the spiritual authority of the head of their church is a cardinal article of their faith, which must be tolerated on the soundest principles of civil liberty, yet that this faith in no degree necessarily interferes with the equal rights of the citizen, or affects unfavorably his loyalty to the republic. It is believed that ever since the tide of emigration set in upon this continent the head of the Roman Church and States has freely recognized and favored the development of the principle of political freedom on the part of the Catholics in this country, while he has never lost an opportunity to express his satisfaction with the growth, prosperity and progress of the American people. It was under these circumstances that this Government, in 1848, wisely determined that while it maintained representatives in the capitals of every other civilized State, and even at the capitals of many semi-civilized States which reject the whole Christian religion, it was neither wise nor necessary to exclude Rome from the circle of our diplomatic intercourse. Thus far the new relation then established has proved pleasant and beneficial.

Just now Rome is the seat of profound ecclesiastical and political anxieties, which, more or less, affect all the nations of Europe. The Holy Father claims immunity for the temporal power he exercises as a right incident to an ecclesiastical authority which is generally respected by the European States.

On the other hand, some of those States, with large masses in other States, assert that this temporal power is without any religious sanction, is unnecessary and pernicious. I have stated the question merely for the purpose of enabling myself to give you the President's view of what will be your duty with regard to it. That duty is to forbear altogether from taking any part in the controversy. The reasons for this forbearance are three: First, that so far as spiritual or ecclesiastical matters enter into the question they are beyond your province, for you are a political representative only. Second, so far as it is a question affecting the Roman States it is a domestic one and we are a foreign nation. Third, so far as it is a politi-

cal question merely, it is at the same time purely an European one, and you are an American Minister, bound to avoid all entangling connexion with the politics of that continent.

This line of conduct will nevertheless allow you to express, and you are therefore instructed to express to His Holiness the assurances of the best wishes of the Government and of the people of the United States for his health and happiness, and for the safety and prosperity and happiness of the Roman people. And you will farther assure him that the United States constantly preserve a lively remembrance of the many generous and liberal manifestations they have received of his goodwill and friendship, and that he may confidently rely upon them for the practice of all the duties which grow out of the relations of the two countries as independent members of the family of nations.

You will find Rome a resort and temporary residence of intellectual persons from all parts of the world. Among them are many who, in various degrees, exercise an influence upon the opinions, and, perhaps in some cases upon the policies of nations. It will be a pleasing duty for you at this moment, when our unhappy domestic conflict is a subject of universal discussion, to vindicate the justice, the wisdom and the moderation of the Government and loyal people of the United States against those who, from interest, prejudice or passion, are directing their efforts to the overthrow of a republic which, we must continue to think still holds in its keeping the best hopes of the human race.

William H. Seward to Richard M. Blatchford. No. 3.

Department of State, Washington, 13th October, 1862.

Sir:

A despatch which bears the date of September 16th has been received from our Consul, Mr. Stillman, who for some time has been performing the duties of the Legation at Rome.[3]

The President learns with much satisfaction, from that paper, that the interruptions of the public peace have ceased, and that tranquillity prevails at that capital.

The conversation with Cardinal Antonelli which Mr. Stillman reports, is full of interest. The good wishes expressed by that statesman are such as this Government expected from him, and his convictions that in rejecting all ideas of concession or compromise with our domestic enemies this

[3] This instruction is printed in *For. Rel.,* 1862, Pt. II, p. 852. W. J. Stillman, consul from 1861 to 1865, was born in Schenectady, June, 1828, and made his studies at Union College. Before his appointment he was editor of *Crayon* and correspondent of the *London Times.* After leaving Rome he served as consul at Crete, until 1869. He lived his later years in London. *Who's Who in America, 1899-1900.* For an account of his activities at Rome, see L. F. Stock in *Cath. Hist. Rev.,* XV, 240-241, 243.

Government is pursuing its proper and necessary policy, are as creditable to His Eminence as they are gratifying to the United States.

The military situation of the country has much improved within the few days which have elapsed since your departure, and the public mind has become more tranquil and confident of ultimate success.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD. No. 4.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, 23rd October, 1862.

Sir:

You have probably noticed a recent correspondence between Mr. Canisius, late United States Consul at Vienna, and General Garibaldi. As the former was not authorized to enter into any such correspondence, it was deemed advisable to communicate to him the letter a copy of which is herewith enclosed.[4] You are authorized to make the facts known to Cardinal Antonelli.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 1.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES. ROME Nov: 29. 1862

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge your despatches Nos: 3 and 4 and circulars Nos: 24 and 25.[5] I arrived here on the 15th instant and at once took steps for an interview with Cardinal Antonelli Secretary of State. He granted it to me on the 18th: instant when I delivered to him a copy of my Letter of Credence to His Holiness The Pope, and requested him to appoint a time when I could present to His Holiness the original in person. I soon received from The Cardinal a despatch appointing Nov: 26th: at midday. At that time I repaired to The Vatican accompanied by Mr:

[4] Seward's letter to Theodore Canisius, Oct. 10, 1862, withdrawing his commission on account of this indiscreet correspondence will be found in *For. Rel.*, 1862, Pt. II, pp. 566-567. The consul's letter to Garibaldi, Sept. 1, was disapproved because Canisius usurped the functions of the American ministers at Turin and Vienna, because he invited Garibaldi to join the U. S. forces, and because he commended the Italian's recent movement "as a great patriotic work undertaken in the interest of his country", although the undertaking "had been prohibited by the government of that country", and Garibaldi "was taken in arms against that government". It was further impressed upon Canisius that the policy of the U. S. in regard to Italy was one of non-intervention. Wm. L. Dayton, consul at Paris, wrote to Seward concerning this matter: "The sentiments may be all right, but just at this time when Austria, Italy, and France are so sensitive it was scarcely worth while for our consul to throw them in the face of these powers" (*id.*, 1864, Pt. II, p. 392). Garibaldi's reply to Canisius, Sept. 14, 1862, is printed in Enrico E. Ximines, *Epistolario di Giuseppe Garibaldi, 1836-1882* (Milan, 1885), I, 207-208. Canisius was later restored to the consulate at Vienna (*For. Rel.*, 1863, Pt. II, p. 1065).

[5] Circular No. 24, Sept. 25, 1862, concerned additional regulations respecting passports (*For. Rel.*, 1862, Pt. I, p. 198). This present despatch (No. 1) is printed, *id.*, 1863, Pt. II, p. 1061.

Stillman the American Consul here, and also by Mr: J. C. Hooker of this City, whom I had appointed as my private Secretary. I was presented to His Holiness by Mr: Stillman, when I addressed him as follows[:] "I am happy in The Honor of being presented to Your Holiness as the Representative of The United States of America near the Holy See, and of delivering to your Holiness, as I now do, my letter of Credence as such representative from the President of The United States.

["]I am happy too to avail myself of this Occasion to express to Your Holiness on the part of my government, the assurance of the best wishes, as well of the government, as of the people, of The United States for the health and happiness of Your Holiness, and for the safety, prosperity and happiness of The Roman People, and to assure Your Holiness that the United States constantly preserve a lively remembrance of the many generous manifestations they have received of the goodwill and friendship of Your Holiness—and that Your Holiness may constantly rely upon them for the practice of all the duties which grow out of the relations of the two Countries as independent members of the family of Nations."

To my address His Holiness replied in substance that it gave him pleasure to acknowledge the kindly feeling manifsted by the government of The United States towards himself, and the liberality shown to the Catholic Religion to which is owing so much of the growth and prosperity of The United States that the affairs of our Country had always interested him greatly, and its wonderful prosperity and enterprise had given it a great importance among the nations of Europe, all of whom are affected by the change in its condition, and suffer from the present troubles—that he had always prayed for our welfare, and continued to do so now, and especially that we might be speedily restored to peace. That he very much wished that the mediation of some of the European Powers might be effectual, and thus end all the misery and bloodshed. But, he said, it is evident that this mediation to be accepted must be tendered by a power so unimportant as to irritate neither the pride nor the sensitiveness of the American Nation, some smaller country that has no interest in diminishing the Power of The United States, having neither army nor Navy, and whose Very humbleness may make the offer of her services acceptable—he said also that he had only a few battalions of soldiers and no Navy except a single corvette [6] which he had constructed in England for convoying cargoes of grain from Ancona around to Civita Vecchia during the last revolution, but now all his states on the Adriatic are taken away and even the corvette is useless.

Here his Holiness changed the subject (not caring probably, as it struck me, to say anything as to an offer of his own mediation) and asked several questions about the War which I answered. His reception of me was very kind and cordial—he arose from his seat as I was taking my de-

[6] The *Immaculate Conception.*

parture—tendered to me his hand and said " I ask the blessing of God on your government and country, and desire that peace may return to it."

After my audience with His Holiness I waited on The Cardinal Antonelli, and delivered to him a copy of your Despatch No 4 relating to the dismissal of The Consul at Vienna. After some personal enquiries, The Cardinal turned the conversation on our War and said in substance If I had the honor to be an American Citizen I would do everything in my power to preserve the strength of the Nation undivided. That the great European Powers are very much interested in the weakness of The United States, and doubtless see with pleasure the enfeebling of its forces brought about by the war, and would do all in their power to widen the division—that he would surrender for the moment every minor question of policy and interest for the preservation of the Union and of its political power—that the success of the present attempt at revolution would in a few years place the United States in the position of the South American Republics, which it seemed to him would be a misfortune to the whole world.

Richard M. Blatchford to William H. Seward. No. 2.

Legation of The United States At Rome Dec: 20. 1862

Sir

Since my despatch to you of Nov: 29. No: 1—I have received your circular of Oct: 16 advising of the forwarding of a box of 40 Volumes of Documents—and also your circular No: 27.[7] It may be assumed as pretty certain, that, for the present at least, His Holiness The Pope will not be disturbed in the enjoyment of the temporal power that is left to him, notwithstanding the complaints and disssatisfaction of a very considerable portion of The Roman people. These complaints are not loud, for the survillience [*sic*] exercised by the Papal authorities is very strict and searching. The government is entirely under the protection and upheld by the Power of The French Emperor. His troops are stationed in every part of the City—and his new Minister for foreign affairs[8] has declared officially that the Emperor does not mean that Italy shall interfere. I have not seen His Holiness since my last despatch, but am to have an interview with him next week to present Mrs: Blatchford. I have received every civility and mark of respect I could desire as well from The Diplomatic Corps as from the principal nobility; and nothing could be more kind and grateful than the reception which I had both from His Holiness and from Cardinal Antonelli.

Just as I had written the above I see in Galignani's messenger which

[7] Oct. 27, 1862, transmitting patriotic resolutions which were adopted by the N. Y. Chamber of Commerce respecting destruction of American vessels, near the Azores, by the British-built *Alabama*. *For. Rel.*, 1862, Pt. I, p. 218.

[8] Oct. 15, 1862, Edouard Drouyn de Lhuys succeeded Thouvenel as French foreign minister.

came this morning, the following order from the Pontifical Minister of War which I send to you as illustrating in part the condition of things here.

Owing to warm discussions which are every day taking place between the native and foreign officers of the Pontifical army as to the political condition of the Government and the merits of the Ministers, Mgr. de Mérode, the Pro-Minister of Arms, has thought proper to publish the following order of the day:—

"Inconsiderate and very blameable expressions on political questions and on personages of high rank are attributed to persons belonging to the Pontifical army. The duty of the Pro-Minister of Arms is to declare that if such facts were proved they would cause great annoyance to his Holiness, and that the officers, sub-officers, and soldiers who had been guilty of them would incur the most formal disapprobation. The Pro-Minister takes this opportunity of stating that, if military discipline everywhere interdicts even the simple manifestation of political opinions, that rule ought to be more particularly observed in the Pontifical army, formed on the heroic examples of complete abnegation and unlimited devotedness. The sovereign independence of the Common Father of the faithful, is the only supreme interest of the public mind, and ought to be considered by every one as the welfare of his own country. To the defence of that only and supreme good, each of you has come to devote himself. Such is the general sentiment, and all must therefore avoid even the slightest appearance that could lead to a suspicion of sincerity.

"Severino de Mérode."

I beg leave to state to the Department that the sum of $500 allowed for the Contingent Expenses of this Legation is entirely inadequate to the purpose. I find that $1000 per annum was allowed to my predecessors Mr: Cass and Mr: Stockton. The rates of Postage are enormous—much larger than in any other part of Europe—a letter of a quarter ounce (12 ounces being a Pound here) is rated at 34 cents. The *London Times* 17 cents. The postage account—foreign papers—stationary—Blank Books—shelves and cases for the Books and other archives, gifts to the Servants of The Vatican etc: will absorb more than the sum now allowed. It has also become absolutely necessary for me to make some arrangements for the security and preservation of the archives and Books composing the Legation Library. The Books which number now 1000 Volumes I found in the original boxes in which they came from Washington, without covers, in a small dark damp room, on a lower floor, surrounded and partly covered by rubbish. The archives such as they are I found in the same place in a Trunk. The Volume or Book in which, I suppose, Mr: Cass entered his Despatches to the Department, cannot be found—and some of the Despatches of The Department to him are missing. Mr: Stocktons records seem to be complete, but scattered and in disorder. All this has arisen from the fact that there is no one to specially care for them during the absence of The Minister, and no proper room in which the Library can be kept. I have deemed it my duty under the circumstances to hire a room, and have fit cases arranged for The Library and other

archives, and employ a person at a cheap rate, whose duty it shall be to take care of them. The cost of this will not be less than three or four hundred Dollars a year. Rome for more than half the year is filled with Americans, who in larger numbers than any other foreigners resort here as well for health as pleasure to visit this most interesting Capital—this entails in many ways, additional expenses on the Minister. It has been customary too for him to privide [*sic*] under his own roof rooms sufficiently large for chapel services. The Episcopal Church at home have sent here The Rev: Doct: Butler formerly of Washington City.[9] I have furnished him a chapel, not without some inconvenience and considerable expense. In stating these facts to The Department, the practical application I have to make, as incumbent of the Position, is to suggest that they form an additional reason why the Contingent fund should be increased to at least the amount allowed to my predecessors. I will only add on this subject, that the Books in The Library are valuable and necessary—that their number is increasing and that they should certainly be in a position where they can be accessible.

I also beg leave to state to The Department that I left my residence in New York for my post here the 8th: October and arrived Nov: 15th: thus consuming in my journey thirty nine days, which, if not deemed too long (and considering the distance from London I trust it will not be) entitles me I believe to $802.23. If I am right in this, allow me to ask The Department to permit me to draw on the Government Bankers in London for the same at the usual rate of Exchange—and also for any additional allowance to the Contingent fund of The Legation which the Department may see fit to grant.

William H. Seward to Richard M. Blatchford. No. 5.

Department of State, Washington, 23rd. December, 1862.

Sir:

Your despatch of November 29th, No: 1, has been submitted to the President. The speech you made to His Holiness on the occasion of presenting your credentials was in all respects just and happy. The answer of the Pope, so far as it related to our country, was what the Government and people of this country have expected. The sentiments expressed by Cardinal Antonelli in the conference with which he honored you, were as wise and just, as they were friendly in spirit towards the United States. In view of these facts, I can safely congratulate you upon the auspices under which your mission was opened.

There is no material change of affairs here. General Burnside has made

[9] Most likely the Rev. Dr. Clement Butler, former pastor of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, 3d and C Sts., N. W., Washington. *Centennial Hist. of the City of Washington* (Dayton, 1892), p. 544.

a gallant but unsuccessful attack upon the insurgents behind Fredericksburgh, attended with a painful loss of lives, but it draws after it no disaster or danger.[10] All is safe in that quarter and apparently prosperous elsewhere. Congress is practically suspending business for the observance of the holidays.[11]

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 3.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES ROME Jan: 3. 1863

Sir:

Since my despatch No: 2 of Dec: 20. nothing of special interest has occurred here. I have had two interviews with His Holiness The Pope—he was very kind and professed and expressed great interest and anxiety about the unhappy Conflict in our Country. I am told from high sources that he is anything but happy—indeed it cannot be otherwise. Reforms are pressed upon him by the Emperor of The French, to some of which he yields a reluctant assent—his pecuniary resources are diminishing, and his Finance Minister [12] is about to test the credit of the government on a call for a new loan.

Allow me to ask your favorable consideration of a matter which in part concerns myself—and in part the interests of the Legation, attending which there are some peculiarities. Such is the unhealthy condition of the Climate here that none of the Diplomatic Corps, as a general thing, remain between May and November—and shortly after the Carnival, which ends this year April 5 with Easter Sunday, Rome becomes comparatively deserted by foreigners. I should like to avail of that occasion to go to Naples, and perhaps to The Holy Land, and after that (for then the sickly season will have set in) I should like to go to Switzerland, France and England. I respectfully solicit The Department to grant me leave of absence from this place for a few months. I shall of course keep in correspondence with my Secretary here.

I have as stated in my despatch No: 1 (in accordance with a suggestion made to me personally) appointed Mr: J. C. Hooker of this City, Banker, my Private Secretary—he is quasi Secretary of Legation and is an American citizen of 15 years residence in Rome—he remains here during the entire summer, and is familiar with everything and every body official and unofficial in and about Rome, and with all that appertains to The Legation.[13] It would facilitate all Legation matters during the absence of The Minister (which is essential during the sickly season) if [he] could receive from The Department or from The President an appointment or recognition as

[10] The battle of Fredericksburg was fought Dec. 13.
[11] Printed also in *For. Rel.*, 1863, Pt. II, p. 1062.
[12] Mgr. Giuseppe Ferrari.
[13] Hooker had also acted as unofficial secretary of the legation under Martin (*ante*, p. 15).

such—he is efficient, intelligent and popular and would cheerfully discharge the duties without pay or salary. Such a recognition would enable him to communicate under the ministers direction, with the Govt: here during the ministers temporary absence—and in case of such interregnums in The Legation as occurred during nearly all last year, he would care for Legation interests in a proper manner, and be, for the time being the medium of communication between the two governments.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD. No. 6.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, January 14th 1863.

Sir,

Your despatch of December 20th No. 2, has been submitted to the President. Your account of the condition of political affairs at Rome, is very interesting. Unhappily for the present Rome and the existing Romans, their interests are now not subject to their own control, nor do those who control them act chiefly with reference to those interests. The dynastic, political and ecclesiastical interests of foreign nations determine their forbearance or favor, or their repugnance or hostility to Rome. It is to avert similar misfortunes from our own country that the labors of our representatives abroad must be mainly directed. The suggestions made in your despatch in regard to expenses of the Legation, will receive consideration in a separate communication.

J. C. HOOKER TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Dear Sir ROME 15th Jany. 1863

You will have been informed by The Hon. R. M. Blatchford that He has appointed me Secretary of Legation to the U. S. Mission, and I have been recognized as such by The Cardinal Secretary of State.

When I had the pleasure of seeing you last June—you informed me that you would recognize such an appointment should it be made by the Minister at Rome and I doubt not the recognition will be forwarded to Mr. Blatchford with full powers to act during Mr. B——s absence from Rome.

I should say that after London and Paris this place requires a Secretary more than any other—not that there is so much to do with the Papal Govt But from there being for more than half the year so large a number of Americans here who require so many matters done for them.

I have now placed at the disposition of the Legation Two large rooms on the ground floor No. 25 Piazza di Spagna—adjoining the steps to

Trinità dei Monti on one side, and my private office on the other, and have opened a private communication between the latter.

If the U. S. Government feel Rome of importance enough to send a Minister here—it seems to me that the Legation should be kept at least in a respectable manner—which has not been the case hitherto.

It has never been properly organized. There are about a thousand volumes of Books, more or less, valuable, which have been carted about Rome and stored away in places where they could not be examined for reference. They are now collected and Mr. Blatchford expects to have authority to have proper cases made for them. It is necessary that there should be some one residing here clothed with authority to act when Ministers are absent—and no Minister has been willing to reside in Rome all summer.

It is necessary that there should be attached to the Legation a man called *Gentiluomo* who should be above a Servant to take despatches to the Secty of State and to heads of different departments it not being etiquette to send servants with despatches and letters.

Mr. Ardisson has acted in this capacity since the Legation was established. He had charge of the legation for a long time and has made a claim for his monthly salary which I think is just.

Every Minister who comes to Rome has difficulty in procuring suitable apartments and none of them have had room for the Books and archives.

There has been so much Scandal connected with the U. S. Legation from incompetency of the persons employed that I have been induced to take the office of Secretary without salary believing that I can fill the office creditably.

The sum allowed by Government of *$500.* for contingencies will not pay the expenses of the Legation.

I now beg to suggest that you would give if in your power or recommend a sum to be given that would pay for rent of Legation rooms, Gentiluomo, and necessary expenses. A very moderate sum as I know it would not do at the present to ask for a salary. But I do think that you must agree that it is necessary for the Legation to be maintained at least with respect and decency.

Should there be intervals between the resignation of one Minister and the appointment of another when I would be acting as "Charge d'affaires" I doubt not that our Govt would recognize and recompense such Services as other Governments do.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD. No. 7.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, January 19th 1863.

Sir,

With reference to that part of your despatch No. 2, of the 20th ultimo, on the subject of the expenses of your Legation, you are informed that

the Bankers of the United States at London have, by a letter of which I enclose a duplicate, been authorized to pay your drafts for contingent expenses of the Legation to the amount of $1.000 per annum, instead of $500, the sum heretofore allowed you. You will be careful, however, to limit the disbursement of this fund to such objects as may, under your printed personal instructions, be properly included in your accounts and allowed by the Department.

Before you are authorized to draw for the amount of your salary while making the transit to your post, it is desirable that you should furnish the Department with an explanation of the causes which prevented you from making the journey in the time usually supposed to be necessary for its accomplishment,—say twenty five days.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD. No. 9.[14]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, January 22nd 1863.

Sir,

The Senate having advised and consented to your appointment as Minister Resident at Rome, I herewith enclose your Commission in that capacity.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD. No. 10.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, January 22nd 1863.

Sir,

Your despatch of January 2nd, No. 3, has been received. The information it gives concerning political affairs at Rome, is very interesting.

Your request for a leave of absence after the 5th of April, will receive due consideration.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 4.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME Feb: 14. 1863

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge your despatch No: 7. When I wrote to you on the subject of my salary while making the transit to my post, I was not aware that the Department deemed so small a number of days as Twenty five as usually sufficient for the accomplishment of the object—or else I should have given the details which unavoidably caused the consumption of a much longer time. The mail, with all its expedition seldom comes in less than Twenty one days—an individual travelling without his family and taking the usual rests at night could scarcely, with comfort

[14] No. 8 is missing.

make the journey from New York via London (which since the withdrawal of the Havre Steamers has almost become a necessity) in less than 28 or 29 days. I consumed thirty nine. I was Twelve days in reaching London, and was detained there Seven by a constant succession of gales in The Channel which almost entirely prevented travel between that place and Paris—it was the same series of storms, which, as perhaps you may remember, caused so much anxiety in England, and prevented the Queen so long from leaving the Continent to return home. At Paris my wife was ill and not in a condition for several days to resume so long a journey—I was there nine days. In consequence of the storms which prevail on the Mediterranean at that Season and which render the passage in the boats from Marseilles not only extremely uncomfortable but frequently unsafe, we travelled via Turin and Florence arriving at Rome in Eleven days from Paris. Of these eleven days we lost three at Bologna in consequence of an avalanche on the Appenines which entirely blocked up the road—and the heavy seas in the Mediterranean in connection with small and unsafe boats in which I was unwilling to venture, kept us five days longer in Florence and Leghorn than we should otherwise have remained.

I trust these details will satisfactorily assure the Department that I could not well, under the circumstances, have made the transit, with my family, from New York to Rome, in less time than I did make it. Besides, I was not well myself on arriving in Paris, and I needed rest.

P: S: I find by referring to the Despatch of my predecessor Mr: Stockton No: 12—Dec: 1. 1859 that he consumed 85 days in making his transit which was allowed by The Dept.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 5.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME Feb: 21. 1863

Sir

I have the Honor to acknowledge your two Despatches of Jan: 22 No: 9 and No: 10. I do not find that I have received a Despatch No: 8[.] I will ask you (not knowing but you will perhaps do so as a matter of course) to direct me with whom I shall leave temporarily the Legation matters, in so far as it may be necessary to commit them to any one, whether to my private Secretary Mr: Hooker, or to The Consul Mr: Stillman.

The disclosures and debates in The British Parliament respecting the French Occupation of Rome, and Mr: Odo Russell's offer to The Pope of an asylum in British Territory, and the manner in which the offer was received, are all creating a good deal of excitement here, as well among the friends as the opponents of the Papal authority—and are increasing and apparently giving strength to the smothered dissatisfaction which

exists.[15] The Carnaval which has just terminated, notwithstanding official efforts to secure for it its usual eclat, passed off with a marked tameness and lack of spirit. Some adverse demonstrations were made on The Pincio by a portion of the higher classes, which was promptly put down by the Police. The soldiers of The Pope and the French soldiers were more than usually on the alert showing that the government were not without some apprehension—all public places where any numbers might collect were and still are specially guarded. His Holiness officiated in person in the Sistene Chapel on Ash Wednesday and has entirely recovered from his late indisposition which was very slight.

I beg leave to enclose a Communication which I received a short time since from Mr: A. Ardisson formerly American Vice Consul here, and who in some way or another has had something to do with the Legation as an employee for several years—He makes a claim for some compensation, and alludes to my predecessor Mr: Randall. I know nothing about the facts, but at the request of Mr: Ardisson I forward his communication.[16]

William H. Seward to Richard M. Blatchford. No. 11.

Department of State, Washington, February 24th 1863.

Sir:

Since the receipt of your despatch of the 3rd of January, in which you state that you have appointed Mr. J. C. Hooker to be your private Secretary, in which capacity he will be quasi Secretary of Legation, I have

[15] For this debate, of Feb. 17, see *Hansard's Parl. Debates,* 3d ser., CLXIX, 374 *et seq.* Odo Russell's conversation with the Pope, July 26, 1862, leading to Earl Russell's despatch of Oct. 25, and the suggestion that the Pope should retire to Malta, is also discussed, *ibid.,* pp. 391, 791-793, 1416-1419, 1421. Earl Russell, British Prime Minister, wrote to Odo Russell, Oct. 25, 1862: ". . . If such is his sincere conviction [the Pope's belief that in time his former territories would be restored to him], would it not become the Pope, that instead of being himself the principal cause of civil war in Italy, he should retire from this conflict, and expect in tranquillity the issue which in the order of Providence may await the Papacy, and determine the fate of Italy?

"In such a case the Admiral of Her Majesty in the Mediterranean would convey the Pope to Malta, to Trieste, to Marseilles, or to Valencia, and if His Holiness should choose to remain in Malta, Her Majesty's Government would there provide a mansion fit for his reception.

"There His Holiness might be surrounded by his chief Cardinals and most trusty counsellors. He would not be asked to subscribe to any conditions repugnant to his conscience. Civil war would cease in Italy, and the Italian people would be at liberty either to enjoy the complete possession of their own territory, or again to assign to the Pope, if they so thought fit, a temporal dominion." This letter and other correspondence bearing upon the question, including an order to the Secretary of the Admiralty "to accede to any request of the Pope to send a ship to Civita Vecchia to convey him to Malta", will be found in *Correspondence relative to the Affairs of Rome* (presented to Parliament, 1863), and embodied also in *Parl. Accounts and Papers,* 1863, Vol. LXXV. See also H. Bastgen, *Die römische Frage* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1918), II, 180, 188, 196-197.

[16] Not found.

received a letter from him asking his recognition as Secretary of Legation, with full powers to act during your absence from Rome. This request cannot for obvious reasons be complied with. Secretaries of Legation are appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, and by the Act of August 18th 1856, the appointment of such an officer to the Legation at Rome is authorized. It has not hitherto been deemed advisable, however, to use the authority thus conferred by Congress, and the present would not seem to be a fitting time to do so.

No objection whatever is perceived to your employment of Mr. Hooker in the Legation, where his services as an attaché will no doubt be very useful. The Department appreciates his willingness to perform such service gratuitously.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 6.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME March 7. 1863

Sir

To the outside observer everything here yet remains quiet, no open demonstration of dissatisfaction with the government being exhibited—indeed so vigilant and active are the Police, backed by the presence of the French soldiery in every part of the City, that such demonstration, if attempted, could make but little headway—but discontent is daily gaining ground, and has been strengthened recently by the debates in The British Parliament respecting the French occupation and by the disclosures of the Pope's conversation with Mr: Odo Russell and the offer of Malta by the British ministry to The Pope for a residence if he should see fit to retire from Rome. To the excitement created by these occurrences has however just been added another which has been and is still the absorbing subject of conversation—The Cardinal Antonelli has tendered to The Pope his resignation—the immediate cause of it was the arrest by the minister of The Interior of The Cardinals Gentiluomo without any notice to the Cardinal on a charge of complicity with the Piedmontese revolutionary Committee.[17] This man had been in The Cardinals employ for many years and had lent himself latterly as a medium for the correspondence between the revolutionists in Piedmont and the Committee here. There is no doubt of his guilt—Antonelli does not deny *that,* but he took offence that the Minister of The Interior, his

[17] This was the celebrated case of Ludovico Fausti who was arrested Feb. 22, 1862, by Antonelli's enemies on charges of conspiracy. The charges were further strengthened by the accusations of a malicious woman, Constanza Diotallevi, who sought release from prison by implicating princes, cardinals, prelates, and public functionaries in a vast web of disloyalty and conspiracy. Fausti was accused by her of being a ring-leader and the chief instigator of the burning of the Alibert Theatre, destroyed a few days before his arrest. He was condemned to 20 years at the galleys, but was released after four years in prison. He died in 1895, nearly 90 years old. Leo XIII accorded generous reparation to him and his family. De Cesare, *op. cit.,* pp. 337-345, 355-356; Leti, *op. cit.,* II, 143-144.

colleague in the Council of which Antonelli is The President and therefore his superior should have imprisoned the most confidential person in his Household without communicating with him, or giving him any notice of his intended action. Antonelli on discovering it was greatly incensed and at once complained to the Pope of what he termed the indignity and insult which he had received. The Pope treated the complaint rather lightly and did not meet it in a spirit as the Secretary of State thought and said which was calculated to sooth his irritated feelings or satisfy his wounded pride. He thereupon immediately tendered to the Pope his resignation in writing—at the Pope's urgent request he declined to withdraw it. From that moment, as you may well imagine, the affair assumed a serious aspect—this took place last week—meetings of the Cardinals and of the Council have been held, and an almost unanimous wish expressed that the resignation should be withdrawn—strong appeals to that effect have been made to the Secretary—but up to this time the document remains unopened on the Pope's Table. It is said to day that the Secretary relents—that Despatches have come from the Ministry, as well in France as in Austria deploring the resignation, and the unhappy consequences that might result from its being persisted in. I am assured from a quarter on which I have reason to rely that the difficulty will be adjusted—the resignation withdrawn under an ample apology from the offending Minister whose place will in a short time be filled by an incumbent whose presence at the Council board will not recall to The President the recollection of his wounded feelings. But it is said and believed that there was another reason, than the arrest of the Gentiluomo, for the Secretary's desire to be relieved from the responsibilities of his office—he was displeased that the Pope should have held the conversation with Mr: Odo Russell to which I have alluded and which has given rise to so much discussion. If the Pope was in earnest in what he said to Mr. Russell, he, the Secretary of State should have been the organ of communication—if he was not in earnest, it was too important a subject to trifle about under the present exigencies and perils of the government.

Every body is ready to ascribe to The Pope benevolence of heart and rectitude in all that he says and does—his popularity is great, and is equalled only by the admitted ability and statesmanship of The Cardinal Antonelli.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD. No. 12.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, March 9th 1863.

Sir,

Your despatch No. 4, dated February 14th, has been received. The explanation it gives relative to the time occupied by you in making the transit to your post, is entirely satisfactory.

Pursuant to the request contained in your previous despatch, you are hereby granted leave of absence for four months.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 7.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME March 21. 1863

Sir

The difficulty between The Cardinal Antonelli and the government spoken of in my Despatch No: 6 is not yet arranged. He continues to hold office and has concluded not to insist on The Pope's acting on his proferred resignation until the trial of Fausti his gentiluomo, which is now going on, is ended. He does not now admit his guilt and believes that he will be acquitted. His indignation at what he terms the outrage committed by The Secretary of the Interior is not lessened, and in addition to that cause of irritation there is and has been for some time a coolness between him and Merode the Finance Minister.[18] It is generally believed by those who are best informed on the subject that, no matter how the trial of Fausti may terminate, Antonelli will not continue to hold office with The Secretary of The Interior.

I saw his Holiness yesterday. He is very well notwithstanding continual rumors of his ill health. He has made seven new Cardinals the last week, four of them residing here and three abroad[19]. I witnessed two days ago the formal installation of the former at The Vatican. It was an imposing ceremony. I had, as is customary, made to them a day or two before a Diplomatic visit.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD. No. 13.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, March 30th 1863

Sir,

Your very interesting dispatch of March 7th, No. 6, has been received.

The report of the resignation of the Cardinal Secretary of State, excited much surprise in this country. In his case, as in that of other statesmen, the opinions of men concerning him are determined chiefly by their favor or disfavor towards the system he supports. But I think there is an universal acknowledgment of the great abilities, the consummate skill, and the inflexible firmness with which he has hitherto conducted an administration encountering difficulties that, speculatively regarded, seemed insurmountable.[20]

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[18] Mérode was Minister of War.

[19] These were Cardinals Giuseppe L. Trevisanato, Antonino de Luca, Giuseppe A. Bizzarri, Lodovico de la Lastra y Cuesta, Giovanni B. Pitra, Filippo M. Guidi, and Enrico M. Gastone de Bonnechose. *Annuario Pontificio,* 1864, pp. 83-85.

[20] Printed in *For. Rel.,* 1863, Pt. II, p. 1063.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 8.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME April 4. 1863

Sir

I have to acknowledge your circular of March 9. 1863 enclosing a copy of the Concurrent Resolutions of Congress concerning Foreign Intervention, and instructing me to make them known to the Minister of Foreign affairs.[21] I waited on the Cardinal Antonelli yesterday, and read to him your Circular of March 9th. and delivered to him at his request a copy of the Concurrent Resolutions.

I have also to acknowledge your Despatch No: 12 of same date granting me leave of absence—and also saying that my explanation relative to the time occupied in making the transit to my post is entirely satisfactory. You do not tell me on whom I am to draw for that portion of my salary allowed for the transit.

The resolutions of Congress cannot fail to have a salutary effect on European Opinion and action. The reply of Earl Russell to Lord Campbell is one of the first fruits of them, and the *London Times* skulks behind the Earls shield.[22] Here, His Holiness, as well as the Cardinal Secretary of State, are decided friends of The Union and ardently desire that its integrity may be preserved. The latter was strong in the expression of his Hopes that the North would speedily subdue the Rebellion.[23]

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD. No. 14.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, April 11th 1863.

Sir:

Your despatch, No. 5, was duly received, and has been read with interest.

[21] The full text of these resolutions will be found in *Cong. Globe,* 37 Cong., 3d sess., p. 1360; and in *For. Rel.,* 1863, Pt. II, pp. 812-814. "Congress cannot hesitate", it was stated, "to regard every proposition of foreign interference in the present contest as so far unreasonable and inadmissible that its only explanation will be found in a misunderstanding of the true state of the question and of the real character of the war in which the republic is engaged. . . . Congress will be obliged to look upon any further attempt in the same direction as an unfriendly act which it earnestly deprecates, to the end that nothing may occur abroad to strengthen the rebellion or to weaken those relations of good will with foreign powers which the United States are happy to cultivate. . . . The United States regret that foreign powers have not frankly told the chiefs of the rebellion that the work in which they are engaged is hateful, and that a new government, such as they seek to found, with slavery as its acknowledged corner-stone, and with no other declared object of separate existence, is so far shocking to civilization and the moral sense of mankind that it must not expect welcome or recognition in the commonwealth of nations."

[22] In the parliamentary debate of Mar. 23, Lord Campbell urged recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Earl Russell maintained that it was "our duty at present to stand still and not to proceed to an act so definite, so positive—an act so unfriendly to the United States as the recognition of the South". *Hansard's Parl. Debates,* 3d ser., CLXIX, 1714-1741.

[23] Extracts from this despatch are given in *For. Rel.,* 1863, Pt. II, p. 1063.

In availing yourself of the leave of absence which has been granted to you, you will exercise your own discretion in the selection of a proper person with whom to leave the archives of the Legation.

The communication of Mr. Ardison, which you enclose, will receive attention.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 9.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME April 25. 1863

Sir

I have the Honor to acknowledge your despatch No: 13 of March 30—and also your circular of March 23 enclosing a printed copy in English and French of a Letter from the Postmaster General.[24] You speak of it as "another Letter"—this is the only one I have received. I communicated it to The Cardinal Secretary of State after waiting the arrival of a subsequent mail in the expectation that the other Letter from the Postmaster General might probably come to hand. Your No: 13 acknowledges my despatch No: 6 of March 7—but I have no acknowledgement of my No: 5 of Feb: 21. I allude to it only because in that despatch I asked to whom I should commit during my absence the Legation matters whether to my Private Secretary or to The Consul. Without instructions to The Contrary I shall commit them to The Consul. My predecessor Mr Randall having done so when he left. I purpose leaving sometime in May.

Every thing respecting the proferred resignation of Cardinal Antonelli remains unchanged. The trial of Fausti, whose arrest caused his dissatisfaction, is still progressing, and it is understood that until that is terminated, he will not press his resignation. The pope, as might be expected, has been much disturbed by this occurrence, which his particular friends the more especially deplore because of his advanced age.

RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

LONDON May 20. /63

My dear Governor

I left Rome a little sooner than I intended and came here to meet Evarts.[25] I shall stay 2 or 3 weeks with him. I am truly glad he came—he is doing great good. You could not have sent a better man—nor at a more timely moment. I am glad I came—the tone here has changed

[24] Concerning the international postal convention which was held at Paris, May 11-June 8, 1863. Richardson, *Messages*, VI, 186.

[25] William M. Evarts who, in April, 1863, was sent on a mission to England to put an end, if possible, to the building of vessels for the Confederate navy. His biography is given in *Dict. Am. Biog.*, VI, 215-218.

greatly not only out of parliament, but in parliament. You will of course see the debate at length of night before last—I enclose an Extract from it from the summary of *The Times*.[26] I have passed a delightful evening with Mr: Cobden alone at his Home—and this morning I met (with Mr. Evarts) Mr: Bright and Mr: Forster at a 3 hours breakfast at Mr: Adams.[27] Mr: Adams is much gratified at your sending Mr. Evarts—he takes with every body. I think I shall run home for a month with Evarts in July—it will depend somewhat on what I may hear from home. We all wait with intense anxiety the mail of the 9th: May. We have the news from Hooker's army up to and including Monday May 4th:—I hope to be of some service here—am treated with every possible kindness—am at Edward's Hotel the same House with Evarts. We go to the Derby today with Aspinwall[,] Mr: Morgan and my wife.[28]

I have spent all my salary—and $2200 which the Bank of England owed to me and $5000 more which I have borrowed from Mr: Bates.[29] I got from him yesterday some money on the strength of the salary $802/23/100 due to me for the 39 days consumed in my transit to Rome. Will you (if it is in order) please send to me a credit for that amount on The Barings. I have to thank you for your letter of 23 April. I have an official despatch nearly ready which I will send next mail. You well know how time flies in London.

Richard M. Blatchford to William H. Seward.

New York Oct: 6. 1863

Sir

I beg leave to resign my commission as Minister Resident at Rome. Circumstances beyond my control make it necessary for me to do so.

Allow me in tendering this resignation to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to The President and yourself for the kindness and confidence manifested towards me.

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[26] Enclosed, but since it did not emanate from Rome and because it has no connection with the Roman mission it is not reprinted. The full report of this debate, of May 18, will be found in *Hansard's Parl. Debates,* 3d ser., CLXX, 1818 *et seq.*

[27] John Bright, Richard Cobden, and Wm. E. Forster, champions of humanitarian reform, were favorable to the North because of their anti-slavery attitude. Charles Francis Adams was, of course, U. S. minister in Great Britain at this time.

[28] William H. Aspinwall was sent as a secret agent to England by Pres. Lincoln, to stop the building of iron-clad rams for the Confederacy (*Dict. Am. Biog.,* I, 396). The identity of Morgan is uncertain. Junius Morgan, father of J. Pierpont Morgan, was in London at this time, a member of the firm of George Peabody and Co.; Matthew S. Morgan, artist and cartoonist, was also then in that city. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia,* IV, pp. 402, 403.

[29] Joshua Bates, senior member of the firm of Baring Bros., bankers.

RUFUS KING.[1]

(October 15, 1863—January 1, 1868.)

William H. Seward to Rufus King.[2]

Department of State, Washington, October 15th 1863.

Sir,

I have the honor to announce to you your appointment by the President as Minister Resident of the United States at Rome, and to request that you will, at your earliest convenience, call at the Department for the purpose of receiving your Commission and instructions.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 1.

Department of State, Washington, November 16th 1863

Sir,

The President having appointed you to be Minister Resident of the United States at Rome, and your Commission having already been delivered to you, I have the honor herewith to transmit a copy of the printed *Personal Instructions to Diplomatic Agents of the United States in Foreign countries*, and the documents 1, 2, and 3, named at the commencement of those instructions.

Your compensation, as fixed by law, is at the rate of $7,500. per annum, besides which a contingent fund to the amount of $1,000 per annum is placed to the credit of the Legation, to be disbursed by you in conformity with the Personal Instructions. Your drafts for salary or for contingent expenses will be drawn on the Bankers of the United States at London. A letter of credit therefor, is herewith enclosed.

In accordance with law, this compensation will commence when you reach your post and enter upon your official duties, and will continue until you shall cease to hold your office. You will also be entitled to compensation for such time as shall be actually and necessarily occupied in receiving your instructions, not to exceed thirty days, and in making the transit between your place of residence when appointed, and your post of duty, at the commencement and termination of your official service.

[1] Concerning King see note 1, p. 237, *ante*. Although King resigned Jan. 1, 1868, several letters are printed written after his return home.

[2] This letter was addressed to King at Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, near Centreville, Va.

The instructions given to your predecessor, so far as they may remain applicable or continue unexecuted, will be considered as a part of your own. Special instructions will be transmitted from time to time, as occasion may require.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 2.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November 16th 1863

Sir,

In furnishing you with your printed personal instructions and their necessary accompaniments, I beg to refer you, for farther instructions of a more general character, to those that were given to you on the occasion of your first appointment as Minister Resident at Rome, and which were rendered inoperative [sic] by your declination of that appointment for the purpose of accepting one in the military service of the United States. By those instructions, so far as they may continue to be applicable, you will now be guided.

Your position at Rome will enable you to form a correct judgment with regard to the probable stability of the new monarchy in Greece, and the expediency of our sending a Minister to that country, for which object an appropriation was made at the last Session of Congress.[5] After you shall have had an opportunity of doing so, you will report to the Department upon this subject. Should your report be favorable, the President will take into consideration the propriety of appointing a diplomatic representative in that quarter. It is not improbable that he may request you to proceed thither for the purpose of establishing proper diplomatic relations with the Government of Greece.

J. C. HOOKER TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.

ROME. 12d. Dec. 186[3].[6]

Dear Sir

I have written two letters to Mr Blatchford regarding the reception of Mr Mann by His Holiness and Cardinal Antonelli.[7] A few days ago I

[5] The Greeks had deposed King Otto and with the aid of Great Britain placed Prince William George of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg on the throne as George I, King of the Hellenes (1863). But the United States did not send a diplomatic representative at this time; in May, 1866, Charles K. Tuckerman of N. Y. was commissioned minister resident.

[6] The final figure of the year is torn from the original. Hooker, the writer, was acting as secretary of the legation.

[7] To A. Dudley Mann was entrusted a letter from President Davis of the Confederate States to the Pope, thanking the latter for his kindly feeling displayed in sending letters to the Archbishops of New York and New Orleans urging their efforts towards reconciliation. See L. F. Stock, "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy",

invited Father Smith [6]—whom you know very well to dine with me. He said He was sure the Government here would not change its position regarding our country. That Archbishop Hughes had settled that question.

He said what I believe to be true that the French Legitimist party are against us. They say Unity cannot exist in our Republic nor can it in Italy —and that the Roman papers take this view. I have sometimes thought from his great intimacy with different southern people here that He might be inclined to their cause. He assured me however that He did battle for our cause and that Roman persons did not now attack him knowing him to be strong.

It is said that The Pope told Mr Mann to come to him whenever He liked however I do not see that any umbrage can be taken at this though one would have been better pleased otherwise. The Pope however gives audiences very freely to the world in general.

Mr King has not arrived but I hope He will soon be here.

Mr Stillman [7] has returned and insists that the American Artists sending their works to the U. S. shall make an Invoice and then a certificate that the work is by them—or He insists that the forwarder shall make the Invoice and then the artist the certificate this will give him $4.50 for every pkge forwarded home by the American Artist.

Miss Cushman is expected next week[.] [8]

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 1.

Legation of The United States At Rome, January 5th. 1864.

Sir

Having been honored by the President of the United States with the appointment of Minister Resident at Rome and receiving my final instructions at Washington on the 17th November, '63; I embarked from New York by the steamer of the Saturday following, being the 21st. of the same month. The voyage was tempestuous and somewhat protracted; but after a day's delay at Southampton, waiting for a Channel steamer, and a brief rest at Paris, I proceeded on my journey and arrived at Rome on the 23rd. of December; occupying a month in the trip.

I sought an early interview with Cardinal Antonelli, and, in company with Mr Hooker—in whose charge my immediate predecessor had left the property and affairs of the Legation—called, by appointment, on the

Cath. Hist. Rev., XVI, 1-18. Some of Mann's letters from Rome are printed in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II, 589, 591, 600, 602, 603.

[6] See note 50, p. 166, *ante*.

[7] U. S. consul.

[8] Charlotte Cushman, the noted American actress, whose nephew, Edwin C. Cushman, succeeded Stillman as consul and was accused, in 1867, of having fought with the papal troops. L. F. Stock, "An American Consul Joins the Papal Zouaves", *Cath. World*, CXXXII (Nov., 1930), pp. 146-150.

Cardinal Secretary, on the 29th. ult; presented my open letter of credence and enjoyed a very pleasant conversation with his Eminence. After a few general remarks, the subject of the war in America was introduced and engrossed the remainder of our talk. The Cardinal deplored the existence and continuance of the war, involving, as it did, such sacrifice of property and life. The Holy Father, he said, had written, in the interest of Humanity, to advise the restoration of Peace and Amity; but he could well understand that, in the present excited State of men's minds, pacific counsels would find few listeners. There were those Powers, the Cardinal added, who were not averse to seeing the United States weakened and wasted by internal strife; and who from obvious motives, were inclined to give such impulse, or seeming encouragement, to one, or the other contending parties, as might tend to prolong the conflict. Such was not the view, or wish, of Roman Government. They ardently desired Peace in the United States and they prayed God to hasten its happy return.

We too, I remarked to the Cardinal, earnestly wished for Peace and fully appreciated its blessings; but, with Peace, we desired also to have the Union, the Constitution and the Government that we had hitherto enjoyed and maintained. Allusion having been made to the Emancipation question, the Cardinal remarked that Dudley Mann, in the interview with him, last fall, said that the South, like the North, *was in favor of abolishing Slavery*; but that while the North wished to do this, at one blow, the South thought that ten, or fifteen years, should be required to educate the Slaves for Freedom. To this I replied that the sentiments put forth by Mr Mann were not those held and expressed by the Southern leaders; that they had commenced this war in the interest of Slavery and with the hope and purpose of extending and perpetuating that Institution; and that Mr Mann, in all probability, said what he did, rather in deference to the existing sentiment of Europe, than as reflecting public opinion at home.

After one, or two farther remarks, I requested the honor of an interview with his Holiness, the Pope, that I might present my credentials to him, in person; and the Cardinal promised to arrange one for me in a few days. I then took my leave and at parting, as on entering and throughout the interview, met with the most kind and cordial, treatment from his Eminence.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 2.

Legation of the United States At Rome, Jany. 15th. 1864

Sir

Arriving at Rome in the midst of the festivals and ceremonies incident to Christmas and the New Year, some days elapsed before I could obtain an audience from his Holiness, the Pope. This was accorded me, how-

ever, on the 8th. instant; and I proceeded to the Vatican, on that day, in company with Mr Hooker. Mr Hooker presented me to his Holiness, who was most affable in his reception; asked kindly after the President's health, which he was sorry to hear had been somewhat impaired, received from my hands the sealed letter of credence and then passed to the subject of America. He expressed great interest in the affairs of the United States; deeply regretted the continuance of the war, which afflicted our country; and made a brief allusion to the pacific counsels which he had addressed to the fathers of the church in America. We fully appreciated these good offices, I said, and the motives which prompted them; and none would rejoice more sincerely than ourselves at the return of Peace, so that it did not bring with it the severance of the Union, the downfall of the Government and the destruction of the National Life. It was in defense of, and for the preservation of these blessings, and not for subjugation, or extended dominion, that our people were fighting. The attention of his Holiness having been called to the invariable policy pursued by the Government of the United States in its intercourse with foreign powers, the Pope remarked that he, at least, had "nothing to complain of, on the part of America—nothing, nothing"; that he and his people had always been most kindly treated there, and should not forget it. "As to intervening in your affairs", added the Pope, "I have no weapon left but this pen".

Some further remarks followed of the same general scope; and I gathered from the whole spirit and tenor of the conversation that his Holiness is undoubtedly sincere in his wish to see the United States at peace; that it was from motives of Humanity, purely, that he wrote to the American Archbishops, invoking their good offices in behalf of Peace; and that, beyond this, his Holiness is not likely to interfere, in any way, in the domestic concerns of America.

At the expiration of the interview with the Pope, which occupied, perhaps, half-an-hour, and was marked, throughout, by the utmost kindness and courtesy on his part, I proceeded to make the customary formal call on the Cardinal Secretary of State, who received me with his habitual cordiality. With his Eminence, as with his Holiness, the discourse turned almost exclusively upon American affairs; and the conversation was substantially the same, in language and spirit.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 3.

Sir: Department of State, Washington, 29th January 1864

The Senate having advised and consented to your appointment as Minister Resident of the United States at Rome, I have the honor herewith to transmit your commission in that capacity.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 3.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Febry: 5th 1864.

Sir

The Carnival, which commenced on Saturday, the 30th ult., and is to close on Tuesday of next week, has been made the occasion of a political demonstration of some significance. As for several years past, on the eve of the festival, a printed circular, emanating from the "Roman National Committee," was widely, but secretly distributed among the people, urging them to give neither aid, nor countenance to the customary festivities. Copies were likewise left at the apartments of many of the foreigners, resident, or transient, in Rome, with an accompanying note requesting them, also, to absent themselves from the Carnival, out of respect for the opinion of the Country. I enclose a copy of each document. So far as the citizens of Rome are concerned, this appeal seems to have met with rather a general response. It is, indeed, quite remarkable to notice, in this city of 200.000 souls, how small a proportion take part, either as actors, or spectators, in the gayeties and amusements of Carnival week; the great body of those who fill the Corso and mingle in the festivities, being evidently foreigners, who, at this season of the year, flock to Rome in large numbers. The circumstance is regarded as an index of the political sentiment which pervades a considerable proportion of the Roman People, whose wish is for a united Italy, with Rome for its Capital and Victor Emanuel for its King; leaving untouched and unquestioned, however, the spiritual authority of the Holy Father. There is no present probability that this sentiment, strong and wide spread tho' it may be, will lead to any active movements having in view the accomplishment of the desired result. It is only in the event of some general political convulsion in Central and Southern Europe that the peace of Italy seems likely to be interrupted, either by aggression from without, or dissension within.

In the despatch No: 2, addressed to me from the State Department, under date of November 16th, 1863, I was directed to report as to "the probable stability of the new Monarchy of Greece and the expediency of our sending a Minister to that country", so soon as I should have had an opportunity to form a correct judgement on the subject. It is not easy, at this distance from Athens, to obtain very reliable information, or to form a satisfactory opinion, in the premises; the more so, as, at this particular juncture, the threatening aspect of affairs in Northern Europe and the intelligence, just received, that hostilities have actually commenced between Denmark and the German Powers, absorbs all attention and, for the time being, divest the affairs of Greece of their usual interest and importance. From what I can gather, however, I am inclined to think that the young King is decidedly popular among his new subjects and that after the lapse of a few months and the settlement of some minor difficulties, incident to a change of dynasty, his authority will be generally and cor-

dially acknowledged. In my judgement, it would be a graceful and appropriate act, on the part of the United States, a Power so well-known and widely-esteemed throughout the civilized world, to testify their interest in the welfare and prosperity of an ancient People and lend the sanction of their recognition to the accepted King of Greece, by reopening Diplomatic relations with that Country.

Monsieur

Le Comité soujoigné, au moyen d'un avis imprimé a invité les Romains, à s'abstenir comme dans les années précedentes, de prendre part aux fêtes du Carnaval. Le Comité en vous remettant copie de cette avis, a l'honneur Monsieur de prier vous et vos amis de vouloir vous y conformer afin de respecter l'opinion du paye.

LE COMITÉ NATIONAL ROMAIN.

ROME le 27. Janvier 1864

ROMANI!

Mentre i supremi momenti del nostro riscatto si approssimano; mentre noi dobbiamo prepararci all'ultima riscossa, il Prete sempre ipocrita, sempre beffardo c'invita alle orgie carnevalesche. Esso aggiunge all'insulto lo scherno, e nella sua sbigottita coscienza raddoppia gli sforzi per farci spettacolo all'Europa qual popolo tralignato stupidamente gaudente sotto il doppio giogo del chierico e dello straniero

ROMANI! Voi risponderete a tale ingiuria coll'usato disprezzo. Il corso, i festini, anche in quest'anno, siano di sollazzo ai legittimisti, ai borbonici, alla sbirraglia, alle donne di partito, ed al rifiuto di tutte le Nazioni, quivi convenuto ed assoldato dal Prete; — non a voi che giuraste di esser liberi italiani, e con eroica costanza patite lo scempio del peggiore di tutti i Governi, affrontando persecuzioni, prigionia ed esilio.

Voi, emuli dei prodi Veneti, vostri fratelli e compagni di sventura, con indirizzi, con proteste, con offerte e con altre dimostrazioni, deste già per più volte solenni e spontanei documenti alle Nazioni civili delle vostre aspirazioni, e del vostro patriottismo.

Ora lontani da trastulli indegni di voi, rinvigoritevi sempre più nella fiera calma del forte, e nella unione fraterna, che duplica la forza: rinvigoritevi in quella indomita pazienza che supera i fati e la morte. Rammentatevi che anche quei Valorosi che vincsero sotto Fabio Massimo, disfecero i nemici della patria non combattendo, ma aspettando. Duro cimento al vostro ardore! Ma pensate che gl'impeti irriflessivi, le giovanili impazienze potrebbero anzichè spezzare, ribadire le nostre catene, nuocere all Causa Italiana, e ritardare il compimento immancabile del nostro destino Il Popolo Romano raccolto e quieto nella generosa sua solitudine, senza che punto gli calga delle orgie brutali dello schiavo, stia attendendo apparecchiato la sua prossima ora: e l'attenda dal suo Re, dal Parlamento, dalla Nazione. Così Roma onorata e sicura arriverà al termine delle sue sofferenze e diverrà degnamente la Capitale d'Italia.

Viva il re—Viva l'Italia

IL COMITATO NAZIONALE ROMANO.

ROMA 25 Gennaio 1864.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 4.[9]

Department of State, Washington, February 9th. 1864.

Sir:

Your despatches Nos. 1 and 2, of January 3rd. and 15th have been laid before the President, who is very well satisfied with the reception which was given you by His Holiness and His Eminence the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have hitherto forborne from speaking of the letter of the Holy Father to Jefferson Davis.[10] You are aware how ostentatiously it has been paraded by the insurgents and their friends in Europe. You are, perhaps, aware also that high expectations are entertained of the benefits likely to result from it in their favor with Catholics in this country and throughout the world. The construction first put upon it by this Government was, that it was free from all political design and was intended merely as an expression of the good wishes of the Holy Father for the restoration of peace to the People of the United States. The conversations with which you have been favored by the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli confirm us in the opinion thus expressed. You were very right in assuring them that the first object of the Government is the restoration of peace, as it is a war of defense against sedition and insurrection, and that to perpetuate slavery is the only object of the war on the part of the insurgents. Such an object ought not to obtain a moment's sanction from the See of Rome, while it is equally certain that even the declared favor of the Church could not win the consent of the American people to the establishment of a Government within its own territory founded on the system of African bondage.

It may not be unimportant for you in a respectful and becoming manner to converse to this effect with Cardinal Antonelli, who, I am sure, would be unwilling to have the Government of Rome claimed as sympathising with the enemies of the United States and the enemies of Human Liberty.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 4.

Rome, February 27th, 1864

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of January 29th, '64, transmitting my commission as Minister Resident of the United

[9] Marked confidential.

[10] In Dec., 1863, the Pope wrote a reply to the letter which Davis had sent by Mann. The latter accepted this as a positive recognition of the Confederate government. Davis made no official statement of his opinion of the letter; Slidell thought it "not worth while printing". Benjamin regarded it of little value, and interpreted the Holy Father's address of Davis as "President of the Confederate States" as merely a formula of courtesy and not a political acknowledgment of the fact. See L. F. Stock in *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XVI, 16-17; the letter of Pius IX to Davis is printed in Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II, 603.

States at Rome, appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Since my communication of the 6th, inst., nothing of special interest has occurred here. There is considerable political agitation, throughout Italy, and the so-called National Committee are actively, tho' secretly at work, organizing and preparing their party, in the Papal States, for the anticipated contingency of a popular outbreak, or a European war. The one is not likely to occur without the other; and therefore it is, that the progress of the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty and the developments to which it has given, or may give rise, are watched with intense interest by all parties in Italy.

The presence of some fifteen thousand (15.000) French troops, in and about Rome, is a matter of offence to the Government here, as well as to the people; and both desire their removal, tho' for very different reasons. But for the French troops, the party of movement profess to be confident that they could rapidly organize a revolution which would eventuate in the union of the Papal States to the rest of Italy, under the rule of Victor Emanuel. On the other hand, the authorities and those who uphold them look upon the quasi protectorate, afforded by the French, as an imputation of weakness against the Papal Government and they affect to believe that, were the French troops removed from Rome, the Pope would find willing hands, among his own subjects, to maintain his authority and to defend, if not extend, his dominions. My own judgement, from all I can gather, is, that the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome would be the signal for an immediate rising of the popular party, which would be difficult, if not impossible of repression and which, in all probability, would result in the merging of the Papal States in the Kingdom of Italy. The duration of that Union would depend very much upon the course which Austria and other Continental Powers might see fit to pursue in the contingency mentioned.

From Greece we hear that a good deal of strife still prevails between the different parties, or factions, in that Kingdom; but the popularity of the youthful Sovereign does not seem to be impaired thereby, and his authority continues to be generally and gladly recognized.

The recent anniversary of Washington's birth was duly commemorated by the loyal Americans in Rome; and the speeches and sentiments, uttered on the occasion, breathed the most gratifying devotion to the cause of the Republic, as well as undoubting confidence in the wisdom, patriotism and integrity of the Administration and in a happy issue out of all our difficulties.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 5.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, March 8th, '64.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No: 3, under date of Febry. 9th. and the accompanying note of Febry: 2nd. I will avail myself of the earliest opportunity to converse with the Cardinal Secretary of State on the subject matters therein referred to. I am confident, however, that the construction placed by the Government of the United States upon the letter of the Pope to Jefferson Davis, is the correct one. The letter had no political design, or significance and, like the preceding one to the Catholic Archbishops of New York and New Orleans, was written solely in the interest of Peace and Humanity. Whatever efforts may have been made by the insurgents at home, or their friends abroad, to give prominence to the Holy Father's missive and to derive from it some seeming sanction, or recognition of their cause, I doubt whether public opinion in Europe has been at all affected thereby and I am assured by good authority here that it has made little impression upon the Catholics in America. Indeed, the progress of events on this side of the Atlantic, the grave possibilities growing out of the Schleswig-Holstein quarrel and the imminent prospect of a Continental War, have, for the present, at least, withdrawn men's minds from affairs in America and concentrated European attention upon their own concerns.

The people, as well as the authorities of Rome continue to look with disfavor and jealousy upon the French occupation of their capital. This feeling has led to one or two collisions between the French and Papal troops, one of which, last week, was somewhat serious; twelve or fifteen soldiers having been badly wounded. It has been deemed advisable to send away from Rome the battalion of Pontifical Guards implicated in the affair, but the rumor is quite current that further trouble will occur during the Easter celebrations. As I have heretofore taken occasion to remark, however, I do not anticipate any serious outbreak, or general movement in Italy, unless something should occur to disturb the existing relations between Austria and France and furnish the latter with an excuse, or opportunity to intervene actively in behalf of Italian unity.

The Americans in Rome have made a liberal donation to the Metropolitan Fair about to be held in New-York in aid of the funds of the U. S. Sanitary Commission.[11] I am happy to say that the Holy Father and the Cardinal Secretary of State have likewise contributed to this humane object.

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[11] The work of the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War was similar to that of the American Red Cross, later established. The supplies were gathered principally through fairs held in different cities.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 6.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, March 19th, 1864.

Sir

I availed myself of the earliest opportunity, after my despatch of the 8th inst., to converse with Cardinal Antonelli upon the subject referred to in your communication of the 9th February. After one, or two incidental remarks I observed to His Eminence that in a recent despatch you had called my attention to the letter of the Pope to Jefferson Davis and had said that great efforts were made, both in the United States and elsewhere, by enemies of the Union, to create the impression that this letter of the Holy Father's was designed to give some sanction, or recognition to the Rebel cause. I added that such was not the view taken of it by the Government of the United States; but that, on the contrary, they believed it to have been written solely in the sentiment of Humanity and with no thought, or purpose of interfering in our domestic affairs, or of lending the influence of the Holy Father to the misguided men who were in arms against the constituted authorities of their country. The Cardinal at once replied that this was perfectly correct; that, as he had already informed me, the Pope, as the head of the Christian Church, desired to see all men at peace; that, in this sense, he had written the letters to the Catholic Archbishops of New York and New-Orleans, representing the two parties in America, urging them to take all possible and proper means for the restoration of Peace; that Jefferson Davis had seen fit to acknowledge the letters to the Archbishop of New-Orleans and that the Pope's letter in reply was a simple act of courtesy and devoid of any political design, or significance; that if President Lincoln had written to the Holy Father on the same subject, the latter would have replied in the same tone and spirit, that his sole desire was to see all his children at peace with one another, and that, as an impartial father, he could not lean towards one, more than towards the other of the two parties into which at present the American People were, unhappily, divided; that, in this feeling, he had sent a contribution to the Metropolitan Fair in New York, and would probably transmit a similar offering to the Confederate States; but always in the purpose of maintaining a strict neutrality. Such, I assured His Eminence, was the construction placed upon the Holy Father's letter and action by the U. S. Government and I was happy to hear that it was the correct one. The Cardinal went on to say that in the present excited state of feeling in America, pacific counsels, even tho' prompted by the best motives, would meet with little attention, and he could see the difficulty of offering any advice where both sides insisted so strenuously on being in the right. I remarked, in reply, that the North was waging a defensive, not an agressive war; that we had taken up arms to maintain our Government, Constitution and laws, which the South were seeking to overthrow by force, and that the rebels had

but to submit to the lawful authorities of the Union to ensure the immediate restoration of Peace. The Cardinal said that in conversation, recently, with one, or two residents of the Southern States they had informed him that the South, equally with the North, desired the abolition of slavery; but that they thought the slaves, before being emancipated, should be educated for Freedom, in order to avoid the hazard of a war of Races. No such pretence, I said, was set up at the outbreak of the rebellion, nor was any such sentiment proclaimed by the rebel leaders at home. On the contrary, the war was commenced and thus far had been carried on, for the sole, avowed and indefensible object of extending and perpetuating the system of African bondage. Some further remarks were made by the Cardinal, similar in purport to those above described; the manner of His Eminence being too earnest to leave any doubt of his sincerity. The Holy Father has been quite ill for several weeks, but is now, I am glad to say, convalescent. There are no news of interest to communicate.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 7.

Legation of The United States At Rome, March 26th. '64.

Sir

I desire the permission of the Department, if conformable to its views, to avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the general withdrawal of the Diplomatic Corps from Rome during the heats of summer, to visit those portions of Switzerland and Germany adjacent to the Italian Peninsula. In the event of my obtaining this permission I propose to leave the business of the Legation in charge of Mr Hooker, who has been Acting Secretary for a year, or two past, and has had, for a long time, the care and custody of the books, papers and other property belonging to the Legation; and to whom I am under great obligations for valuable aid and counsel in the discharge of my official duties. Mr Hooker's long residence in Rome; his familiar acquaintance with the leading Roman nobility, the Members of the Diplomatic Corps and the principle functionaries of the Papal Court, and the experience he has acquired in affairs of State, peculiarly qualify him for the trust. I should, of course, keep myself in constant communication with him, so that if any circumstance should arise, requiring my presence at Rome, I might be promptly advised of it and act accordingly.

Mr C. W. Goddard, Consul General of the United States at Constantinople, arrived here, a day or two since, on a brief visit to the Eternal City. During his journey hither he stopped, for a fortnight, at Athens, which he left on the 20th. inst. I gather, from what he tells me of the condition of things in that Capital, that altho' a certain degree of political agitation continues to prevail, there is good prospect of affairs becoming settled

and of the establishment of a stable government. The young King, Mr Goddard assures me, is universally popular and his authority is everywhere cheerfully recognized.

The ceremonies of Holy Week have attracted to Rome a very great number of strangers, the city being crowded to an unwonted degree. Notwithstanding, however, the rumors so current a fortnight since, no disturbance of any kind has occurred, nor does any seem to be apprehended.

The health of the Pope continues to improve and tho' not yet sufficiently restored to enable him to appear in public during the current week, it is confidently expected that he will take part, to-morrow, in the crowning ceremonies of Easter Sunday.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 6.[12]

Department of State, Washington, April 5th, 1864.

Sir:

Your despatch No. 5, of the 5th instant, has been received, and has been read with interest. We are especially gratified to learn from it that the donations from Rome to the Metropolitan Fair at New York will include contributions from His Holiness the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 7.

Department of State, Washington, April 6th. 1864.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 19th. ultimo, No. 6, has been received, and your proceedings on the subject of my instruction of the 9th. of February last, relative to the letter of the Pope to Jefferson Davis, are approved. The explanations of Cardinal Antonelli are regarded as frank and friendly, and have given much satisfaction.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 8.

Legation of The United States At Rome, April 16th, 1864.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Circular No. 46, under date of Febry. 6th, 1864, from the State Department, relative to applications for leaves of absence and the expectation entertained by the Federal Authorities, at home, that no representative of our country, abroad, will quit his post without permission duly asked for and obtained.

[12] No. 5, Mar. 28, 1864, merely acknowledges King's No. 4, containing observations upon the political movements in Italy.

The health of the Sovereign Pontiff seems to be fully re-established. He has appeared in public, several times, during the past fortnight, and has met with a very enthusiastic welcome from the crowds who thronged the streets thro' which he passed and the churches in which he officiated. On Tuesday evening, the 12th inst. the City of Rome was illuminated in honor of the anniversary of the Pope's return from Gaeta, after the revolution, some years since, and of his fortunate escape from serious personal peril. The illumination was very general and of unwonted splendor, and the friends of the Holy Father point to it as an emphatic demonstration of the sentiments with which he has inspired the masses of the Roman People.

I was informed, a day or two since, by an ecclesiastic of high rank in the Pontifical Court, that Bishop McCloskey, of Albany, had been created Archbishop of New York, in place of the late Archbishop Hughes, and that Bishop Spalding, of Louisville, had been, at the same time, appointed Archbishop of Baltimore.[13]

The Archduke Maximilian, of Austria, is daily expected in Rome, to receive the parting benediction of the Pope, ere he sails for Mexico to assume the Imperial Crown.

Political affairs in Italy, within as well as without the Pontifical States, have been more quiet during the current month. Indeed, public attention seems to be mainly fixed on the Dano-German quarrel and the meeting and result of the Conference which is about to assemble in London, to discuss and, if possible, decide the questions at issue between Germany and Denmark.[14]

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 8.

Department of State, Washington, April 18th 1864.

Sir:

Your despatch No. 6, dated the 26th ultimo, has been received. The request it contains for leave of absence from your post during the heats of summer, the Department for several sufficient reasons feels constrained to decline complying with. Among these reasons are, first, that insurgent agents would, in all likelihood, take advantage of your absence, as they did in the case of Mr. Blatchford's, to steal into Rome for the purpose of getting up intrigues; and second, that representations have been made to the Department concerning Mr. Hooker, in whose hands you propose to leave the business of the Legation, which seriously reflect

[13] Archbishop Hughes died Jan. 3, 1864. Archbishop Spalding succeeded Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick who died July 8, 1863.

[14] In 1863, upon the death of Frederick VII of Denmark, his successor Christian IX united Holstein and Schleswig to Denmark. This act led to war in 1864, between Denmark on one side and Austria and Prussia on the other. By the treaty of Vienna, in October of that year, Christian renounced all his rights in the duchies in favor of Austria and Prussia.

upon his character as a loyal citizen. Mr. Stillman's representations in this respect are so positive and direct, that I deem it my duty to instruct you to make careful inquiry upon the subject, and report the result to the Department.

In declining, however, to accede to your request for a leave of absence at the present time, you will understand that the Department has no objection to your taking a residence in some salubrious locality in the neighborhood of Rome.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 9.

Legation of The United States At Rome, April 23rd, 1864.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No: 5, bearing date, March 28th, and mentioning the arrival of my despatch No: 4, dated February 26th. I have not, however, been apprised of the receipt of a previous despatch of mine, numbered 3 and bearing date February 6th. Should it have miscarried, I will forward a duplicate copy if the Department deem it worthwhile.

The Archduke Maximilian, of Austria, with his wife, and suite, arrived in Rome on the afternoon of Monday, April 18th, and left again, *en route* for Mexico, at 4 P. M. on the 20th. During his brief stay here, the Archduke was the guest of M. Gutierrez d'Estrada, for some years past a resident of Rome and chairman of the deputation which waited upon the Archduke at Miramar, to tender him the crown of Mexico.[15] On Tuesday the Archduke was formally received by the Holy Father and on the evening of the same day, M. d'Estrada, "by command of the Emperor and Empress of Mexico", invited the Diplomatic Corps, the Cardinals, the principal Roman nobility and many distinguished foreigners, now here, to visit "their Majesties". I was in some doubt as to the course which it was proper for me to pursue; but in the absence of any instructions, or information on the subject, from the State Department, and in view of the facts that all the Members of the Diplomatic Corps, now present in Rome, proposed to unite in paying, unofficially however, this visit of courtesy to the Austrian Prince, and that he had been formally received by the Government to which I was myself accredited, I decided to accept M. d'Estrada's invitation.

I was duly presented to the Archduke, in the course of the evening. He is an accomplished gentleman, conversing fluently in French, Italian and English; but he does not strike me as possessing sufficient force of

[15] Estrada, because of his anti-republican leanings, had suffered much under the Mexican president, Bustamente. For an account of the episode here given see L. F. Stock "The Empress of Mexico Visits Rome", in *America,* June 18, 1927. Robert Seton, later archbishop, a student in Rome at the time, refused, under threat of dismissal from his college, to accompany his companions to the reception given to Maximilian (*ibid.*).

character, or strength of intellect, to deal, successfully, with the difficult questions with which he will find his Mexican throne surrounded. The Archduchess is a lady of great personal attractions, varied accomplishments, and winning address. The Archduke received me with much cordiality and inquired, very particularly about the health of President Lincoln and the news from America.

Shortly after I parted with the Archduke, I met and conversed, for some time, with the French Ambassador, Count Sartiges. He adverted to the resolutions which had been introduced and the opinions expressed, in Congress and elsewhere, relative to the French protectorate of the new *régime* in Mexico, and seemed to think it not unnatural that such a condition of things should excite jealousies in the United States. He expressed the opinion, however, that when the character and purposes of the French protectorate came to be fully understood in the United States, these jealousies would disappear. "Mexico", he said, "under a stable government and settled rule, will become not only one of the richest and most productive countries in the world, but the very best customer the United States can have; and as for our protectorate, we shall be only too glad to withdraw entirely from there, the moment that Maximilian, accepted by the people of Mexico, assumes the crown and enters upon the discharge of his Imperial duties".

M. Ignacio Aguilar has been accredited and received, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Emperor of Mexico to the Papal Court and we have interchanged the customary official Courtesies. The health of the Pope is entirely restored. Political matters are quiet in Italy, tho' a good deal of feeling has been excited among the friends of the Papal Government, by the ovation paid to Garibaldi in England.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 9.

Department of State Washington 2nd May, 1864

Sir

The coming European steamer of the 16th of April has been announced at Halifax, but any despatches she brings cannot reach the Department until after the closing of the outgoing mail. There has been a high excitement in the money market, producing, of course, some uneasiness in regard to the fiscal condition of the Government. This uneasiness has impelled Congress to increase customs by fifty per cent, and it is stimulating that body to enact as speedily as possible the laws necessary for augmenting the internal revenue. The country responds cheerfully and quite unanimously to these healthful measures.

Advices received yesterday from Major General Banks and General Steele, are understood at the War Department as removing all ground for apprehension for the safety of the forces under their respective com-

mands in Louis[i]ana and Arkansas.[16] It is understood here that those forces were to be put in motion again on the 28th of April last.

Advices from North Carolina inform us that the insurgents have withdrawn from that State, and are joining the main rebel Army in Virginia. We learn, also, that the insurgent corps which has been operating against our lines in Alabama and Missis[s]ippi are now joining the main body in the vicinity of Atlanta in Georgia.

On our side there has been a noiseless but effective gathering of forces at the front, and the common expectation is that a collision may occur at any time. I hardly need say that our military authorities are satisfied with the position. We have accepted a contribution of 85,000 volunteers for one hundred days from the North-western States, to supply garrisons and leave the regular forces free for active operations in the field.

It is observed with great pain that the insurgents seem to have adopted as a principle the extermination of such of the colored troops as may fall into their hands as prisoners of war. If the anti-slavery sentiment of foreign nations has any sincerity, whatever, this atrocious principle cannot fail to be universally condemned and execrated.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 10.

Sir Legation of The United States At Rome, May 4th, 1864.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No: 7, bearing date April 6th, in reply to my communication of March 19th, embodying the substance of a conversation with Cardinal Antonelli, relative to the Pope's letter to Jefferson Davis.

I am requested by Mr Ardisson, who, for many years was, in various ways, connected with the American Legation in Rome, to forward, for the consideration of the Department, the accompanying documents, in support of his claim for compensation.[17] I know nothing, myself, as to the merits of the claim; but I understand, from Mr Ardisson, that it has been already brought to the knowledge of the State Department, by my immediate predecessor, Mr Blatchford, and a portion of it, I think, allowed.

I regret to say that the Pope is again suffering from sickness; his malady being of the same kind, tho' not as severe, as that which confined him to his room for several weeks preceding Easter. The advanced age of the Holy Father imparts a grave character to these repeated attacks.

Political matters here and throughout Italy, at the present time, are remarkably quiet and public interest centres in the proceedings and possible results of the Conference at London.

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[16] Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks was unsuccessful in the Red River expedition of 1864. Gen. Frederick Steele, who captured Arkansas Post in 1863, commanded a division at Vicksburg, and served at Little Rock and Mobile.

[17] Not found.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 11.

Legation of the United States At Rome, May 11th, 1864.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 8 from the State Department, under date of April 18th, in reply to mine of March 26th, asking permission to leave Rome during the heats of summer, with the view of visiting Switzerland. In deference to the wishes of the Department I cheerfully relinquish this purpose and will make my arrangements to spend the season in Rome, or its immediate vicinity.

I shall, in compliance with the instructions contained in the same despatch, make prompt and careful inquiry into the representations of Mr. Stillman, the American Consul here, reflecting upon the character of Mr. Hooker, as a loyal citizen and will report the result without delay, to the Department.

I have had occasion to call upon Cardinal Antonelli twice within the past week and was received by him with his accustomed cordiality. Our conversation turned mainly upon affairs in America, the Cardinal asking, with great apparent interest, for the latest news as to the progress of the war and reiterating the wish which he has heretofore expressed that God would be pleased to restore Peace to our country. I mentioned to the Cardinal that I had received a despatch from the State Department expressing the satisfaction with which our government had received the explanations he had given me as to the spirit and object of the Pope's letter to Jefferson Davis. He seemed to be much pleased with the information thus communicated.

I presented the Cardinal last week a letter from the Committee of the Sanitary Fair, about to be held in Pittsburg, soliciting the photographs and autographs of His Eminence, and of the Holy Father, as a contribution to that noble charity; and yesterday the Cardinal informed me that the Pope as well as himself would take great pleasure in complying with this request.

The Pope has recovered from his recent attack of illness, which was comparatively slight, and is again in the enjoyment of good health.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 10.

Department of State Washington, 16th May 1864

Sir

Your despatch of April 23d. No. 9 has been received.

I regret to learn from it that you thought it not improper to join the Diplomatic society at Rome in paying ceremonial courtesies to the Arch Duke Maximilian under the designation of Emperor of Mexico and also to the person whom he had named as Minister at Rome. To show you

how widely you misunderstood the views of this Government on that occasion, I send herewith a copy of an instruction which was given to Mr Dayton, our representative at Paris on the 30th day of April last, with reference to the line of duty he was expected to observe in relation to the Arch Duke before mentioned, in view of his then anticipated visit at Paris.[18] The President excuses the error on your part because you were unfortunately left without instructions. You will of course, quietly discontinue official relations with the representative of the Arch Duke at Rome, and will be expected to bear in mind hereafter that you can know no Government of any State but the one which is recognized by this Department, and that only agents of governments which are acknowledged here can be treated by you as representatives of foreign powers. It is hardly necessary to inform you that the United States do not hastily abandon old friends, although they may be unfortunate, nor is it conformable with their habits to make haste to acknowledge new revolutionary powers. While it will not be necessary for you to signalize this disapproval of your course by any demonstrations which would be offensive to the Arch Duke, or which would subject yourself to any feeling of discontent with yourself, it is nevertheless hoped that you will find some inoffensive way to correct the public mind at Rome in the sense of this despatch, so that our true and unchanged position in regard to Mexico may be understood there.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 12.

Legation of the United States At Rome, May 21st, 1864.

Sir

In conformity with the instructions contained in despatch No: 8, under date of April 18th, I have made inquiry touching the presentations transmitted to the Department of State, by Mr. W. I. Stillman, the American Consul here, reflecting seriously upon the character of Mr. Hooker, as a loyal citizen. Two days after the receipt of the despatch I addressed to Mr. Stillman a note of which the accompanying document, marked No: I, is a true copy; and, after a brief interval, I received from him the documents severally numbered 2, 3 and 4. These were next referred to Mr. Hooker for such reply as he might think fit to make; and the document marked no: 5, which I have this day received from him, is his answer to Mr. Stillman's accusation.

Mr. Hooker, it will be observed, utterly denies having made any such statement to Mr. Stillman as the latter asserts that he did; or any such application to Cardinal Antonelli, as that statement would imply. In this denial Mr. Hooker is fully sustained by His Eminence, who assured

[18] The instruction to Dayton, here referred to, is printed in *For. Rel.*, 1864, Pt. III, p. 80; see also *ibid.*, p. 45.

me, during a conversation I had with him on the subject, last Tuesday, that Mr. Hooker had never applied to him, in behalf of disloyal Americans, or asked for them any indulgence, or exemption from existing regulations, as to the *visas* of passports. The Cardinal added that he himself had granted police passports to such persons, on their own application, as he had done to citizens of Tuscany and other parts of Italy, now under the rule of Victor Emanuel, who did not acknowledge that monarch as their lawful sovereign; and that he extended such protection, in these and similar instances, in his capacity as territorial, or local governor, and without any design to call in question the authority of the Governments which those parties declined to recognize. His Eminence added that he hoped it would be possible, ere long, to relieve travellers from the trouble and annoyance of the passport system; and he further expressed the wish that I would take into my own hands the control of the matter, as it partook of a diplomatic character and the Consul was a commercial agent only; and as, moreover, the American Minister at the Papal Court was the only one who relinquished to the Consul the power of *visaing* passports. I repeat this last remark of the Cardinal's, not that I have any desire to interfere with Mr. Stillman's functions, or to trench upon his perquisites, but simply to apprize the Department of Cardinal Antonelli's own views on the subject.

Mr. Hooker's denial, sustained, as it is, by Cardinal Antonelli's assurance, leaves no doubt in my mind that Mr. Stillman was entirely mistaken in the representation he made to the Department, and that Mr. Hooker is guiltless of the offense laid to his charge. I am frank to say that I know of no foundation for the imputation of disloyalty. During all my intercourse with Mr. Hooker, in public and in private, as well as in our official interviews with the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State, he has been as earnest and outspoken, in his sentiments of devotion to the Government and the Union, as the most loyal American could desire. Nor has he shown his patriotism in words only, having contributed liberally to the Sanitary Fairs held in Boston and New York during the current season. I have only to add that I have never, during my five month's residence in Rome, heard Mr. Hooker's loyalty questioned, or his patriotism impeached, by any American except Mr. Stillman. What those Americans who were here "during the two previous winters", may have to say on the subject, I cannot, of course, conjecture, but my predecessor, Mr. Blatchford, who was here in 1862-'63 and in intimate personal and official relations with Mr. Hooker and who, in November last, recommended Mr. H. to me, in the strongest terms, as a useful, zealous and reliable counsellor for the American Minister in Rome, can doubtless furnish the Department with the fullest and most satisfactory information in the premises. And in this connection I beg leave to call attention to the accompanying extracts, marked nos: 6 and 7, from two letters written by Mr. Hooker to Mr. Blatchford, last fall, upon the very

matter which forms the groundwork of Mr. Stillman's complaint. They set forth, quite clearly, the motives for Mr. Hooker's action and the result attained. The originals, I presume, are still in the possession of Mr. Blatchford.

(*Copy No. 1.*)

RUFUS KING TO W. J. STILLMAN. U. S. CONSUL.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES ROME, May 10th, 1864.

Sir

By an official communication which I have just received from Washington, I am apprized that you have made "representations concerning Mr. Hooker, which seriously reflect upon his character as a loyal citizen", and I am instructed by the Hon: the Secretary of State "to make careful inquiry upon the subject and report the result to the Department."

In order to make such inquiry I beg leave to ask that you will, at your earliest convenience, furnish me with a copy, or the substance of these representations and of the evidence which you may have to sustain them. When received, I propose to submit them to Mr. Hooker and call upon him for such reply, or rebutting testimony, as he may think fit to produce; and shall then, in obedience to my instructions, transmit to the State Department, both accusation and answer with such comments of my own as I may feel called upon to make.

[*No. 2.*]

W. J. STILLMAN TO RUFUS KING.

U. S. CONSULATE ROME May 13th. 1864

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of yours of May 10th. inst, asking "for a copy of the substance of the representations I have made" to the Secretary of State and "for any evidence I may have to maintain them" etc. etc.

In response to your invitation I beg to enclose a copy of my dispatch to which I presume allusion is made by the Secretary of State and my deposition sustaining it. I rest my case there but if you consider it advisable to go beyond the question involved in these papers to a general examination as to the loyalty of Mr. Hooker I do not see that I am called on by the circumstances to make the effort to get up the testimony. Whatever lies reasonably in my convenience to do I am willing to do but I submit that since the commission to make the examination is issued to you that upon you depends the responsibility of investigating the matter, and I am certain that by a careful inquiry among the American residents and visitors at Rome especially those of the two previous winters, if such examination shall be conducted in an impartial spirit and with a full determination to arrive at the real truth in the matter such as I feel certain you will be annimated by, you will arrive at the conclusion that Mr. Hooker has placed himself in such opposition to the government as to say the least is ordinarily considered as disqualifying for connection with government offices.

I have heard many complaints of Mr Hooker's language with regard to American Affairs both from persons now in Rome and others who are in America at present, but of course I cannot give their names to be used in the manner you suggest without their permission which if I can obtain I will place their names at your disposal but more than this my official and other occupations will not justify me in promising. And if I might make a suggestion it would be that as you are not able to make testimony obligatory you will find persons who might have it to

give, unwilling to run the risk of involving themselves in difficulty with Mr. Hooker in such a matter and therefore indisposed to testify openly, but this for your consideration not mine.

[*No. 3.*]

I the undersigned U. S. Consul at Rome being duly sworn do depose and say as follows: that on or about the 17th. day of Dec. 1863 I was informed by a commissionaire of the Hotel de Londres that he had been informed by Mr. Hooker of the firm of Packenham Hooker and Co. Rome, that there was no longer any necessity of the consular visa on the passports of Americans leaving Rome, and that knowing that the law of Rome insists on such visa as a condition of obtaining the permission of the police authorities to leave Rome, I called on Mr. Hooker to ascertain if he had given any such information. In reply to my inquiry he replied that on behalf of certain persons who professed an unwillingness to take the oath of allegiance, he had applied to the Cardinal secretary of State asking that such might be excepted from the operation of the law requiring the consular visa of the U. S. consulate at this place, and that in correspondence with this request, the consulate of the U. S. had been excepted from the requirements of the law relating to visas; that thereupon I had made application to the Governor of Rome Director of the Police for information in the matter and he informed me that on a request from an official representative of the U. S. the law had been suspended so far as the U. S. consulate was concerned on account of the reluctance of southern citizens to have recourse to the consulate, information which has since been confirmed by a despatch from the above mentioned official which despatch will be forwarded to the U. S. Government with the correspondence to which it belongs.

W. J. Stillman
U. S. Consul Rome

Subscribed and sworn to before me, U. S. Minister resident near the Holy Seat this 13th. day of May 1864

Rufus King
Minister Resident

(*Copy No. 4.*)

W. J. Stillman to William H. Seward.

U. S. Consulate Rome Dec. 19th. 1863

Sir:

I am informed by Mr. J. C. Hooker now acting as Secretary of Legation near this Government that on his application on behalf of persons indisposed to recognize the authority of the United States Government though travelling with old passports issued by it, that the Roman authorities have consented that all such persons may be permitted to leave freely without recourse to this consulate either for renewal of passport or visa.

May I ask if such application has the approval of the Department as the act of a person pretending to represent the United States and actually allowed to retain the arms and authority of the Legation.

[*No. 5.*]

James Clinton Hooker to Rufus King.

Rome, 18th May, 1864

Sir

I beg to acknowledge receipt from you of *1st* a copy of a letter addressed to Hon. W. H. Seward Secty of State of the U. S. under date 19th Dec last by Mr. W. J. Stillman, U. S. Consul Rome.

2d A declaration sworn to before you under date 13th Inst. by the same Mr. Stillman.

3d A letter addressed by him to you under same date which documents seriously impeach my honor and loyalty.

I now solemnly deny the statement contained in the first—That I have told Mr. Stillman that I had made an application—or that I have ever made an application to the Roman Authorities "In behalf of persons indisposed to recognize the authority of the United States Government though travelling with old passports in order that such persons might be permitted to leave without recourse to the U. S. Consulate for renewal of passport or visa."

I will now state what I did do in the matter and what I did state to Mr. Stillman. Being the recognized representative of the U. S. in Rome, and knowing that several well known Secessionists who had come to Rome with American passports had been permitted to leave without recourse to the U. S. Consul, and, having been asked why it was so—I felt it my duty to see the Cardinal Secty of State on the subject and without mentioning to his Emminence that I knew persons had left without the visa—I asked him why Americans could not leave Rome without the Consul's visa. He replied they could, that there was not the slightest objection on his part that the asking the visa was a guaranteeing on his part of the nationality of a person into another country which he did not undertake to do—I was surprised and saw the visa exacted was an imposition and told his Emminence that the Roman Government had the odium among Americans of exacting it. I had two interviews with him on this and other matters and He told me in the last one that He would speak to Monsignor Matteucci on the subject whom I did not know—and He did so.[19]

Some time after this, Mr. Stillman called on me and asked me if Americans could go away from Rome without His visa. I repeated to him the substance of the foregoing telling him that where foreign representatives required his visa on persons He would have to give it.

Had Cardinal Antonelli said Americans could not go away I purposed asking him why He had permitted some to do so.

The Cardinal can answer to the verity of my statement. Regarding Mr. Stillmans assertions in his letter to you of what "persons said of me two winters ago or would say now" without giving their names I cannot admit them as evidence against me. I am ready to bring witnesses as to my loyalty to my Country.

(*Copy No. 6.*)

J. C. Hooker to Richard M. Blatchford.

Rome 21st November 1863.

My dear Mr. Blatchford.

I met a few days since Dr. Smith coming out of the Hotel d'Angleterre; we had a little conversation regarding the resignation of your goodself, and the appointment of Mr. King. He appeared annoyed and said he thought the Government would not like such frequent changes. I thought over his words, and decided on calling on His Emminence the Cardinal Antonelli, and informing him of the change. This I did on Tuesday last. He shewed no feeling on the matter and was very pleasant. He sent his kind regards to you and Mrs. Blatchford. I told him that Mr. King was originally named here and would have come before, had he not thought his services of more value to the Government in the Army. The Cardinal expressed his wish that the war was ended, in which I heartily coincided.

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[19] Mgr. Antonio Mateucci was director-general of police. *Annuario Pontifico,* 1864, p. 423.

He touched on the slavery question, and said that He as a Catholic must wish that slavery was abolished, but that it must be by slow degrees. That he could not recommend sudden abolition of it, I nodded consent; when he at once said: I recommended the Arch Duchess Helen of Russsia when here, at the time the liberation of the serfs was under discussion in Russia, that the liberation should be by slow degrees.

As Americans have come to Rome with the American passports, who have declined getting Mr. Stillman's visé, have been allowed to depart, I asked his Emminence why all could not do so, He replied, they can. He said we do not require it, If an American going to France for example, can enter France without the Consul's visé, all very well, we have nothing to do with that; and we are willing they should go without the Consul's visé on our part; I was quite surprised. Some few days since A. Dudley Mann and son arrived here. Mr. M is a well known Southerner, I have not seen him; some two or three days since the son left in the Railway train going to Civitavecchia, He told Mr. Welby [20] that his father had been appointed Minister from the Confederate States to his Holiness, and that he and his father had had an interview with him. On hearing this I yesterday paid a visit to his Emminence the Cardinal and told him what I had heard of Mr. Mann's reception.

He then said Mr. Mann had not been received as Minister, and *indeed had brought no credentials as such.*

That Mr. Mann had brought a letter from President Davis, thanking his Holiness, for having written a letter to the *Northern Bishops,* recommending *Peace.*

I observed that he did not say *Southern Bishops,* but as he has heretofore in speaking of the letter said Northern and Southern, it may have been a *lapsus linguae.*

He said Mr. Mann desired of him an audience simply of his Holiness which was granted. I understand however that Mr. Mann purposes spending the winter here and doubt not that He will be reported in the place as Minister. I told his Emminence that I was certain our Government would feel injured were a Confederate Minister to be received here. He said, oh there is nothing of the sort. I then told him that I did not know the chief of the Police, who I believed required the U. S. Consuls visé on passports, on persons going away from Rome, He said I will make a note and speak to him on the subject.

I do not expect a vote of thanks from Mr. Stillman for relieving Americans from the fee he has hitherto exacted. An American can now go from the U. S. to England, through France into Italy without a passport; but if he wishes to come to Rome or go to Austria or some other countries, He must have a Visé from the representatives of those countries, and they require a visé of the U. S. Consul. As the case will now be I can go to Florence or Naples, with the visé of the Police and not that of the U. S. Consul.

I purpose next week having another interview with his Emminence, when I shall explain that the liberation of the slaves in the South so far, is a *Military measure,* and I shall also see if the letter Davis wrote, was thanking his Holiness for writing Northern Bishops.

I am excessively sorry that the President did not remain firm on the slavery question, according to his inaugural speech. A Kentucky priest has been writing a series of articles in the *Osservatore Romano* saying that the party in ascendancy in the U. S. is the one that favors Garibaldi, Kossuth, the radicals all over the world, in fact the confederates have had for allies the most conservative part of the people all over Europe, and I endeavour to counteract this influence all I can.

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[20] Concerning Welby see Stockton to Cass, No. 21, *ante,* p. 179.

The paper above mentioned favors favors [*sic*] the South it takes its cue from French papers.

I shall be very careful in all I say with the Cardinal, and shall say but little, only asking for such information as our Government ought to receive, and represent the war we are in as a Holy one on our part. I am called away at this moment, but will add a few lines before the mail closes.

(*Copy of Extract No. 7.*)

J. C. HOOKER TO RICHARD M. BLATCHFORD.

ROME 2 December 1864.[21]

My dear Mr. Blatchford:

I had this pleasure on the 21st Ult and now write to give you the result of an interview I had yesterday with his Emminence the Cardinal Antonelli.

On meeting him in his room I told him, I wished to ask him one or two questions. The first was if His Holiness had written more than one letter to the Bishops in the U. S. He said no; and that one had been lost and did not come to light for some months after it was written. I told him no notice had been taken of it in the Correspondence of the Government with this Legation. He said He did not expect it, at [as] it was not addressed to the Government. That copy had evidently been given to Mr. Davis, who had sent a letter of thanks by Mr. Mann. He said his Holiness, had been instigated to write the letter, in order to put a stop to the dreadful "Carneficina" Butchery, which was going on. I then referred to the slavery question, as he had in the former conversation expressed his ideas against immediate emancipation.

I commenced and told him of the Missouri compromise, that the South, with a party in the North had rescinded it, what the bearing had been in former years of this Law; I told him that the Confederates had used Negroes in their Army; and that we now did so, that the few who had been liberated had been so because they had done good service, and that it would be unjust to return them to Slavery. I told him that if the South, chose to lay down their arms, the States could retain their slaves. That four States, who had slaves remained in the Union, and that the loyal men retained their slaves. That there was a strong feeling against slavery in the Northern States, but that years would be given if it could be done away with.

The Cardinal said Mr. Mason had told him, the South was willing to do away with slavery but by slow degrees, That if the South emancipated them at once, a war of races would commence, I told him this slow emancipation view was a new one in the South; That all the principal leaders of the Rebellion held slavery to be the corner stone of their existence, and that I could shew him speeches of all of them to this effect, and that Mr. Mann, was trying to get up simpathy [*sic*] for his cause; The Cardinal said he was aware of it; and has evidently not taken much to heart what Mr. Mann said.

I will premise by saying I told his Emminence that I was not talking officially *i. e.* that I had had no instructions, to speak to him about the letter of Mr. Mann. He repeated that Mr. Mann had brought no credentials from Mr. Davis. . . .[22]

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[21] Since this letter was an enclosure in King's of May 21, 1864, the date is obviously incorrect. It must have been written Dec. 2, 1863, or Jan. 2, 1864, probably in 1863, since King says in his covering letter that Nos. 6 and 7 are extracts "from two letters written by Mr. Hooker to Mr. Blatchford, last fall".

[22] May 22, 1864, Blatchford, former minister, and Robert B. Minturn wrote Seward to the effect that the charges against Hooker were groundless.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 13.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, May 28th, 1864

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No: 9, bearing date May 2nd, and containing a very satisfactory resumé of the Military and financial situation in the United States. I shall take an early opportunity of communicating this intelligence to Cardinal Antonelli and, at the same time, of calling his attention to the atrocious principle which the insurgents seem to have adopted in their treatment of such of our colored troops as may fall into their hands thro' the chances of war.

The loyal Americans in Rome have been watching, with intense anxiety, during the past week, for the latest war news from America. Most of the telegraphic despatches published in the Roman papers come thro' unfriendly sources and very rarely give truthful representations of events in the United States. Any check, or disaster to the Federal arms is made the most of, while Confederate defeats and losses are toned down as much as possible. Hence, it is not until the mails bring us our letters and papers from the U. S., that we get authentic intelligence of the progress and incidents of the great struggle. Thus, we are, as yet, without any reliable details of Gen: Grant's operations in Virginia; tho' even from the partial and garbled accounts furnished by the Roman press, we derive the gratifying assurance that the movements of our illustrious Lieut-General have been crowned with signal success and warrant the hope and belief that this wicked war against the Government and the Union is drawing rapidly to a close. May God speed the happy day!

The health of the Pope is restored and he appeared in public at the festival of Corpus Domini,[23] on Thursday last.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 11.

Department of State Washington, May 31, 1864

Sir

Referring to the instruction addressed to you on the 18th ultimo, No. 8 I herewith enclose a copy of a communication dated the 29th of last month from Mr. Stillman, Consul at Rome, and also of a memorandum which has been left at the Department by a person of high position, concerning the alleged disloyalty of Mr. J. C. Hooker and the impropriety of his being in any way connected with the Legation at Rome.[24]

[23] Corpus Christi.

[24] Enclosures not found, but see note 22, *ante*, and appended letter of June 8.

J. C. Hooker to William H. Seward.

Rome, 8th June, 1864

Dear Sir

I beg to trespass on your time for a few moments, and to bring a matter under your consideration which is of the highest importance to me. Some two years since while I was in the U. S. Mr Stillman the U. S. Consul in this city took the Consulate to an Italian Banking House and commenced talking against me saying I wished to obtain his Consulship, this you are aware is untrue. I have up to the receipt by Genl King of the letter from the State Department calling upon the Genl to investigate charges of disloyalty made by Mr Stillman against me, treated him with courtesy, and respect, and refrained from speaking of, or about him, to any one—not desiring to give him the importance of a quarrel[.] Were his words and influence confined to the residents of Rome and those who know me—I should not trouble you with this letter. But He is in the habit of speaking of me to strangers, and others, not able to judge of me, in a manner that calls for redress.

He is an educated, and plausible man living in a humble manner in which there is nothing wrong, but He enlists the sympathy of those who are not acquainted with his peculiar character.

I know that He has spoken to two of U. S. Minister Residents abroad—who seeing him in his official character think his words worthy of confidence and I doubt not an impression injurious to me rests on their minds.

I am ready to meet any charges of disloyalty that may be made against me—but they must be made clear before me. I deny that I in my manner or conversation generally lead people to suppose that I do not wish heartily the cause of the Union. I have never belonged to the Democratic party nor have I any sympathy with the Copperhead party. I have lived many years abroad and have ever felt proud of my country and have felt and do feel deeply the heavy troubles that are upon her.

I confess that in the early stages of the war I felt indignant at the want of support of the ultra republican and Abolition parties to the Government—and I doubt not I may have expressed these feelings and perhaps sometimes warmly never however in a sense that would shew that I was in anyway hostile to the Union. I should have been untrue to myself had I done so—If testimony is required of my loyalty those with whom I am most intimate will cheerfully give it.

Mr Stillmans business relations do not give me any inconvenience but I think you will agree with me—that a man who is treating me as He does is not worthy of holding a place under the U. S. Government.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 13[14?].

Legation of The United States At Rome, June 10, 1864

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of despatch No: 10, dated May 16, in reply to mine of April 23rd, making mention of the Archduke Maximilian's brief visit to Rome and of the circumstances under which, in common with the other members of the Diplomatic Corps at the Papal Court, I called upon him during his sojourn here. I regret that, in the absence of any instructions, or information on the subject, from the State Department, I was led into the error to which your despatch adverts.

Had I been earlier in possession of the views now communicated I should have refrained from paying even this unofficial compliment to the so-called Emperor of Mexico. I shall of course take care to correct, in some proper way, any false impression, as to the position of the American Government on this question, which my action may possibly have created.

The recent intelligence from home, as to the progress of the campaign in Virginia and Georgia, is received by all loyal Americans in Rome, with the most profound gratification. It is their ardent hope and earnest prayer that the God of battles may crown, with signal and permanent success, the arms and cause of the Union.

Some slight political demonstrations were made in Rome on the evening of the 6th. instant—being the Anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution in the new Kingdom of Italy—by the partisans of Victor Emanuel and the friends of Italian Unity; but they were speedily suppressed by the Papal police. With these trifling exceptions, nothing has occurred to disturb the peace and quiet of the city.

Notwithstanding many and frequent rumors to the contrary, the Sovereign Pontiff seems to have fully recovered from his late attack of illness and it is thought that he will soon remove to his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo, about 15 miles from Rome, among the Alban hills.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.

ROME, June 11th 1864.

My dear Governor

I wrote, officially, under date of May 21st, in reference to the charges, or representations made by Mr. Stillman, the American Consul here, against Mr. J. C. Hooker. I desire now to add a few words, unofficially, on the same subject; as I think Mr. Hooker entitled to something more than a mere formal certificate of "good character" at my hands. It is rather hard for an American gentleman, residing and doing business in Rome for a number of years past, but maintaining, all the while, the closest relations with his own country and countrymen and manifesting the warmest interest in the good name and welfare of the Republic, to find himself accused, at the State Department, of disloyalty! I have already expressed my "official" opinion as to the truth of this accusation and I wish to say that my private opinion is to the same effect. There is not the slightest foundation for the charge. Mr. Hooker has done no act, nor uttered any sentiment, to which the least taint of disloyalty can attach. I know of no American in Rome, or elsewhere, whose sympathies are more heartily with the cause of the union, or who takes a more lively interest in the successful prosecution of the war. Nor does he hide his light under a bushel. He omits no proper occasion, public or private, to

make known his opinions on this subject and to vindicate the action of the American People and Government in regard to the wanton and wicked rebellion of the Southern Slaveholders. I trust that his letter, which accompanies this, and the assurances you have received from other quarters, will dispel all doubts, if any doubts there be.[25]

I am sorry that I was not sooner advised of the views of the State Department in regard to the Archduke Maxmilian. Having no instructions on the subject I followed the lead of other and older *diplomats* here, who, like myself, had received no intimation, from their respective governments as to the course which they were expected to pursue. Thus far, only *three* of the European Governments have "recognized" the new "Emperor of Mexico": to wit, France, Spain and Austria; and the representatives of Prussia, Saxony, Belgium, and here, seemed to regard our joint call on the Archduke as an unofficial courtesy. Indeed, in the invitation sent out to all of us by M. d'Estrada, it was expressly put on that footing.

Rome is very quiet, the mass of visitors, many of the Diplomatic Corps having "emigrated", for the summer months, to other parts. The Pope is expected to take up his residence, for a month or two, at Castel Gandolfo; but he will hardly leave Rome until after S. Peter's Day, the 29 inst. We have very pleasant apartments for the warm weather and shall try to make ourselves comfortable.

Mrs. King desires to be most kindly remembered to Mrs. Fred. Seward and all others of your household.

Mr. Green Clay, Secretary of Legation at Turin, has been here for three weeks past, suffering from fever. Thanks to the care and skill of your old friend, Dr. Valery, he is now convalescent and leaves, to-day, for Turin.

Political matters are very quiet, throughout the Papal States, nor do I think that there is any probability of serious disturbance while the present Pontiff, who is very popular, occupies the Chair of S. Peter.

We read, with intense interest, the glowing details of Grant's magnificent campaign and heartily pray that a decisive victory will crown the Union Arms and put an end to this accursed Rebellion. The fighting qualities displayed by our troops in Virginia have made a wonderful impression upon the public mind in Europe and effectually cooled the belligerent propensities of some of our enemies on this side of the water.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. NO. 15.

Sir LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, June 22nd, 1864

Friday last, the 17th. inst., was the 18th. Anniversary of the elevation of the present Pontiff to the Chair of St. Peter; and, as is customary, all

[25] See enclosure No. 5, appended to King's despatch No. 12, *ante*.

the Members of the Diplomatic Corps, remaining in Rome, called, in turn, upon the Holy Father, to offer him their congratulations on this auspicious occasion. I had the honor of an interview with his Holiness on Monday and met with a very kind reception. The Pope was looking remarkably well and seemed in excellent spirits. He adverted to the news from America which he appeared to regard as decidedly favorable to the Federal cause and he expressed the hope that these continued successes would speedily lead to Peace. He could see, he added, that the interference, or proffered mediation of powerful nations, like England, or France, would not be acceptable to the United States; and that such an offer could only come from some inferior power. I told him that we, too, cherished the hope that the success of the Federal arms would put an early close to the war and that we ardently prayed for the restoration of Peace and Union.

I availed myself of the opportunity to thank his Holiness for the autographs and photographs which he had kindly transmitted, thro' me, to the Sanitary Fair Committee in Pittsburg, and I assured him that our poor sick and wounded soldiers would not soon forget his goodness. He remarked upon the fact that, with all the other claims upon their purses, our people had been able to raise such vast sums of money for the Sanitary Commission. It illustrated, he thought, the general wealth, as well as the pervading spirit, of the country.

After taking my leave of the Pope, I called, in conformity with Diplomatic usage, upon the Cardinal Secretary of State. His Eminence received me with his accustomed cordiality and we conversed for some minutes about American affairs. I learned from the Cardinal that the Pope intended leaving Rome for his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo during the first week in July and would probably remain there until some time in August.

An unwonted incident, which occurred several days since, has created a good deal of sensation in Rome. Cardinal Andrea, a Sicilian by birth, who owes his elevation to the present Pontiff, left Rome on Thursday last for the Neapolitan dominions. He had applied to the Pope for the permission to go, but failing to obtain it, had departed on his own responsibility. On crossing the frontier he was received by a guard of honor and by the prefect of Naples, who had come out to meet him, showing that his arrival was expected. As no Cardinal can leave Rome without the consent of the Sovereign Pontiff and as, in this case, permission had been twice asked for and as often refused, for reasons of State, the lapse of Cardinal Andrea is regarded as a serious one. It is, I understand, the first defection of a Cardinal under the present Pontificate.[26]

[26] The sad case of Cardinal Girolamo d'Andrea is stated by De Cesare, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-330. He was suspended by the Pope in 1865, but in Jan., 1868, Pius IX accepted his retraction and reinstated the cardinal in his offices. Four months later he died.

On Sunday last, 19th. instant, telegraphic despatches from Paris announced the sinking of the notorious Corsair *Alabama* by the Federal sloop of war *Kearsa[r]ge,* off the coast of France. The news gave great satisfaction to the loyal Americans in Rome.

J. C. Hooker to William H. Seward.

Rome, 24th June, 1864

Dear Sir

I had this pleasure on the 8th Inst since which Genl King has shewn me a copy of another letter of Mr Stillmans to the State Department and a memorandum left with the Department.

The memorandum is made up from information made up by Mr Stillman.

It is true I place on my card that I am Secretary of Legation—for I really am so, but am not recognized by our Government except in a *quasi* manner.

Mr Blatchford felt that the affairs of the U. S. Legation would be more properly attended to in my hands than in those of Mr Stillman. He wrote for permission to leave them in my hands and it was accorded to him by the Government.

I deny having assisted disloyal people—and call for proofs.

The Roman Government gave permission to Southerners who had come here with U. S. passports, to go away without getting the Consuls Visà. This looked like injustice. Not desiring to raise any question—not saying to the Cardinal I knew persons were going away without the Consuls Visa —I asked him why the Visa was required on passports of persons leaving. He said the Government did not. He said He did not guarantee parties into another country—That the system was an abuse of Consuls a question of money. He has expressed all this to Genl King since.

You will please imagine what a grievance it would be if every U. S. Consul abroad should request the Police of his jurisdiction not to allow an American to leave without his Visà. I now beg to inform you that I have not made it known to travellers in general that they could leave without the Consuls Visà. I did not advertise it out of purely humane reasons to Mr Stillman thinking it would look and being sure He would make it appear that I was vindictive and wished to take away his fees.

He has continued to Visa passports all winter knowing very well that His Visà was not required—and representing only disloyal persons could go without His Visà. It is only lately that this has come to my knowledge —or I should have taken measures to place the matter in its right light.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 16.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, June 25th, 1864

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 11, from the State Department, bearing date May 31st, and enclosing, 1st: " A memorandum which has been left at the Department by a person in high position, concerning the alleged disloyalty of Mr. J. C. Hooker and the impropriety of his being in any way connected with the Legation at Rome," and, 2nd: a copy of " a communication, dated April 29th, from Mr. Stillman, U. S. Consul at Rome ", containing similar reflections upon the character of Mr. Hooker and complaining of his annoying interference in the business of the Consulate. Before proceeding to reply, as I propose to do, specifically, to the allegations contained in these two documents, I would respectfully suggest that it seems to me a matter of courtesy, as well as right, that when any " person in high position ", visiting Rome, hears of something wrong in the management of the Legation, the attention of the the Minister here should be promptly called to it and the opportunity afforded him to inquire into and correct the alleged wrong. In the case of the Consul, the obligation is still stronger, he being subordinate to the Minister and in the transaction of all official business required to address, thro' him, the government of the country in which such Consul resides. I refer to this matter the more particularly because, if either Mr. Stillman, or " the person in high position ", had addressed to me any communication, or complaint, on the subject of their respective notes to the State Department, I could have at once satisfied them, on the very best authority, that of Cardinal Antonelli, that they were both entirely in error.

In my despatch No: 12, dated May 21st, I gave, at length, the conclusions at which I had arrived, after careful inquiry into the charges preferred by Mr. Stillman against Mr. Hooker and called to my notice in despatch No: 8 from the State Department. To those conclusions I unhesitatingly adhere. I am entirely confident that there is no foundation for the complaints which have been so persistently urged. I desire, however, to advert more particularly, to one or two points in the memorandum and letter transmitted by the State Department. It is objected, in the former, to Mr. Hooker, that " he is said to style himself Secretary of Legation and to put this on his card ", and all without proper authority. Mr. Hooker owes his *quasi* official position here to my immediate predecessor, Mr. Blatchford, by whom he was appointed; that appointment, as I understand, having been duly communicated to and approved by the Home Government. When Mr. Blatchford left Rome, in the Spring of 1863, he entrusted the affairs of the Legation to Mr. Hooker and on my arrival here, last winter, I found him in the authorized discharge of that trust. The only effect of the designation " Private Secretary ", or " Secretary of Legation ", is to give Mr. Hooker the *entrée* to the Diplomatic circle and

the offices of the Papal Government and thereby enable him to be of material service to the Minister Resident, as he has constantly been to me. The title is no otherwise important and constitutes no claim, of course, upon the Federal Government, or the State Department. Such is the extent of the irregularity complained of.

The memorandum proceeds: " it is said that he (Mr. Hooker) is only semi-loyal, or, at least, that he does not sympathise with the policy of the Administration; that he has been heard to wish that ' all Abolitionists could be hung '; that he has, on a certain occasion, favored people who refused to take the oath of allegiance; that he has been called, in a letter from Rome, a bitter opponent of the Administration and a devotee of the Copper god "; and, finally, " our Minister to Rome " is indirectly, but unmistakeably censured for the selection of such a person to fill an office of trust and confidence. I do not know by whom all these things are " said ", or written; but I take upon myself the full responsibility of pronouncing each and every one of them—with an exception to be presently noted—unjust and untrue. I beg to assure the Department, as well as the author of the memorandum, that I should be the last man to select, as agent, secretary, or associate, any one who did not heartily and earnestly sympathize " with my country and its cause in its present contest with Slavery." I know Mr. Hooker to be thoroughly loyal, to sympathize entirely with the policy of the Administration and to detest " the Copper god " and all his " devotees " as heartily as I do. I know that he did *not,* " on a certain occasion, favor people who had refused to take the oath of allegiance "; but that his action, as will further appear, was precisely in the opposite sense. Finally, as to wishing that " all the abolitionists could be hung ", Mr. Hooker very frankly admits that when the news of the disaster at Fredericksburg arrived here and it was currently reported and generally believed that this action had been precipitated and the Government, urged on, against its better judgment, to a sanguinary and fruitless battle, by the persistent demands of the " ultra abolitionists ", he *did* give utterance to some such sentiment. I am free to say that I heard similar expressions in Washington, about the same time and under the like belief, from the lips of some of the best soldiers in the service and the most loyal friends of the Country and the Government. But in the one case, as in the other, the sentiment sprung, not from *dis*-loyal feelings, but from earnest and heart-felt sympathy with the policy and purposes of the Administration and marked distrust of those who, from whatever views or motives, were thwarting and embarassing its operations. Thus much for the " memorandum "; I desire to add a few words about Mr. Stillman's letter.

This gentleman begins by complaining that Mr. Hooker, " assuming official relations " and acting " avowedly in the interest of certain disloyal persons " here, had " negotiated for and obtained the annulling of that provision in the laws of Rome requiring the *visas* of Consuls," etc. By

reference to my despatch No: 12, of May 21st, it will be seen that I have Cardinal Antonelli's own authority for giving the most explicit contradiction to this charge. Instead of interfering "in the interest of *dis*loyal persons", it was in behalf of the *loyal* Americans in Rome that Mr. Hooker acted and for whom he obtained precisely the same exemption which had already been accorded to the others. The Cardinal's views, as to the necessity of requiring any *visas,* or even passports, accorded with my own. It will be a happy relief for travellers when the entire system is abolished. I will not waste time upon Mr. Stillman's charges against Mr. Hooker, of "notorious disloyalty", of "exerting all his influence public and private, against the government", etc. etc.; since I have already fully answered them and have only to repeat once more, in the most emphatic manner, that they are without the shadow of foundation. Mr. Stillman speaks, however, of his "protest to the Minister of the U. S. here" having been "disregarded." I have only to say that I have never received *any* "protest", or communication on this subject, from Mr. Stillman, save the one, already forwarded to the State Department, in answer to a letter of inquiry from me. If, under such circumstances, he finds himself constrained, "by the irregular and annoying state of the relations between the Legation and the Consulate", to ask "to be transferred to some other post", I beg to say that while I am not, myself, conscious of either "irregularity", or "annoyance", in the "relations" referred to, I have no objections to urge against the request. I say this in no unkind or unfriendly spirit to Mr. Stillman, with whom I have always been on pleasant terms, but because, after what has transpired, I presume that his continued residence here would not be agreeable to him.[27]

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 17.

Legation of the United States At Rome, July 16, 1864.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 12, from the State Department, under the date of June 23rd., in answer to my several despatches of May 4th, 11th, 21st, and 28th; and conveying a general approval of my proceedings, as therein narrated.

Since my despatch of June 25th., nothing has transpired in Rome calling for special comment. The Pope, contrary to expectation, has not yet gone to his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo. He is reluctant, it is said, to leave the Vatican. The health of the Sovereign Pontiff continues excellent.

I was honored, a few days since, with a formal call from the Ambassador of the Emperor of Mexico at the Holy See. I thought the oppor-

[27] Edwin C. Cushman succeeded Stillman in Feb., 1865.

tunity a fitting one, in conformity with the instructions contained in your despatch of May 16th, to apprise the Mexican Envoy that, under existing circumstances, I was not at liberty to enter into relations with the representative of a Government not yet recognized by my own. I have the honor to enclose a copy of the correspondence which passed between us on this occasion.

I.

(*Copy.*)

Le Ministre Resident des Etats Unis d' Amérique présente ses respects à son Excellence l'Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plenipotentiare de l'Empereur de Mexique près le Saint Siège, et le remercie de l'honneur que son Excellence lui a fait en lui laissant ses cartes. Le Ministre des Etats Unis serait très heureux de pouvoir changer cette politesse, mais des instructions récentes ne lui permettent pas d'entrer en rélations avec le representant d'un gouvernement qui n'a pas encore été reconnu par le sien.

Le Ministre des Etats Unis saisit cette occasion pour assurer son excellence de sa haute et parfaite consideration.

ROME, 4 Juillet, 1864.

II.

(*Copy.*)

Le Ministre Plenipotentiare du Mexique a reçu la note verbale que son Excellence le Ministre Resident des Etats Unis d'Amérique lui a fait l'honneur de lui envoyer pour lui faire savoir que des instructions récentes de son Gouvernment défendent à son Excellence d'entrer en relations avec le representant d'un Gouvernment qui n'a pas encore été reconnue par le sien.

Le Ministre de Mexique, en remerciant son Excellence le Ministre des Etats Unis des expressions de politesse que son Excellence s'est daignée de lui addresser à cette occasion, manifeste à son Excellence la peine avec laquelle il a été instruit de dites instructions, qu'il doit faire parvenir à la connaissance de son souverain. Le Ministre du Mexique profite de cette occasion pour presenter ses respects a son Excellence et l'assurer de sa haute consideration.

ROME, 8 Juillet, 1864.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. NO. 14.[28]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, July 19th, 1864.

Sir:

This Department has been informed by a gentleman of high standing in Canada, that there is a person in Montreal who has in his possession a recognition of the so-called Southern Confederacy by the Pope, written on parchment. Though this statement is incredible in itself, and improbable from circumstances attending it, it is still deemed worthy of a categorical inquiry of Cardinal Antonelli. This you will consequently make,

[28] No. 12, June 23, gave general approval of King's actions as reported in despatches Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13, and said that Ardisson's accounts had been referred to the proper accounting bureau. No. 13, July 16, acknowledged receipt of King's private communication of June 10.

but in a way not to allow an impression that the statement is believed. If however, contrary to any reasonable expectation the statement should be confirmed by the Cardinal's answer, you will express the regret of this Government at this proceeding, which must compel a suspension at least of diplomatic intercourse between the two Governments. To this end you will request your passport and will retire to Switzerland or such other quarter as you may think proper, and will there await the further instructions of the Department.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 18.

Legation of the United States At Rome, July 30th, 1864.

Sir

Nothing has occurred, since my last despatch, calling for special mention, save the removal of the Pope to his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo. His Holiness took possession of his apartments at that place, on the 19th. instant; and proposes to remain there until some time in September. The health of the Sovereign Pontiff continues excellent.

During the absence of the Pope from Rome, Cardinal Antonelli, for the more convenient transaction of business, takes up his residence in the Quirinal Palace. Receiving official notice from him of this change, I called upon the Cardinal, a few days since, to pay my respects. The principal topic of conversation was American affairs and the complexion of the recent intelligence from the United States. The Cardinal, I was glad to see, received, with all due allowance, the exaggerated reports, mainly through English sources, of Federal reverses and Confederate victories in Maryland and elsewhere. He was not disposed to attach any more consequence to this rebel inroad than I did and looked to see the invading column speedily driven back.

Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, S. C., a supporter, if not an accredited agent, of the so-called Confederate Government, has been in Rome for several weeks past. He has not, however, met with any official recognition from the Papal Authorities, nor from what I can learn, is he likely to do so.[29]

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[29] For an account of Bishop Lynch's mission to Rome as the official representative of the Confederate States, see L. F. Stock, "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy", *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XVI, 17-18. He was instructed to press for recognition of the Confederate States or, failing in this, to maintain such informal relations as might prove fruitful. He had frequent interviews with Cardinal Antonelli and several audiences with the Pope, but his cause was given neither recognition nor encouragement. Correspondence betwen Lynch and Confederate officials will be found in Lib. Cong., MSS. Div., Pickett Papers; and in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II, 470, 659.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 19.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, August 16th, '64.

Sir

I had the honor to receive, yesterday, your despatch (No: 14) of July 19th, mentioning a report which had reached the Department, to the effect that a person in Montreal claimed to have in his possession a written recognition (on parchment) by the Pope, of the so-called Southern Confederacy; and, while expressing disbelief in this intelligence, directing me to inquire of Cardinal Antonelli, as to its truth, or falsehood. I availed myself of the earliest opportunity to act upon your instructions and, with that view, called upon the Cardinal Secretary of State, this morning. After a brief conversation about the latest American news, which he seemed to think altogether favorable to the Federal cause, I mentioned to His Eminence that among my letters from America was one embodying a report referred-to in your despatch; and that while I myself attached no credit to the story, I should be glad to have his authority for contradicting it. Without a moment's hesitation and in the frankest manner, the Cardinal assured me that there was nothing whatever in the report; that no such "recognition" had been made, or thought of; and that the only letter written by the Pope on the subject, was the one to Jefferson Davis, last fall, which was simply intended as a civil acknowledgement of the letter addressed by Mr. Davis to the Holy Father, thanking him for his circular of 1862 to the Catholic Archbishops of New York and New Orleans, invoking their good offices in behalf of Peace. The Cardinal's denial of the story was as full, explicit and satisfactory as language could make it.

I then remarked that possibly the fact of Bishop Lynch, of Charleston S. C., having been, for some time past, in Rome, in the reputed capacity of envoy from the so-called Confederate Government, might have given some colour to this report of a recognition. The Cardinal replied that the Bishop was only known here in his clerical capacity and that tho' they had met several times and only as recently as the evening before, no reference whatever had been made to political topics.

A long conversation followed on the condition of affairs in the United States and the position and policy of the Court of Rome with reference thereto. I shall endeavour to make a full report of this in my next despatch, as I am confident that its tenor will prove entirely satisfactory to our own Government. But as I am very anxious to send this brief despatch by to-morrow's steamer and have barely time to prepare it, in season for the mail, I reserve further details for my next communication.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 20.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, August 22nd, '64.

Sir

In my last despatch (No: 19) I had the honor to communicate the result of an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, on the subject of a report which had reached the Department, that a person in Montreal claimed to have in his possession a written recognition, by the Pope, of the so-called Southern Confederacy. I was anxious to transmit to the Department, without delay, the assurance received from Cardinal Antonelli, that there was no truth whatever in this Canada rumor; and I had barely time to prepare by brief despatch, of August 16th, in season for the mail steamer which left Civita Vecchia for Marseilles on the following morning. I reserved for a subsequent communication fuller details of the conversation held with the Cardinal Secretary.

His Eminence, as I have heretofore stated, was prompt and explicit in denying the truth of the rumor in question. The only letter, he said, written by the Pope on the subject, was the one to Jefferson Davis, the scope and intent of which are already known to the Department; and in reply to my suggestion, that the presence of Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, S. C., at Rome, in the reputed character of an accredited representative from the Confederate States, might have given rise to the rumor referred-to, the Cardinal remarked that the Bishop was known here only in his clerical capacity and that not a word on political topics had passed between them.

Entering, then, into a wider range of remark about the American question and the feelings and policy of the Court of Rome in regard thereto, the Cardinal observed that they were never in haste to recognize new, or revolutionary governments; that they had not yet recognized the young King of Greece; and that a long time elapsed after the present Emperor ascended the throne of France, before Diplomatic relations were resumed with that Government: nor, indeed, until the interests of Religion made such resumption desirable and proper. The relations of Rome, the Cardinal continued, with the various Powers of the World, were dictated rather by spiritual, than temporal considerations. Religious questions and interests, not political ones, formed the subjects, as they furnished the occasion, of their official intercourse. Hence, tho' it had sometimes been suggested that a representative from the Papal Court should be accredited to the Government at Washington, there was really no need for it, since they had nothing to ask from the United States; as in that country alone, added the Cardinal with some warmth, does there exist perfect freedom and equality in the matter of Religion and the Catholic enjoys every right and privilege that is accorded to any citizen, whatever his creed, or condition.

The Cardinal proceeded to say, that he had carefully studied the Ameri-

can question; that he had read our Constitution and could plainly perceive that the so-called Confederate States had sought an unconstitutional remedy for their alleged wrongs, and were endeavouring to dissolve by force a Union consecrated by law. As to the Slavery question, the Court of Rome and the Catholic Church had always been opposed to Slavery; he could see, however, the difficulty and danger attending the immediate emancipation of four millions of Slaves. He had been repeatedly assured by Southern gentlemen that they, too, desired to abolish Slavery; but that while they thought it necessary, as a preliminary step, to educate the slaves for Freedom and to bestow that boon upon them as fast as they were fit for it, the North desired to precipitate matters and to emancipate, at a blow, all the slaves of the South, despite the risk of an internecine war of races. He referred, in this connection, to the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, and while approving of the measure he said, that, entertaining grave doubts as to the immediate effect of so great and sudden a change in the condition of some thirty millions of men, he had had several discussions on the subject with the Archduchess Helena of Russia.

I have given rather an outline, than a verbatim report of the Cardinal's conversation, but sufficient, I trust to enable the Department to form a correct judgment of His Eminence's views upon American affairs. The matter, as well as the manner, confirmed me in the conviction, which I have expressed in previous despatches, that the settled policy of the Court of Rome, in our regard, is one of strict neutrality and non-intervention; that they have no purpose of recognizing the so-called Confederate Government; and that while sincerely desirous to see Peace restored to our Country, they do not believe that this happy result is to be hastened by any foreign interference. How far these views may be modified, or influenced, by the progress of events in the United States, or any possible change of policy, or purpose, among the other European Governments, it is not easy to conjecture. But for the present, at least, I think that there is no likelihood of any departure from the line of conduct hitherto pursued by the Papal Court, in reference to American affairs; or of any recognition, open, or secret, of the Southern insurgents.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 15.

Department of State, Washington, August 26, 1864.

Sir;

Your despatches from No. 15 to No. 18, inclusive, the latter dated July 30th, have been received. The report of your conversation with the Cardinal Antonelli at the Quirinal Palace, have [*sic*] been read with much pleasure.

I do not think it important to pursue the subject of the charges against Mr. Hooker any farther.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 21.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, September 3rd, '64.

Sir

An application has been made for the appointment of a Consular Agent, for the U. S., at the port of Ostia, lately reestablished by the Papal Government; and Mr. Annibale Gentile, a native of Rome, has been recommended for the post.[30] Mr. Gentile is a gentleman of character and intelligence, and, should it be deemed advisable to make such an appointment, would fill it acceptably.

At Civita Vecchia, the most important post in the Papal dominions, Mr. Alfred Marschenik has for several years past, discharged the duties of Consular Agent, tho' without holding any regular commission as such.[31] He has made himself very useful to American travellers, as well as to American residents in Rome, and would be much gratified by a formal appointment as Vice-Consul.

The Diplomatic Corps at the Papal Court has sustained a serious loss in the death of Baron Willisen, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Kingdom of Prussia. He expired on the 24th ult., at Gensano, where he was spending the summer with his family, after an illness of only five days.

The Pope continues at his summer residence in Castel Gandolfo. The Sovereign Pontiff seems greatly to enjoy the comparative quiet of his country life and his health is much improved by his change of quarters. He does not intend returning to the Vatican till the close of the current month.

Affairs in Italy remain unchanged, tho' at Naples and one or two other points in the dominions of Victor Emanuel there has been, of late, considerable political agitation. There seems, however, to be no apprehension of any serious disturbance.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING.[32]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, September 19th 1864.

My Dear Sir,

I acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of your private note of the 16th of August, and anxiously await the arrival of your next containing the details of your interview with Cardinal Antonelli.

[30] Gentile was appointed (*post*); he also served at Fiumicino.

[31] Marschenik ("Marsanick" on the Department of State's list) was appointed consular agent, June 14, 1862; he died July 23, 1901.

[32] Unnumbered.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 17.[33]

Department of State, Washington, September 21st 1864.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 22nd of August, No. 20, which as I expected satisfactorily disposes of the rumors concerning a Papal recognition of the insurgents to which your attention was called in a former communication from this Department.

The reduction of Forts Powell, Gaines and Morgan, by Admiral Farragut and Major General Canby, the capture of Atlanta and the safe establishment of a national army there by Major General Sherman, and finally the defeat and rout at Winchester of the insurgent army which recently paraded itself in front of Washington,[34] the revival of public credit, and the successful reinforcement of the loyal armies will probably have the effect of convincing our unfriendly European citizens that the campaign of the present season is not a failure, and so will put once more an end to foreign speculations in regard to recognition.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 22.

Legation of the United States At Rome, Septr: 24th, '64.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No: 15, under date of August 26th, in reply to mine, from No: 15 to No: 18, inclusive; and I am gratified to learn that you do not think it important to pursue the subject of the charges against Mr. Hooker, any farther.

The Pope returned last week from his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo and was received, with every demonstration of welcome, by the Roman people. His Holiness continues to enjoy excellent health.

On Monday evening last Cardinal Trevisana and Cardinal Bonnechose, the latest creations of Pope Pius the Ninth, held their customary "receptions"; which were attended by such members of the Diplomatic Corps as are now in Rome and by many of the Roman Nobility and People.[35]

Considerable excitement has been caused in Rome by the rumored removal of the Capital of Italy from Turin to Florence and the prospective withdrawal of the French troops from this city. It is very confidently asserted that the Emperor Louis Napoleon has decided to recall, within

[33] No. 16 is out of its order; see under Oct. 4 (*post*).

[34] Sheridan's defeat of Early, Sept. 19. The forts around Mobile fell in August; Sherman captured Atlanta, Sept. 2.

[35] Cardinal Giuseppe Trevisanato was elevated by the consistory of Mar. 16, 1863; Cardinal Enrico Gastone de Bonnechose, Dec. 21, of the same year. *Annuario Pontificio,* 1864, pp. 83, 85.

the next year, the force which is now here; and the liberal party expect this movement to be followed by a revolution which will add the States of the Church to the Kingdom of Italy and make Rome the Capital of Victor Emanuel. I do not myself credit the story; nor do I think it likely that Pio Nono will be dispossessed of his temporal authority in the "Eternal City."

The last news from the United States, of the brilliant successes obtained by General Sherman and Admiral Farragut, have been received with intense satisfaction by the loyal Americans in Rome. We regard these results as almost decisive of the great struggle and only trust that there is virtue enough in the American People to do *their* share of the great work at the polls in November, by the triumphant re-election of our honest and faithful President.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 23.

Legation of the United States At Rome, October 1st, '64.

Sir.

Since my despatch No: 22. of September 24th., public announcement has been made, in the official, or semi-official journals at Paris and Turin, of the important treaty recently concluded between the Emperor of France and the King of Italy.[36] The American Ministers at these two Courts will, no doubt, have fully advised the State Department, ere this, of the stipulations agreed upon by the high contracting parties. I shall, therefore, limit myself to a very brief statement of what are understood, here, to be the leading features of the Treaty; and of the effect of the intelligence upon the authorities and people of Rome.

According to the publications above referred-to, Louis Napoleon promises to withdraw the French troops from Rome, within two years, upon the conditions, accepted by Victor Emanuel, that the latter will not, himself, invade the Papal dominions, nor permit any other Power to do so; and that no objection will be made to the organization, by the Holy Father, of a sufficient force to assert and maintain his authority within the States of the Church. The news of this Treaty has been received in Rome with unaffected and general surprise, as it does not seem to have been anticipated in any quarter. But while the Liberal party hail the intelligence with great apparent satisfaction, as the first step towards making Rome the Capital of a united Italy, with Victor Emanuel for its sovereign; the supporters of the Pope's temporal power look with distrust,

[36] The Convention of Sept. 15, 1864, the chief terms of which are given below. The articles of the convention will be found in Mollat, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-346; see also Marco Minghetti, *La convenzione di Settembre: un capitolo dei miei ricordi* (Bologna, 1899), which contains the correspondence between the French foreign minister and Minghetti; and Lynn M. Case, *Franco-Italian Relations, 1860-1865: the Roman Question and the Convention of September* (Phila., 1932), pp. 263 to end.

if not with apprehension, upon the threatened change in the existing condition of affairs. It is believed by many, again, that war is likely to break out, in the course of the coming year, between Austria and Italy, involving, gradually, other nations; and that this expectation has had its influence upon the Franco-Italian treaty and the prospective removal of Victor Emanuel's Capital from Turin to Florence; the one a very exposed and the other a defensible position. However this may be, I do not myself believe that whether France continues, or withdraws her protection, the temporal authority of the Pope, within his own dominions, is in danger of overthrow, save in the event of such political convulsions as might result from a general European War.

I had the honor of an official interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State on Tuesday last, and called his attention to the very favorable complexion of the news recently received from America. His Eminence seemed fully to realize the hopeful character of the intelligence.

The Pope continues in the enjoyment of good health.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 16.[37]

Department of State, Washington, October 4th, 1864.

Sir:

Your despatch No. 21 has been received, and you are informed that the creation of a Consular Agency at the Port of Ostia receives the approval of this Department, as does also the nomination of Mr. Annibale Gentile as Consular Agent at that port.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 24.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, October 8th, '64.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge your favors of the 10th and 16th September, apprizing me of the new tax on passports and of the receipt of my note of August 16th. I trust that the despatch, containing the details of my conversation with Cardinal Antonelli—to which your note refers—will be found satisfactory.

I have no news to communicate. Rome is tranquil and the health of the Sovereign Pontiff continues excellent.

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[37] Seward's of Sept. 21, *ante,* is numbered 17.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 25.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, October 25th, '64.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches, Nos: 16 and 17, of Sept. 21st and Oct: 4th., in reply to mine, Nos: 20 and 21, of August 22nd and Sept. 3rd. I am also in receipt of the box of books, forwarded by the Department to this Legation, which will be disposed of as directed.

The treaty between the Emperor of the French and the King of Italy continues to be the theme of discussion, here, as elsewhere throughout Europe. It is not regarded with favor by the more devoted adherents of the Papal Court and great doubts are expressed as to its eventual fulfilment.

I had the honor of an interview with his Holiness, a few days since, when I called to tender him my congratulations upon his return, in good health, from his country residence at Castel Gandolfo. I availed myself of the opportunity to state, briefly, to the Holy Father, the substance of the latest intelligence from America and the encouraging indications which it held out of the speedy suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of Peace and Union. The Pope expressed great gratification at the news and remarked that much as he deprecated the War and desired that it might cease, he could never, as a Christian and the head of the Catholic Church, lend any sanction or countenance, to the system of African Slavery.

Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, South Carolina, who has been here for some months past, in the reputed capacity of a Confederate Agent, or representative, is about to leave Rome. He has met with no official recognition here, and, as I am reliably informed, has said to persons in his confidence that the re-election of Mr. Lincoln would prove the death-blow of the so-called Confederacy.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 26.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, November 12th, '64.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No: 18, dated October 17th, in reply to mine of September 24th.

Political affairs remain quiet in the Papal States and the uneasy feeling which the Franco-Italian treaty of September 15th at first excited seems in a great measure to have died away. Whether the Emperor of France withdraws, or continues, his " protectorate ", there is certainly no present apprehension here that the Pope's temporal power in Rome is in danger of overthrow.

I had an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State yesterday. His Eminence was as frank and cordial as usual and we conversed for some time about affairs in America. He referred to the favorable character of the recent military and political intelligence from the United States and very heartily echoed the hope, which I expressed, that the re-election of Mr. Lincoln and the continued successes of Grant, Sherman and Sheridan would bring the war to a close within another year and secure to our country the blessings of Peace, Liberty and Union.

Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, South Carolina, who has been spending some months in Rome, in the reputed capacity of agent, or envoy from the self-styled Confederate States, left here for France a few days since. He met with no official recognition from the Papal Government.

By a recent arrival, I received a box from the State Department, containing some twenty copies (forty volumes) of the Diplomatic Correspondence for 1863. Is it the wish of the Department that I should distribute these books among the several American Consulates in the Pontifical States? I have also found among the archives of the Legation here three odd volumes of the "Exploring Expedition", to-wit: "Atlas of Charts, Vol: II—Hydrography"; "Atlas to Vol: VII—Mammalogy and Ornithology"; and "Atlas to Vol: XX—Herpetology". Each one bears the inscription: "Presented by the Congress of the United States to the Government of the Ecclesiastical States"; but I can find no record of the receipt here of the other volumes of this costly work, or of the presentation of any of them to the Pontifical Government. I respectfully solicit the instructions of the Department as to the disposition which it desires made of these odd volumes.[38]

Very great interest has been aroused in Rome by the recent discovery of a colossal statue, in gilt bronze, of Hercules. It was found on the site of the Theatre of Pompey, carefully buried about twenty-five feet below the present level of Rome, as if to protect it from apprehended spoliation. The statue is about fourteen feet high, of magnificent proportions, and in the best style of Grecian Art. Sixteen centuries are supposed to have elapsed since the statue was committed to the Earth; but now that it has been nearly freed from the incrustations of ages this master-piece appears almost as fresh and perfect as tho' it had just come from the hands of its wonder-working creator. There is no finer monument of antiquity in Rome. It is destined to adorn one of the Halls of the Vatican.[39]

[38] The reference is to the published report of the exploring expedition of Capt. Charles Wilkes through the Pacific, along its American coasts, and in the Antarctic regions, 1838-1842. This was the same Wilkes who, in command of the *San Jacinto,* Nov. 8, 1861, stopped the British ship *Trent* and took therefrom Mason and Slidell, Confederate commissioners.

[39] This statute, known as the Mastai Hercules, stands in the Rotunda or Circular Hall of the Vatican Palace. It represents the demigod in the form in which he was honored by Pompey under the attributes of Hercules Victor. The right hand grasps the club, the left

Rain has fallen almost continuously throughout Italy, during the past three weeks, and great damage has been occasioned by the unwonted floods in the rivers. Florence has been an especial sufferer; but, thus far, Rome has escaped; the Tiber, tho' a good deal swollen, still keeping within its banks.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 20.[40]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November 18th, 1864.

Sir:

Your despatch No. 25, dated October 25th, has been received and has been read with much interest. The response made to you by his Holiness on the occasion of your communicating to him the substance of the latest intelligence you had received from the United States, and the encouraging indications it afforded of the speedy suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of Peace and Union is especially gratifying.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 27.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Nov: 19th, '64.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No: 19, bearing date Octr: 19th, and advising receipt of my communication of Octr: 1st, in relation to the Franco-Italian treaty of Septr: 15th.

Since my last—No: 26 of Novr. 12th—nothing has occurred here worthy of special mention. Cardinal Antonelli, in a private interview yesterday, spoke very freely of the condition of affairs as being quiet and satisfactory, and certainly did not seem to anticipate any disturbance of the public peace, or the Papal authority, within the States of the Church.

The Holy Father continues in the enjoyment of good health.

Mr. James T. Soutter, representing himself as from Norfolk, Virginia; but who, for many years, was engaged in business in New York and has resided, latterly, in Paris, arrived, with his family, in Rome, three, or four days since.[41] He inquired at once, for Bishop Lynch and,

holds the golden apples of the Hesperides, while the skin of the Nemean lion is thrown over the left arm. Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen sammlungen klassischer altertümer in Rom* (Leipzig, 1912), I, 194-195; H. J. Massi, *Compendious Description of the Museums of Ancient Sculpture . . . in the Vatican Palace* (Rome, 1901), pp. 19-20.

[40] No. 18, Oct. 17, and No. 19, Oct. 19, contain nothing but the acknowledgment of King's despatches.

[41] Soutter, a native of Va., was for several years president of the Bank of the Republic, N. Y. Nov. 21, he wrote Slidell an account of his interview with Antonelli, enclosing a copy of his letter to the cardinal, Nov. 18. Dec. 2, Antonelli made a general reply to this letter. Soutter later had an interview with Pius IX. *Official Recs. of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1922), ser. II, vol. 3, pp. 1246-1250; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy,* II, 691-692.

on learning that the Bishop had left Rome for France, stated that he was charged with a despatch, designed for the Bishop, but which in the absence of that prelate, he was instructed to deliver to Cardinal Antonelli. It doubtless emanates from the self-styled Confederate Government; with whom Mr. Soutter is understood to sympathize and whose agent he possibly may be; tho' he has not announced himself as such. I have no idea, however, that he will, in any event, be more successful than was Bishop Lynch in obtaining a recognition of the Rebel authorities from his Holiness the Pope.

We are still without any intelligence as to the result of the Presidential election, held on the 8th. instant; and the loyal Americans in Rome await, with intense interest, the definitive news. But they are strong alike in the hope and the faith that it has pleased Almighty God to bless the cause of the Union with a signal and decisive Victory.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 28.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Nov: 26th, 1864.

Sir

The intelligence of the result of the Presidential Election was received in Rome, a few days since, and gave unqualified satisfaction to the loyal Americans here. We were especially pleased with the very emphatic character of the popular verdict, as it must go far to convince the secessionists at home, as well as their sympathizing friends abroad, that the American people have resolved to maintain the Union, at all hazards and at every cost.

The day fixed by the President's Proclamation, as one of Thanksgiving and Prayer throughout the United States,[42] was duly observed in Rome. Service was held and an appropriate sermon preached, by the Rev: Dr. Van Nest, in the rooms of the American Legation, on Thursday morning last.

I mentioned, in a recent despatch, that Mr. Jas: T. Soutter, of Norfolk, Virginia, had arrived here, charged with a document, which, in the absence of Bishop Lynch, he was instructed to present to Cardinal Antonelli. I learned, incidentally, thro' a friend, two days ago, the nature of this communication. It is addressed by Jefferson Davis to the Pope, thanking the Holy Father for his letter of last year; expressing the satisfaction which that letter had given to the Southern people and remarking upon the fact that the Pope was the only potentate in Europe who had uttered a word of sympathy for the Confederates, in the day of their distress. This is the substance of the despatch, which has not yet, however, reached the hands of Cardinal Antonelli.

[42] The annual Thanksgiving proclamation, Oct. 20; text in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 228.

I had an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State yesterday; calling upon him with a view to communicate the issue of the Election and to direct his special attention to the unprecedentedly large majority by which Mr. Lincoln had been a second time chosen to preside over the destinies of the Republic. The Cardinal was fully aware of the significance of this vote and of its probable effect upon public opinion, at home and abroad; and he expressed the hope that it would hasten the return of Peace and the restoration of the Union. He then proceeded to speak of the case of the *Florida*;[43] informing me that he had just received a detailed account of the affair from the Papal Nuncio at the Court of Brazil, which reflected in the severest terms upon the Captain of the *Wachusetts* and the American Consul at Bahia and described the indignation of the Brazilian Authorities and People as being so great, that they threatened to break off all relations with the Government of the United States. The Cardinal added that, according to the report of the Papal representative, there was no possible excuse, or apology, for the action of the American Officer; that it was a crime of the gravest character, not only against Neutral Rights, but against Humanity; and that the only explanation suggested for the act was, that the Captain had been tempted to do it, in the hope of securing a reward of half-a-million of dollars, said to have been offered by the New York Chamber of Commerce, for the capture, or destruction of the *Florida.* I observed to the Cardinal, in reply, that, as yet, I had seen no other account of the affair than what had appeared in the English papers; that great allowance was to be made for the evident prejudice which discolored all *they* said about American matters; that I waited, with impatience, to hear the American version of the story; and that I did not, for a moment, doubt, that if wrong *had* been done, by the Captain of the *Wachusetts,* it would be fully and promptly righted by the American authorities: and, in this connection, I reminded the Cardinal of the course pursued by the American Government in the case of the *Trent.*[44] His Eminence remembered the circumstance and assented to my confident assertion that now, as then, the American Government would do justice in the premises. With this our conversation closed.

All the English and other foreign newspapers, which, in their hostility to Democratic principles and their hatred of the American Union —at once the happiest fruit and most unanswerable vindication of those principles—rejoice in the Secession war as involving the overthrow of

[43] The *Florida* was a Confederate cruiser fitted out in England in 1862, under the name of the *Oreto.* After having been twice seized, and having twice escaped, her name was changed to the *Florida.* Oct. 7, 1864, in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil, in violation of the rights of neutrals and under the guns of a Brazilian corvette, she was captured by the *Wachusett* (sister ship of the *Kearsarge*), Capt. Napoleon Collins, commanding.

[44] The United States had disavowed the act of Capt. Wilkes, and released Mason and Slidell, Confederate envoys, who had been taken from the *Trent* and sent to Boston as prisoners.

the Union, fill their columns with violent diatribes about this affair of the *Florida.* Confident, on our part, that Right will prevail, we are content to abide the issue.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 21.

Department of State, Washington, December 16th, 1864.

Sir,

Your despatch No. 26, of the 12th ultimo, has been received, and has been read with much interest.

The copies of the Diplomatic Correspondence for 1863, the receipt of which you have acknowledged, you will distribute as you may deem proper.

The odd volumes of the Exploring Expedition to which you refer as having been found by you among the archives of the Legation, were of course intended for the Pontifical Government and should have been presented on their arrival in Rome. You will repair this negligence by now making the proper disposition of them. The other volumes of the work, so far at least as they have been published, have been forwarded from time to time since 1845, and it is presumed that they have been faithfully delivered by your predecessors to the Government of His Holiness.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 29.[45]

Sir Legation of the United States, At Rome, December 24th, '64.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No: 20, of Novr: 18th, in answer to mine, of Octr: 24th; and am gratified to learn that the contents of the communication to which it refers were satisfactory to the Government.

Since my last, of Novr: 24th, nothing has occurred at Rome calling for especial mention. Political quiet continues to prevail throughout the Papal dominions. The health of his Holiness, somewhat impaired by a cold during the past week, is now fully restored.

The intelligence of Mr. Dayton's sudden death in Paris was received here by all who knew him with feelings of profound regret.[46] The country loses in him an able, faithful and zealous public servant and his family one whose place cannot be supplied.

The impression produced in Europe by the ever-memorable result of the recent Presidential election and the firm, self-reliant, unyielding

[45] This despatch is printed in *For. Rel.,* 1865, Pt. III, p. 150.

[46] William L. Dayton, U. S. minister to France, died abruptly of apoplexy, Dec. 1, 1864. Biographical sketch in *Dict. Am. Biog.,* V, 166-167.

attitude assumed by the American people in vindication of the National Authority and Honor and in defence of the National Life, continues to strengthen and extend. It is the ardent hope of all loyal Americans abroad and of the millions in Europe who sympathize with them, that the progress of our Arms may speedily complete the triumph of Law, Liberty and Union which the Popular Verdict of November 8th so gloriously inaugurated.

I avail myself of the occasion to tender to our honored President and his faithful Cabinet Ministers the good wishes and congratulations appropriate to this festive season.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. NO. 30.[47]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Jany: 7th, 1865

Sir

I transmit, for the information of the Department, an official copy of the Encyclical Letter and Syllabus, recently issued by his Holiness, which have elicited so many and such varying comments from the press of Europe.[48]

In accordance with Diplomatic custom I paid an official visit to the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State during the Christmas week, to tender the good wishes and congratulations appropriate to the season. I enjoyed with each a pleasant and satisfactory interview and availed myself of the oportunity to direct their attention to the gratifying character of the recent intelligence from America. They both appreciated, in its full force, the significance of the news and joined in the hope, which I expressed, that the steady progress of the Federal arms would speedily restore to our country the inestimable blessings of Peace and Union.

Bishop Lynch, of Charleston S. C., returned from Paris to Rome, a few days since. I know of no reason to suppose, however, that he is at all more likely to be received and acknowledged as an official representative of the Rebel Government, than at his previous visit.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. NO. 31.[49]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Jany: 14, '65.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 21, of December 16th, from the State Department, in reply to mine of Novr:

[47] Printed in *For. Rel.*, 1865, Pt. III, p. 150.

[48] Enclosed was a copy of the *Syllabus complectens praecipuos nostrae aetatis errores qui notantur in allocutionibus consistorialibus in encyclicis aliisque apostolicis litteris Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae IX.* See *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* Pt. I, Vol. III, pp. 701-717.

[49] Printed in *For. Rel.*, 1865, Pt. III, pp. 151-152.

12th, and conveying instructions as to the disposition to be made of sundry volumes in the archives of the United States Legation in Rome.

The intelligence of the capture of Savannah by the Federal forces under command of Gen: Sherman, reached us on Monday last and was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the Americans in Rome.[50] I attended a State dinner at the Austrian Ambassador's on the same day and had the pleasure of receiving from various members of the Diplomatic Corps their hearty congratulations upon the favorable complexion of the news. The Russian Chargé d'Affaires, Baron Meyendorf, and the newly-appointed Minister from Venezuela, Signor Pullido, were especially earnest in their felicitations. Baron Meyendorf remarked that Russia sympathized deeply with the United States in this hour of our National trouble; and that not only the Emperor, but the people of Russia had been inexpressibly touched by the warm and generous welcome extended to the Russian fleet, during its visit, last year, to different ports in the U. S.[51] I cordially assented to the hope which he expressed that the relations between our two Governments might become more and more kindly and fraternal as the years rolled on. The Venezuelan Minister was even more emphatic in the expression of his good wishes. He said that, for years past, the predominance of the pro-Slavery interest in the councils of the great American Republic had exerted a baneful influence upon the new-born governments of the South American States; that, in their early struggles and later development, they had met with little sympathy from the quarter to which they had naturally looked for encouragement, as well as example; but that now, happily, all was changed and from the United States of North America, under their present rulers, they had met with the kindest recognition. Therefore it was, he added, that the progress of the Federal Arms and the impending overthrow of the Slaveholders' Rebellion was hailed, with delight, by the Peoples and States of South America, as it held out to them the bright promise that the system of Free Government and Republican Institutions, inaugurated and vindicated by the People of the United States, was to be the common heritage and proud boast of the entire Western Continent.

The telegraphic despatches, yesterday, gave us the substance of the note, addressed by the State Department to the Government of Brazil, in reference to the capture of the *Florida* in the harbor of Bahia.[52] I thought it a good occasion to converse with the Chevalier de Figuereido, the Brazilian Chargé d' Affaires, on the subject, and was glad to

[50] Savannah was occupied by Sherman, Dec. 21, 1864, after a ten-day siege.

[51] See F. A. Golder, "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX, 801-812.

[52] July 23, 1866, Commander F. B. Blake, of the *Nipsie*, in compliance with orders of Oct. 28, 1865, fired a salute to the Brazilian flag in the harbor of Bahia, as an apology for the capture of the *Florida* in that port. *For. Rel.*, 1866, Pt. II, pp. 301, 302, 305, 307, 317.

find that he was equally pleased with the spirit and tenor of the communication, as calculated to allay all ill-feeling between the two Governments and to satisfy the Authorities and People of Brazil that the United States will do justice in the premises.

I had an official interview, yesterday morning, with the Cardinal Secretary of State. He, too, expressed his satisfaction with the action of our Government in the matter of the *Florida* and remarked that it would quiet the angry spirit which had been at first aroused in Brazil by the conduct of the American Consul at Bahia and the Captain of the *Wachusett.* Reverting to our home affairs the Cardinal observed that the recent signal successes of the Federal Arms seemed to promise an early end to the War, which he most earnestly desired, and the re-establishment of the Union. He thought that the great difficulty now would be to arrange the terms of Peace and the re-admission into the Union of the seceded States; as the violent passions excited by such a war as had afflicted our country for the past four years were not easily allayed. I remarked to his Eminence that there was no angry spirit, no feeling of revenge, towards the people of the Southern States among their brethren at the North, that we believed that they had been misinformed and misled by a few ambitious and unscrupulous men; and that they would be welcomed back into the Union, with open arms and in a forgiving temper, the moment they submitted themselves to the authority of the Federal Government.

I availed myself of the opportunity to mention to the Cardinal a rumor which has been in circulation in Rome, that the Pope had written a second letter to Jefferson Davis in the sense of encouraging him to persevere in his work of Rebellion and giving him the benefit of a Papal recognition. The Cardinal, without any hesitation, pronounced the report untrue. The Pope had written no second letter, he said, tho' he himself had addressed one, general in its terms and pacific in its spirit, to the Southern "Commissioners" who had addressed a circular to all the Courts of Europe.[53] This, the Cardinal remarked, simply engaged the good offices of the Pope to bring about Peace, whenever a fitting opportunity should offer itself for the exercise of his moral influence. Beyond this I do not think that the Papal Government will be in any more haste to interfere in our affairs, than France, or England.

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[53] Antonelli's letter to Mann, Slidell and Mason, Dec. 2, 1864, printed in *Official Recs. of the Union and Confederate Navies,* ser. II, vol. 3, p. 1249.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 24.[54]

Department of State, Washington, February, 8th, 1865.

Sir:

I have received your interesting despatch of January 14th, No. 31, and have read with much pleasure the account it gives of your conversation with various members of the Diplomatic Corps on a recent occasion at the residence of the Austrian Ambassador to Rome.

Your proceedings on receiving by telegraph the substance of the note of this Department relative to the capture of the *Florida* in the harbor of Bahia, are approved.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 32.[55]

Legation of the United States At Rome, February 11th, 1865.

Sir

The intelligence of the sudden death of the lamented Edward Everett was received by the Americans in Rome with profound and unaffected regret.[56] Anticipating the wishes of the State Department, I have caused the rooms of the American Legation to be draped in mourning, as a slight mark of respect to the memory of the departed Statesman, Orator and Patriot.

The unexpected departure of Victor Emanuel, from Turin, for the new capital of Italy, Florence, excites some effervescence in the political circles of Rome. The adherents of the Papal Government do not openly attach much importance to the change; but the Liberal party build high hopes upon it. This party, for several years past, has kept entirely aloof from the Carnival celebration, customary at this season; but in honor of the Franco-Italian treaty and, as they believe, the approaching realization of their darling wish—an United Italy, with Rome for its capital —they have resolved, this year, to participate in the Carnival festivities and do whatever they can to add to their gayety and splendor.

The health of the Sovereign Pontiff continues excellent, tho' the winter thus far has been an unfavorable one and an unusual amount of sickness has prevailed in Rome. The number of American visitors here has largely increased within the past few weeks and I am happy to say that, with very rare exceptions, they are earnest and ardent supporters of the Government and the Union.

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[54] No. 22, Dec. 23, 1864, and No. 23, Feb. 8, 1865, contain nothing beyond the acknowledgment of King's despatches. This instruction, No. 24, is given in *For. Rel.*, 1865, Pt. III, p. 152.

[55] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

[56] Everett died Jan. 15.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 25.

Department of State, Washington, February 27th 1865.

Sir:

Herewith I transmit the commission of Edward C. Cushman, of Massachusetts, as Consul of the United States at Rome.[57] Upon its receipt you will make application for the usual exequatur, to be delivered, when obtained, together with his commission, to Mr. Cushman at his post.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 33.[58]

Legation of the United States At Rome, March 4th, 1865.

Sir

I am reminded by the date of my letter that, on this day, our honored President renews his vow of devotion to the Constitution and laws of our Country and enters upon the second term of his administration. I desire to offer to him and to the faithful counsellers who form his Cabinet my heartfelt congratulations on the events of the past few months and the happy auspices under which he resumes his good work, as well as my earnest wishes that, by the blessing of God, he may realize, within a brief period, his ardent hope for Peace, Liberty and Union.

Nothing has transpired in Rome, since my last despatch, calling for special comment. The Carnival passed off without any disturbance and was very generally participated in, as well by foreigners, as by Romans.

I had an official interview with Cardinal Antonelli, a few days since, and a very frank talk about affairs in America. His Eminence seemed to appreciate fully the events of the late campaigns and to look forward, hopefully, to the speedy cessation of hostilities and the submission of the insurgents to the constituted authorities of the Country.

I availed myself of an opportunity, during the current week, to converse with the French Ambassador, the Count Sartiges, about affairs in Mexico and the rumor, very current in Europe, that Maximilian had ceded certain provinces to Napoleon, as security for material and financial aid, of which Ex-Senator Gwin was to be Vice-roy and which was to form the nucleus of a "Confederate" colony.[59] The Count treated

[57] Concerning Cushman see note 8, *ante*, p. 280.

[58] In *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 153-154.

[59] William McK. Gwin, first U. S. senator from California, spent his earlier life in Tenn., Miss., and La. After the outbreak of the war he was arrested while on board a vessel in the Bay of Panama, and imprisoned in N. Y. In 1863 he went to Paris where he interested Napoleon III in a project for establishing settlers from the South in Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexico. He went to Mexico the following year to put his plan in operation, but Maximilian refused to permit it. In 1865, on reentering the U. S. after a second visit to Mexico, he was arrested and held a prisoner in Ft. Jackson for a period of eight months. *Dict. Am. Biog.*, VIII, 64-65.

the story as an absurdity and repeated, what he said to me some months ago, that the Emperor of the French would withdraw all his troops from Mexico, at the earliest opportunity.

Bishop Lynch is still in Rome, tho' in no accredited official position. I hear, however, that he and those who sympathize with him profess confident hopes of some European demonstration in behalf of the so-called Confederate States, on, or immediately after, this, the fourth (4th) day of March. I do not, myself, entertain any apprehensions on the subject. Europe has enough to do, at home, while the United States of America have abundantly proved that they can take care of themselves and neither ask, nor fear, any foreign intervention.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 34.[60]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, March 11th, 1865.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Despatches Nos: 23 and 24, from the State Department, under date of February 8th, in reply to mine, Nos: 30 and 31, of January 7th and 14th.

The news of the fall of Charleston, which left New York on the 22nd of February, Washington's Birthday, arrived in Rome on the 4th of March, the first day of President Lincoln's second term.[61] The coincidence added not a little to the pride and satisfaction with which the glad tidings were hailed by the loyal Americans, as well as all others in this Imperial City, who look forward, hopefully, to the progress of Civil and Religious Liberty throughout the world.

The rumor, to which I referred in a previous despatch, about the Pope's probable departure from Rome, in the event of the withdrawal of the French garrison, has been revived during the past week and is quite current in Diplomatic and other circles. It is added that, in the case that he leaves Rome, the Holy Father will take up his residence, temporarily at least, in the island of Malta; where an asylum is understood to have been offered him, some time since, by the British Government.[62] My information on the subject is not yet sufficiently reliable to enable me to form a definite opinion as to the authenticity of this report. I hope, however, to obtain, ere long, precise and trustworthy intelligence in the premises.

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[60] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 154.
[61] Charleston fell before Sherman, Feb. 18, 1865.
[62] See note 15, p. 271, *ante*.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 35.[63]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, March 25, '65.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 25, bearing date Feby: 27th, from the State Department, enclosing a commission as Consul at Rome, for Edwin C. Cushman and directing me to apply for the usual exequatur, to enable him to enter upon the discharge of his official duties. The Commission and the exequatur will, as directed, be delivered to Mr. Cushman on his arrival in Rome.

The relations between the French and Papal Courts continue to engross attention in Europe and many rumors are circulated as to the conversation between his Holiness and Count Sartiges, to which I adverted in my last communication. From what I can learn, I am inclined to believe that the French Ambassador simply called the Pope's attention to the fact, that the Emperor intended to carry out the Franco-Italian treaty, by withdrawing his troops from the Roman States, and suggested the advisability of organizing a sufficient force to preserve the peace and to maintain the Papal authority. It is generally believed that the Pope, in reply, declined to increase the number of his troops, as not warranted by the resources at his command, or by the necessities of the case. I adhere to the opinion, heretofore expressed, that notwithstanding the Treaty, in the possible event of the Pope's authority being threatened in Rome, there will be no lack of French bayonets to sustain it and no transfer of the military protectorate to any other European Power.

The recent intelligence from the United States has wrought a marked change in the public opinion of Europe. The belief that the war is nearly ended and Peace, Liberty and Union assured to our Country, is becoming very general. The idea of any foreign intervention, in behalf of the so-called Confederate States, is well-nigh abandoned.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 36.[64]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, April 22nd, 1865.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 26, from the State Department, under date of March 7th, in reply to mine of February 11th, and expressing satisfaction with the contents thereof.

The imposing ceremonies of Holy Week and Easter Sunday passed off, this year, with unwonted eclat. The weather was uncommonly fine, the concourse of visitors from all parts of the civilized world unprecedented and the health of the Sovereign Pontiff so good as to admit of

[63] Extract given in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 154-155.
[64] Printed in full, *ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

his officiating in person on the days appointed. To the Americans in Rome our Easter was a season of special rejoicing, for the eve of Paschal Sunday brought us the glorious tidings of the defeat of Lee, the capture of Richmond and, as we trust and believe, the final overthrow of the wicked and wanton rebellion.[65] The intelligence was received with the sincerest gratitude and delight and almost all the members of the Diplomatic Corps at the Papal Court offered me their hearty congratulations on this happy issue out of our National difficulties.

The Franco-Italian treaty continues to excite lively discussions in the Diplomatic and political circles of Europe. It is not easy, in the midst of the varying opinions expressed and the conflicting rumors circulated, to predict, with confidence, the results of that Convention. The chief interest hinges upon the future *status* of the Pope and the probabilities of his leaving, or remaining in Rome, in the event of the withdrawal of the French Troops. I had a long conversation with the French Ambassador, Count Sartiges, on this topic, a day or two since. The Count expressed the belief that matters were approaching a crisis; that the Pope was pressed by conflicting counsels, one party (the ultra-montane) urging him to abandon Rome and the other opposing such a step as suicidal; that the issue was with the Holy Father himself, who, thus far, at least, was strongly disinclined to leave the Vatican; that in his, the Count's judgement, the departure of the Pope from Rome would be the signal for a general convulsion in Italy, if not throughout Europe; and that the Peace of the world might depend upon the Pope's remaining in the Imperial City, where, he thought, his person would always be secure and his authority respected. Count Sartiges further informed me that the Pope had addressed an autograph letter to Victor Emanuel, with a view to bring about a conference touching the questions of Church and State, in issue between the Papal and Italian Governments; and that within a few days an accredited representative had arrived in Rome from Victor Emanuel, charged with a reply to the Papal missive.[66] He regarded this, he added, as a very important step in the right direction; for that would be the happiest possible solution of the problem which, leaving the spiritual power of the Holy Father unquestioned, should sustain his temporal authority by Italian bayonets. I have given quite fully the substance of the French Ambassador's remarks, as I thought them very significant and based upon intimate knowledge of the facts.

[65] Early in April Lee abandoned Petersburg and Richmond, and surrendered at Appomattox, Apr. 9.

[66] Mar. 5, 1865, Pius invited Victor Emmanuel "to send to Rome persons in whom he trusted, so that means might be found to remove all obstacles impeding the relief of great religious necessities". Francesco Saverio Vegezzi was sent to Rome, but his written instructions included three conditions which made agreement impossible. These were: a modification of the diocesan boundaries, the appointing of new bishops, and the obligation of taking the oath of fealty to the king, without exception or distinction. De Cesare, *Last Days of Papal Rome,* pp. 357-360; Leti, *op. cit.,* II, 234-235.

Passing from Italian topics, we conversed briefly about American affairs. The Count said that he regarded the last news as entirely conclusive and the war as substantially at an end. His apprehension now was, that some trouble might grow up between the United States and Maximilian. He did not fear any hostile, or aggressive action on the part of our Government—certainly not, he said, so long as the State Department continued to be managed by the same able Statesman who had presided over it during the past four years — but there was danger that forty, or fifty thousand desperate, or adventurous men, thrown out of active service by the return of peace, might, at any moment, cross over from the South West into Mexico; while there never would be wanting a "Juarist" chief to issue a *pronunciamento* and give to the movement the color of a revolution. I assured the Count that, Peace once restored, the aim and policy of our Government and People would be to cultivate friendly relations with all mankind and that, so long as our rights were respected and fair treatment extended to us, we should be the last Power to resort to War.

I cannot close this despatch without tendering to our honored President and his faithful Cabinet my heart-felt congratulations upon the glorious success which has crowned the Union arms and cause. "Thanks be to God who giveth us the Victory!"

Rufus King to William Hunter. No. 37.[67]

Legation of the United States, At Rome, April 29th, 1865

Sir

The appalling intelligence of the assassination of President Lincoln and the attempt upon the lives of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State, which reached Rome on the morning of the 27th. instant, excited the most profound and universal sentiment of horror and indignation among men of every class, condition and nation. The first account represented that the Assistant Secretary of State had also fallen a victim to the assassin's knife and that the life of the Secretary was despaired of; but we are at least spared this aggravation of horrors, the latest despatch reporting that "Secretary Seward is out of danger" and that his son, tho' in imminent peril, is still alive. As the tidings spread, the Americans in Rome gathered together at the rooms of the U. S. Legation and held a meeting to give utterance to the feelings which the news had excited in every loyal breast. I transmit herewith, as requested, a copy of the resolutions adopted.[68] They but feebly express the intense emotions which the

[67] *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* pp. 156-157; also *ibid.,* Appendix, p. 527. Hunter was acting Secretary of State, for when Pres. Lincoln was assassinated an attempt was made on the life of Seward who was severely cut, especially on the face. F. W. Seward, his son, was also attacked.

[68] Not found.

dastardly crime of the Southern conspirators has everywhere aroused. Nor is this confined only to our own countrymen. From the Cardinal Secretary of State, the Ambassadors of France, Spain and Austria, the representatives of Russia and Brazil and other members of the Diplomatic Corps, and from some of the principal Roman nobility and citizens, I have received assurances of the utter detestation with which they regard the crime and of their profound sympathy with the Government and People of the United States in this hour of terrible trial and affliction. May Almighty God safely guard and guide our country through the surging waves of trouble into the calm sunshine of Peace and Public Order.

In token of respect for the memory of the great and good man, who died, as he had lived, faithful to his trust and at the post of duty, I have caused the rooms of the U. S. Legation to be draped in mourning. The loyal Americans in Rome have all assumed the usual badges of mourning, as a slight manifestation of their sorrow for the lamented death of our President and of regard for his memory.

I need scarcely add that we await with trembling anxiety further news from America and that it is the devout prayer of all true-hearted Americans in Rome that the lives of the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary of State may be spared to their country.

Rufus King to William Hunter. No. 38.[69]

Legation of the United States, At Rome, May 6th, '65.

Sir

The terrible catastrophe of the 14th. of April, at Washington, still occupies all thoughts and tongues on this side of the water and has called forth, from the Courts and Peoples of Europe, an expression of heartfelt sympathy and sincere sorrow, unparallelled in history. Appropriate religious services were held in the U. S. Legation Rooms here which were largely attended by Americans and others. Among the number present was Mr. H. H. Parish, who, many years ago, was connected with the British Legation at Washington, and who begged to offer, as his humble tribute to the memory of our late President, the brief address which I enclose.[70] Our latest advices from home, to the 22nd of April, encourage the belief that both the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State have escaped the fate designed for them by their brutal and cowardly assailant and still live to serve their country. I need not say with what unfeigned gratitude and joy this news has been received, not only by the Americans, but by men of all nations in Rome.

I had an official interview with Cardinal Antonelli a day, or two since. His Eminence embraced the opportunity to express to me, for himself and

[69] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 157-158; *ibid.*, App., p. 527.
[70] Not found, but printed in *For. Rel.*, 1865, App., pp. 528-529.

for the Holy Father, the horror with which they regarded the bloody act which had struck down the head of the American Republic and aimed a like blow at the life of the chief counsellor; and of their earnest sympathy for the American Government and People in this hour of trial and affliction. His Eminence further begged that I would make known these sentiments to the Authorities at Washington.

In my despatch of April 22nd I mentioned the arrival in Rome of an accredited representative from Victor Emanuel, charged with the reply of that monarch to the autograph letter addressed to him, some weeks since, by the Pope, in reference to certain matters at issue between them. This gentleman, M. Vegezzi, has been in Rome upwards of a fortnight; has held several conferences with the Pope and with Cardinal Antonelli; has received visits from the French Ambassador and other members of the Diplomatic Corps; and only left on his return to Florence, yesterday.[71] I have very good reasons for believing that he is greatly content with the issue of his mission and goes back in high hope that a reconciliation between the Pope and Victor Emanuel, which would bring with it peace and union throughout this peninsula, will ere long crown the ardent wishes of the friends of a United Italy. Such a result, it cannot be doubted, would be hailed with delight by the mass of the Italian People. On the other hand, it is wholly repugnant to the views and wishes of that formidable body in the Catholic Church, known as the Ultra-montane party, and they, of course, will oppose, in all possible ways, the desired consummation.

Rufus King to William Hunter. No. 39.[72]

Legation of the United States, At Rome, May 13th, '65.

Sir

I duly received a copy of the Circular from the State Department, under date of April 17th, directing all officers and others, subject to its orders, to wear crape upon the left arm for the period of six months, in honor to the memory of our late illustrious Chief Magistrate. Anticipating, in this respect, the wishes of the Department, I had already caused the U. S. Legation rooms here to be suitably draped and, in common with all loyal Americans now in Rome, had assumed the customary badge of mourning, which will be worn during the time prescribed. It is a melancholy satisfaction to know that the grief we feel at the bereavement the Repubilc has sustained meets with general and earnest sympathy in all parts of the Old World, and that in Europe, as in America, enlightened public opinion has already inscribed among the most illustrious names on the roll of Fame that of our martyred President.

The intelligence from home, to the 29th of April, bringing details of

[71] Note 66, *ante*.
[72] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 158-159; *ibid.*, App., p. 528.

Johnstone's surrender, seems to remove all doubt as to the complete and final overthrow of the Slaveholders' rebellion.[73] The four years' ordeal thro' which our country has passed has proved indeed a fiery one; but, thank God, it has been bravely, unflinchingly and triumphantly encountered. The latest advices, as to the steadily improving condition of the Honorable the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State, have given widespread satisfaction. We cherish the hope that a few weeks will restore them to their wonted health and once more insure to the country the benefit of their counsels and services.

In my despatch of May 6th I mentioned the recent visit to Rome of M. Vegezzi, an accredited agent from King Victor Emanuel, and spoke of the current rumors and conflicting hopes as to the progress and probable issue of his mission. The subject excites very general and lively interest in political circles and forms one of the chief topics of conversation. It is not supposed that much has yet been accomplished towards effecting a complete reconciliation, or establishing cordial relations between the Pope and the King of Italy; but at least a step has been taken in the right direction; and this, of itself, affords great encouragement to the friends of Italian Unity. There can be no question, in my judgement, that the Holy Father is sincerely anxious to bring about such a result and is prepared to make liberal concessions in furtherance of so desirable an object. The advisers of Victor Emanuel and the body of the Italian People, in the Papal, as in the Royal Dominions, look forward, hopefully, to the same end. But, as I mentioned in a previous despatch, a very strong body of the Church are wholly opposed to it, as are the radical, or Mazzinian party among the People, tho' for very opposite reasons. It seems, indeed, to be a contest between extremes and means, the result of which is still very doubtful. The counsels of the French Emperor, I have reason to think, are all in the sense of Peace and Unity between Church and State in Italy; and everything seems to indicate his settled purpose to carry out the Franco-Italian Treaty and withdraw his troops from Rome at the time fixed upon. This, however, as I have before remarked, is contingent upon the maintenance of Peace and Public Order here; for the Emperor will not permit the person or authority of the Pope to be molested, or assailed, for the want of adequate protection.

I called, yesterday, upon the Cardinal Secretary of State, to communicate to him the latest tidings received from America. He fully concurred with me in regarding the intelligence as decisive and the war as practically at an end; and he freely avowed his satisfaction at the auspicious result. The Cardinal inquired particularly as to the state of Mr. Seward's health and again expressed, for himself and the Holy Father, their earnest hopes for his speedy recovery and their sincere condolence with the American People in the loss of their lamented President.

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[73] Gen. Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to Sherman, Apr. 26, 1865.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 40.[74]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, May 24th, '65.

Sir

Since my despatch of May 13th, nothing has transpired in Rome, calling for special mention. The discussion, to which I referred in my last as to the result of the pending conference, or correspondence between the Pope and Victor Emanuel, is still going on in Diplomatic and political circles. It is doubtful, however, whether any material progress has yet been made towards a solution of the different questions involved. The return of M. Vegezzi, the envoy of Victor Emanuel, is daily looked-for here, and it is generally supposed that he will bring with him some definite proposals on the part of the King of Italy. The feeling of opposition to any compromise, or reconciliation, between the Pope and the King, does not seem to abate, either with the Ultra-montane party in the Church, or the radicals among the people; and the hope of a favorable issue to the negotiations appears to be less strong than it was a fortnight since.

Among the rumors received from America by the last arrivals, was one which has created some excitement and elicited a variety of comment on this side of the Atlantic. It is that which refers to the proposed " emigration " of many disbanded officers and soldiers of the Federal Armies, to Mexico, with the view of taking service under Juarez. The course which Maximilian has pursued towards the Church, since he ascended the throne of the Montezumas, has cost him a large share of the popularity which he enjoyed at Rome, a year ago; and there are not a few of the Catholic dignitaries who express the hope that the Austrian Archduke may speedily find it advisable to return to Europe. Some of the French Journals, accepting the rumor as a fact, see in it a threat against France and seek to hold the Federal Government responsible for any movement of the kind. In conversing, however, last evening, on this subject, with the French Ambassador, Count Sartiges, I was glad to hear him express the utmost confidence that, so long as the State Department at Washington continued to be guided by the same able hands and wise counsels which had controlled its actions during the past four years, there need be no fear of any difficulty, or misunderstanding between the United States and France.

Mr J. C. Hooker, who has been unofficially connected with the United States Legation at Rome, for some two, or three years, leaves here, tomorrow, on a brief business visit to America; and I shall entrust this despatch to his care. I have already borne testimony to Mr Hooker's zeal and loyalty and to the signal services which he has rendered, not only to myself, but to many other Americans visiting Rome, as well as to the cause of the country. I beg to commend him to the confidence and good opinion of the Government and to refer to him for any details which the Secretary

[74] Extract in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 159.

of State may be anxious to learn, as to the condition of affairs at Rome and in Italy.

I avail myself of the opportunity to offer my heartfelt congratulations to the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State, upon their happy recovery from the serious wounds inflicted by a dastardly assassin.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM HUNTER. No. 41.[75]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, June 2nd, 1865.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Circular from the State Department, under date of May 16th, enclosing two copies of the President's Proclamation of May 10th, relative to insurgent cruisers,[76] one of which I am directed to communicate, without delay, to the Government to which I am accredited. In accordance with these instructions I, this morning, presented to the Cardinal Secretary of State a copy of the Proclamation in question, with a brief explanation of its contents. I availed myself of the opportunity to converse with his Eminence on the subject of American affairs. He rejoiced, he said, to see that the war was entirely over; and that the questions remaining to be disposed of were of trifling importance compared with the great one which had been so effectually settled. Alluding to the capture of Jefferson Davis, the Cardinal expressed the hope that the Government might find it consistent with its views of duty to spare the life which he had forfeited to the outraged laws of his country. I remarked to his Eminence that of one thing, at least, he might rest assured: that no feeling of vengeance would dictate the course pursued and that fewer victims would fall, at the close of our great civil war, than in any other similar struggle, recorded in history.

The Cardinal adverted to our existing relations with England and France and the causes which might disturb them. Of these, he seemed to think that Mexico was the most prominent. I assured his Eminence that the American Government would not permit any "filibustering" expedition to be fitted out in the U. S., with a view to upset Maximilian and expel his French protectors from Mexico. At the same time I expressed the belief that the Austrian arch-duke could not maintain his authority there without foreign help and when that was withdrawn—as it shortly must be—he would probably "follow in their footsteps". The Cardinal coincided in this opinion and added that when consulted on the subject by Maximilian, upwards of a year ago, he had cautioned the Austrian Prince against undertaking the enterprise. All that his Eminence said, indeed, confirmed the view taken in my last despatch as to the feeling now enter-

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[76] If insurgent cruisers should continue to receive hospitality in neutral ports, the U. S. would deem itself justified in refusing hospitality to the public vessels of such nations in ports of the U. S. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 308.

tained, by the Papal Court, towards Maximilian and his projected empire on the Western Continent.

I mentioned to the Cardinal that, within a few days past, Bishop Lynch of Charleston, S. C., a reputed Confederate agent, had applied to me, through a friend, to know upon what conditions he would be allowed to return to South Carolina and resume his clerical functions. The Cardinal remarked, in reply, that the Bishop had never been received, or recognized, in any way, as an accredited representative of Jefferson Davis; and that, like every other good Catholic, resident in the U. S., it was his bounden duty to honor, respect and obey the constituted authorities of the Government, under whose protection he lived.

The envoy of Victor Emanuel, M. Vegezzi, is expected to return to Rome on Monday next. This is another step forward in the pending negotiations between the Pope and the King of Italy; but no prediction can yet be safely hazarded as to the final result.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 42.[77]

Legation of the United States, At Rome, June 24th, 1865.

Sir

I have received from the State Department copies of the Presidential Proclamations of April 11th and May 2nd, 9th, 10th and 22nd, as also of the notification issued by the Secretary of State, dated June 2nd, relating to foreign passports.[78]

The festival of Corpus Domini was celebrated in this city on the 15th inst. with all the pomp and ceremony with which the Church of Rome is accustomed to surround its public observances. The Sovereign Pontiff, whose health continues excellent, bore a conspicuous part in the imposing pageant and was welcomed with every outward demonstration of affection and respect by the multitude assembled in the great square of St. Peter's.

The anniversaries of the election and coronation of the present Pope, occuring on the 17th and 21st instants were duly honored in Rome. In accordance with custom, all the members of the Diplomatic Corps now here called to offer to his Holiness their congratulations upon the happy return of these (to him) memorable days. During my interview with the

[77] *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* pp. 161-162.

[78] The proclamation of Apr. 11, closed certain Southern ports to foreign and domestic commerce; that of May 2 offered certain rewards for the arrest of Jefferson Davis, Clement C. Clay, Jacob Thompson, George N. Sanders, Beverley Tucker, and William C. Cleary; Richardson does not print a proclamation dated May 9; that of May 10 was the same as of Apr. 11 (above); the one of May 22 removed the blockade on Southern ports, except as to those in Texas. Seward's circular of June 2 rescinded the order of Dec. 17, 1864, requiring passports from all travelers entering the U. S., except immigrant passengers directly entering an American port from a foreign country. Richardson, *op. cit.,* VI, 280, 307-310, 339.

Holy Father he spoke with much feeling about American affairs; expressed the sincere pleasure which it gave him to learn that the war was ended and desired me to convey to the President his best wishes for the success of the Administration and the complete restoration of Peace, Prosperity and Public Order. He asked several questions about our National debt; remarking, in the connection, that ours was a country of wonders and of resources apparently so vast that even a debt of such magnitude need cause no disquiet. His Holiness seemed greatly interested in the probable fate of the leaders of the great rebellion and, specially, of Jefferson Davis; Expressing the hope that his life might be spared and no victims offered up on the altar of the restored Union. But as for the conspirators and assassins who had struck down President Lincoln and attempted the murder of the Secretary of State he was entirely content that, in their case, Justice should do her perfect work. I repeated to his Holiness the assurance which I had heretofore given to Cardinal Antonelli, that no life would be wantonly, vengefully, or unnecessarily taken and that the greatest Civil war the World had ever seen would close with the smallest number of victims recorded in history.

After taking leave of the Pope, I proceeded, as usual, to make a formal visit to the Cardinal Secretary of State and conversed for some time with his Eminence about American affairs. He, too, manifested great interest in the progress and results of the American State trials and warmly congratulated me upon the final and happy termination of our great struggle.

M. Vegezzi, the representative of Victor Emanuel, has been in Rome, on his second visit, for two, or three weeks past. He is here, however, in no recognized official capacity, but rather as a private and confidential messenger; and thus far his mission has been without any actual practical result. The influences, for and against his success, seem so nearly balanced that, as yet, it is difficult, if not impossible, to predict which way the scale will turn.

The Papal Court is about breaking up for the summer. Early next month his Holiness goes to his favorite retreat in the Alvan hills, Castel Gandolfo; and the Diplomatic Corps have already commenced dispersing. After St. Peter's Day, the 29th instant, very few will be left in Rome.

Bishop Lynch of Charleston S. C., late Confederate Agent, is still here. I had an interview with him, at his request, a short time since. He admitted that the cause of the South was hopeless, expressed a wish to return to his home and post of duty and asked me on what terms he could be re-admitted into the United States. I told him that the first thing to be done was to take the oath of allegiance and make his peace with the Federal Government. This he was ready and willing to do, if that would suffice; but he seemed apprehensive that if he returned to America he might be proceeded against criminally. I told him that the President's Proclamation, which was daily expected, would no doubt contain full information on this point. The Proclamation has since arrived and Bishop Lynch, I understand, con-

siders himself included in the list of "exceptions".[79] His present purpose, as I learn from a mutual friend, is to proceed to Havana and thence make his appeal to the Federal Authorities. I judge that he is effectually cured of his Secession folly.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.

ROME, June 26, 1865

My dear Governor

Sometime in February I addressed an application to the State Department for permission to absent myself from Rome, from the middle of July to the middle of September—a period when everybody who *can* get away (the Pope included), flees to the mountains, or the sea-shore. The Assistant Secretary, in reply, said, that if I would renew the application in March and matters continued to make favorable progress, there would probably be no objection to granting my request. Accordingly, late in March, I repeated the request; but it arrived at Washington, no doubt, in the midst of the terrible events of Easter and I have received no reply. Under the circumstances and especially in view of the fact that the war is over and the so-called "Confederacy" among the things that were, I thought I might venture to take a run up into Switzerland, with my wife and daughter, for a few weeks, where I hope to meet my father and several other members of the family, who were to sail from New York, on the 24th instant. I propose, of course, to keep myself "in communication" with Rome; so that if anything should transpire, requiring my presence here, in July, or August, I can return to my post on three days' notice. With the exception of *one week* in September last, I have not been absent from Rome a single day for the period of *eighteen months*; which is more than any of my "illustrious predecessors" can say. Now, however, that the Papal Court and the Diplomatic Corps are all going off, for a month, or two; that there seems to be nothing requiring me to remain here; and that I intend to keep within call, if, by any chance, I should be wanted; I should greatly enjoy a short respite and a few "sniffs" of Alpine air—to say nothing of the pleasure of meeting my father and family in Switzerland.

Rome is almost empty of foreigners, at present. There are not, I think, a dozen Americans within its walls. The weather is warm, tho' not yet oppressive. The Pope goes to Castel Gandolfo next week and the Diplomatic Corps have already begun to disperse. Count Sartiges, whose health is somewhat impaired, goes to France for the summer. He is a devout believer in the present administration of the State Department. The negotiations between Pio Nono and Victor Emanuel (thro' the medium of M.

[79] Johnson's proclamation of May 29, granting amnesty and pardon to all who participated in the Southern cause, excepting certain classes. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-312.

Vegezzi) make slow progress—*purposely* slow, I fancy. The Jesuits are all opposed to it—as they are and were, with few exceptions, to the cause of the Union. Bishop Lynch is very anxious to get back to Charleston, but very apprehensive that he may be held to account for his "sayings and doings", as an avowed Confederate agent. The "supplies", I suspect, have given out and the Bishop, who "entertained" a good deal, last year, by way of creating a "public opinion" in favor of the South, is now, I understand, a "guest" of the Propaganda and without "visible means of support."

I send this brief epistle by the hands of the Revd: R. Seton, a young Catholic Priest, of a New York family; and, always, a thoroughly loyal, outspoken friend of the Administration and the Union.[80]

My wife and daughter join me in kindest regards to you and yours.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 27.[81]

Department of State, Washington, June 29th, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatches from No. 33, to No. 39, with the exception of No. 35, have been received and have been read with much interest. Your account of the feeling excited in Rome, and of the proceedings which took place there, on the receipt of the news of the assassination of President Lincoln, is very gratifying.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 43.[82]

Legation of the United States, At Rome July 4th, 1865.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Circular from the State Department, under date of June 7th, relating to the orders issued to Rear-Admiral Goldsborough, then about to sail in the U. S. Steamship *Colorado,* for European waters.[83] I believe that nearly all of the maritime powers of Europe have now withdrawn their recognition of the insurgent States, as belligerents, and no longer accord to rebel vessels of war any privileges, as such, or withhold from the flag of the United States the customary naval courtesies. The Government to which I am accredited

[80] The future Archbishop Seton. For evidence of his loyalty to the Union cause, see L. F. Stock in *America,* June 18, 1927.

[81] *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* p. 162. No. 26, Mar. 7, 1865, was a formal acknowledgment of King's despatches.

[82] Extract in *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* pp. 162-163.

[83] Rear-Adm. Louis M. Goldsborough was in command of the North Atlantic squadron during the war, and planned the capture of Ft. Henry and Roanoke Island, in 1861. In this year of 1865 he took charge of the European squadron with orders to look for Confederate cruisers. *Dict. Am. Biog.,* VII, 365-366.

possesses no navy, nor any ports likely to be visited by American ships of war; and has not taken any action in the premises to which the United States could object. When I mentioned to Cardinal Antonelli, this morning, the substance of the Circular, above referred-to, he at once replied, " We, at least, have never recognized the Southern belligerents ".

St. Peter's Day, the 29th ult., was duly honored in Rome. It is the great Festa of the Church and nearly the whole population of the City seemed to take part in the ceremonies. The Pope officiated in person at the celebration of the Mass in the morning and a vast and perfectly orderly crowd enjoyed the magnificent display of fireworks on the Pincian Hill, at night. His Holiness, whose health continues excellent, takes his departure for Castel Gandolfo, in a few days.

M. Vegezzi, the special messenger from the King of Italy, left Rome, on his return to Florence, last week. Thus far, nothing has been accomplished; nor does the prospect of an ultimate agreement between the Pope and Victor Emanuel seem at all flattering.

I enclose a communication, just received, from an Italian, claiming compensation for property destroyed in South-Carolina.

The few Americans remaining at this season in Rome, tho' far away from their native land, do not forget that this is the Nation's Birthday, and they honor it accordingly. They may be pardoned for repeating, with conscious pride, in the ancient capital of the world, the old *Roman* boast, " I am an *American* citizen ".

GIULIO POSI TO RUFUS KING.

ROME, July the 3d, 1865

Excellency

In the passage of General Sherman's Army through the town of Cheraw, S. Carolina, a number of bales of Cotton, belonging to me were burned by the Federal Troops. The exact number I cannot now state, but it will appear from the official papers, of Mr. Von Groning, Consul at Richmond, before whom the foreign ownership of this cotton was declared, and who informed the Italian Legation at Washington of the same.

I was in South Carolina at the breaking out of the hostilities, and on that event occurring I came abroad, and have resided in Italy ever since. But I could not bring my property away.

I therefore give notice that I claim to be repaid the full value of said Cotton, by the United States' Government, by whose act it was destroyed.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 28.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, July 7, 1865.

Sir:

Your despatch No. 40, of the 24th of May last, and your private note dated the preceding day, have been received. The political information communicated in the former is very interesting and instructive.

The leave of absence which you have requested is cheerfully granted for the space of two or three months. It is expected, however, that you will remain during this period within easy telegraphic reach of Rome.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 44.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, (BERNE) August 3rd, 1865.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 28, from the State Department, under date of July 7th, in reply to mine of May 24th; and granting me the leave of absence for which I had applied. I shall take care, in conformity with your instructions, to keep myself within easy telegraphic communication of Rome, in order to return thither, at once, should my presence, or services be required before the expiration of my leave.

My last advices from Rome represent everything as quiet there. The Pope, it is expected, will remain at Castel Gandolfo until some time in September. The impression is gaining ground that the negotiations between the Pope and Victor Emanuel, which were interrupted early in the summer will be resumed in the fall. Indeed the necessity for a complete understanding between these two potentates grows daily more imperative. The Spanish Ambassador at the Papal Court has tendered his resignation; in consequence, it is said, of a difference of opinion with the existing Spanish Ministry on the Italian question. The recognition by Spain of the new Kingdom of Italy leaves Austria the only one of all the great European Powers which has not yet accepted that established fact. It is not probable that she will continue long in this isolated position.

J. C. HOOKER TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

BOSTON, 1st Sept. 1865.

Dear Sir

My departure for Europe will be on the 13d inst. from this city and it will give me pleasure to take charge of any despatches from the State Department.

The attack on me and the Legation at Rome which appeared in the *N. Y. Tribune* last January was written by Mr. Gay from falsehoods given him by Mr. Snow propitetor [*sic*] of the paper who had them from Stillman.[84] Snow was at Rome sometime was daily intoxicated and was not pleased with the attentions he received from the Legation.

[84] *N. Y. Tribune,* Jan. 12. Sydney H. Gay was managing editor, 1862-1865 (*Dict. Am. Biog.*, VII, 195); George N. Snow was one of the owners of the paper.

Stillman made it a point to talk with all influential persons against me and poisoned the minds of Mr. Fogg, Mr. Evarts and Mr. Wood particularly and strange to say not one of those gentlemen ever spoke to me or to Genl. King.[85]

Bishop Lynch is still at Rome and I hear very nervous regarding his pardon. His clerical character gave him many advantages over a layman in representing the cause of the South. Genl. King was very efficient last winter calling often on Cardinal Antonelli and placing our cause clearly before him. I often went with him.

The Roman Govt. would be glad to see us quarrel with Maximilian, because we have always respected the rights of its church. Had Maximilian played into the hands of the church—all would have been well.

When I took leave of His Holiness last spring He said He was glad the war was ended and quoted the following from Virgil Book VI Line 854[,] *Tu . . . Romane memento Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*[86]

At heart I do not think the Pope wished the Southern cause to succeed.

The Irish Priesthood in Ireland, brought a great lever to bear, by saying we were using up the Irish in the war like dogs. A Republic is a standing protest to absolute Govts. and the diplomatic Corps at Rome is generally represented by extreme legitimists and Count Sartiges with whom I was intimate said He thought He was the only one of the body who believed we should succeed.

My endeavours have always been to uphold our Govt. believing a Conservative Republic the best form of Govt. known. I believe a strong element of conservatism necessary to the preservation of a Republic—and am not an advocate of forcing it on to peoples and nations unfit for it.

We do not make ourselves felt as we should in the councils of the world. European Diplomacy is carried on by dinners and parties—you gather information in this way to be obtained in no other manner.

I should like to give in Rome small but frequent entertainments to members of the Diplomatic Corps Cardinals and Monsignore who are at the heads of the different departments in Rome—in this way I would get at what is going on.

Genl. King feels the necessity of doing the same thing—but has not the means nor have I.

If not a large sum was placed at my disposal I believe I could make it useful to the State Department. *Rome is a great center of news.* Everything going on, all over the world is known there. I am quite

[85] George G. Fogg was U. S. minister to Switzerland, 1861-1865 (*id.*, VI, 485); William M. Evarts was in Europe, 1863-1865, on a government mission connected with the building of Confederate vessels (*ibid.*, p. 216); Fernando Wood, mayor of N. Y., spent the winter of 1865-1866 in Europe (Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*, VI, 592).

[86] Lines 851-853, "Remember thou, O Roman, to spare the humble and to subdue the proud."

well aware that there is no chance of a Secretary with a salary being appointed in Rome and so do not ask for it—and leave the matter for your consideration. With a little money and my knowledge of the men at Rome I believe I could be useful.

Sunday, 3d Sept 1865

Have you ever had any mistrust of Russia?—that she was not our sincere ally? When you have a leisure moment think over all her relations with us. My own belief is, that she is the enemy of every nation that in anyways inteferes [*sic*] with her—and that we do intefere with her. We are great rivals of Russia in the markets of the world[.] We produce Grain[,] Hides and tallow—three great staples of Russian produce—and she has profited very largely by our war and my belief is that she will encourage us in foreign wars, and will foment internal ones'. I think it will be not amiss to sift such Confederate papers as may come into your hands and see if Russia did not hold out inducements to the South to commence the war for separation—and perhaps Pickens might if examined, throw some light on the subject.[87]

The Russian Minister in Rome[88] sought out McClellan gave him a large dinner and paid him marked attention. My opinion is that He was desired by His Govt to make the Genls acquaintance believing him to be a more important personage than He really is and that He might be made useful some future day. With peace we shall become large producers of articles which Russia exports and that country will foment war in evcery country that interferes with her.

I am well aware of the popular opinion in our country of Russia being a sincere friend of ours—But she needs watching and she has her spies in every country and knows well what is going on I have no doubt that she has spies in the State Department possibly in men who profess to hate her. The Russians are considered the greatest intriguers in Europe controlling presses and shaping public opinion—and my opinion is that they need watching.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 45.[89]

Legation of the United States at Rome, Nov: 10th '65.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 29, from the State Department, in reply to mine, No: 44; as also a copy of the Circular to Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States, touching the frequency of applications for leave of absence.

[87] Francis W. Pickens, Governor of S. C., 1860-1862. He demanded the surrender of Sumter and gave the order to fire upon the *Star of the West*.

[88] Baron Meyendorff.

[89] Extract in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

Two events have occurred in Rome, since my last despatch, of more than ordinary interest: the retirement of Monsignor de Merode from the Papal Cabinet [90] and the commencement of the evacuation of the Papal Territory by the French troops. The explanation given by the press of M. de Merode's withdrawal vary according to the political bias of the parties making them. Those who wish to attach but little consequence to the change attribute it to M. de Merode's failing health, while a much larger party see in it an important step in advance and think that it augurs favorably for the reconciliation of Rome and Italy. M. de Merode was understood to reflect the sentiments of the ultra-montane party, in Church and State, and a marked antagonism existed between himself and Cardinal Antonelli, which threatened, at times, to disturb the harmony of the Papal Councils. Now, however, that M. de Merode has retired, the influence of the distinguished Secretary of State has become all paramount and will, it is confidently hoped, be wisely and faithfully employed.

The evacuation of the French troops, in pursuance of the treaty between the Emperor of France and the King of Italy, commenced on Monday last; two batteries of artillery having left Rome that day, to embark on French transports now lying at Civita Vecchia. Other bodies of troops will follow at brief intervals and there seems no reason to doubt that the whole movement will be completed within the period stipulated, to-wit: two years from September 15th, 1864. To replace the soldiers thus withdrawn by Napoleon the Papal Government is recruiting and organizing a considerable force; and the belief gains currency that before the final evacuation of the French an arrangement will be entered into between the Pope and Victor Emanuel which will secure to the Holy See all the protection it needs.

The Cholera still lingers at different points along the Mediterranean coast and within the past few days has been quite fatal in Naples. Thus far, the Pontifical States have escaped, comparatively unscathed; tho' it is hardly to be expected that they will go entirely free. Meanwhile very rigid quarantine regulations are enforced all along the frontier and the result is, that, as yet, but few Americans, or other foreigners, have come to Rome. Should the sanitary condition of the Italian peninsula improve, however, there is every prospect of a large influx of Americans during the coming winter.

Within the current week I have enjoyed two interviews with the Cardinal Secretary of State and conversed at some length on topics connected with American affairs. His Eminence expressed his sincere gratification at the rapid progress towards Peace and Union which our Country was making; and spoke in terms of very warm praise of Presi-

[90] He was succeeded by Ermanno Kanzler. *La campagna romana dell'esercito pontificio nel 1867 descritta dal generale Kanzler e documentata* (Bologna, 1868).

dent Johnson's plan of reconstruction and of the merciful and magnanimous course which had been pursued towards the vanquished rebels.

Among the recent arrivals in Rome is Jacob Thompson, formerly of Mississippi, an ex-member of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet, and especially notorious for his participation in sundry rebel plots of theft, arson and murder, got up in Canada, during the latter part of the war.[91] He travels on a French passport and hails from Paris, and avoids, as he is avoided by, all loyal Americans. I thought it well, in conversation with Cardinal Antonelli yesterday, to give his Eminence some idea of Jacob Thompson's history and antecedants; and from the manner in which the information was received I do not think that he will meet with any flattering attentions from the Papal Authorities.

The Pope, I am happy to say, is in the enjoyment of excellent health and spirits. He passed, Thursday, along the whole length of the Corso, on foot; meeting everywhere, from the crowds who thronged that thoroughfare, unequivocal demonstrations of affection and respect.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 46.[92]

Sir Legation of the United States at Rome, Nov: 18, 1865

I had the honor, yesterday, of an interview with the Holy Father and enjoyed a long and interesting conversation with him about American affairs, as well as the condition of things in Italy and Europe. The Pope had many questions to ask about the progress of events in the United States and expressed great satisfaction at the return of Peace and the reconstruction of the Union. He inquired, particularly, as to the health of the President, whose life, he trusted, would be spared, that he might finish the work he had so well begun. He warmly approved the clemency which had been shown to the rebel leaders and hoped, he said, that Jefferson Davis would also receive the Executive pardon.[93] The most difficult problem, he thought, for the United States to solve, was the proper disposition of the negroes; and he seemed to apprehend that we should find the question a troublesome one. Passing to European affairs, his Holiness remarked that there was great political agitation all over the Continent. Not in Italy only, but in Germany, Spain, France, England, there seemed to be trouble brewing. Ireland was restless and discontented and Fenianism uttered ominous threats. He had no idea, he said, that this movement would affect British rule of Ireland; for the ocean which rolled between the United States and Great Britain forbad[e] the idea

[91] He was Secretary of the Interior, 1857-1861; Governor of Mississippi, 1862-1864. In 1864 he was sent as Confederate commissioner to Canada where he promoted a plan to release the prisoners at Camp Douglas, Chicago, and burn the city.

[92] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

[93] See Roy F. Nichols, "United States *vs.* Jefferson Davis, 1865-1869", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI, 266-284.

of invasion. But, Canada, with its extensive and exposed frontier, offered an easier prize; and thither, he thought, the Fenians, might turn their arms. It would be for the advantage of all parties, the Holy Father remarked, that the United States should take Canada and incorporate it into the American Union, rather than allow the Fenians to possess themselves of it. Better that it should be done by a regularly constituted government, than by a revolutionary irresponsible organization, subject to no control and liable to every excess. His Holiness spoke, I thought, despondingly, of the aspect of affairs in Italy. Within another fortnight, he said Saxony and Bavaria would recognize the Kingdom of Victor Emanuel. The Emperor of France was about to withdraw from Italy and "the poor Pope would be left all alone in his little boat in the midst of the tempestuous ocean." What would happen, God alone knew and to His will and protection the Holy Father committed himself. I expressed the hope that no serious trouble would occur in Rome and reminded his Holiness that it was the duty of the Diplomatic Corps to share his fortunes and remain near his person. Yes, he said, and during the revolutionary movement of '48, when he had sought refuge in the Palace of the Quirinal, the Diplomatic Corps all hurried thither and formed, as it were, a *cordon* round him; so that in the midst of the tumult and the firing he remained calm and tranquil. His Holiness adverted to the concessions which the different Governments of Europe seemed to be making "to the revolutionary spirit of the age." They would not, he said, satisfy those who were clamoring for change, but only encourage them to make further demands; until they would finish by telling the Governments themselves that they could dispense with their further services. Evidently the Holy Father looked upon the condition of affairs in Europe as anything but satisfactory; and it was with deep and manifest emotion that he referred to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe as his only guide and refuge in the apprehended troubles.

After taking my leave of his Holiness I paid the customary visit to the Cardinal Secretary of State and was received by him with his wonted kindness and courtesy. His Eminence, who watches with close attention the progress of events in America, referred with great satisfaction to the reported interview of a delegation from South Carolina with the President of the United States and to the language used and the sentiments avowed by Mr. Johnson on that occasion. His Eminence cordially assented to the Justice of the President's views and expressed his warm and earnest approval of the course pursued by the Federal Authorities in re-establishing law, order and civil government among the people of the States so lately in rebellion against the Union. A policy at once so wise and so humane deserved, as it could not fail, he thought to secure complete success.

The Cholera still prevails, with great severity, at Naples; but, as yet,

there has not been a case in Rome; and the authorities here hope to escape the visitation of the pestilence, at least during the present season. Meantime, very stringent quarantine regulations continue to be enforced all along the Papal frontiers; and the result is, that Rome is comparatively deserted; tho' at this period of the year, it is usually crowded with visitors from all quarters of the globe.

The French troops continue to leave Rome, by detachments, and Count Sartiges, the Ambassador of France, remarked to me, a few days since, that within a year there would not be a single French soldier left in the Papal territory.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 30.[94]

Department of State, Washington, December 18, 1865

Sir:

I have received and read with very great interest your despatch of November 18th, No. 46, in which you give an account of recent interviews between yourself and His Holiness and the Cardinal Secretary of State. The spirit in which the remarks of His Holiness was conceived cannot be too highly commended, and the sentiments of cordiality and good feeling which were expressed both by him and by his Eminence Cardinal Antonelli towards the Government and people of the United States, are fully and warmly appreciated.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 31.

Department of State, Washington, Dec. 20th 1865.

Sir:

I transmit to you a copy of letters of the 18th instant, which, by direction of the President, were addressed respectively, to the Provisional Governor and Governor Elect of the State of Alabama. Similar letters have been addressed to the Provisional Governors and Governors Elect of the States of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Mississippi, from which you will see that civil authority has been restored in those States and that they are recognized as members of the Union.[95]

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[94] Printed in *For. Rel.*, 1866, Pt. II, p. 127. No. 29, Sept. 5, 1865, merely acknowledged receipt of King's No. 44.

[95] See Pres. Johnson's special message of Dec. 18; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 372.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. NO. 47.[96]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Jany: 4, 1866.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the communication from the Secretary of State, in reply to mine of April 28th, transmitting the resolutions adopted by the Americans in Rome, in relation to the tragic events that occurred in Washington on the 14th of the same month. I shall take pleasure in communicating the contents of the despatch to my countrymen in this city.

The ceremonies of Christmas week attracted many visitors to Rome and passed off with their wonted eclat. The magnificence of the weather added to the effect of the imposing pageant; the Holy Father taking a prominent part in the religious exercises at St. Peters'.

In conformity with established usage, all the members of the Diplomatic Corps called in turn upon his Holiness, during the past week, to tender him the congratulations and good wishes appropriate to the season. In the interview which I enjoyed with him the Pope expressed great satisfaction at the general tenor of the news from America and referred to the President's Message as a document of great merit.[97] The Cardinal Secretary of State, whom I saw on the same day, was unusually cordial in his reception and profuse of kind wishes. He, too, referred to affairs in the United States as all going on well and spoke in very warm praise of the Message. He was greatly struck, he said, with its moderate and statesmanlike tone and especially impressed with the manner in which the questions at issue between England and the United States were presented and discussed. That, he thought, was most adroitly done and left England in a very awkward predicament. The events in America, his Eminence added, had fully verified all the assurances I had given him during last winter and spring.

The opinions entertained by the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli on these topics are shared very generally by the Diplomatic Corps in Rome. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that the President's last Message and accompanying documents have made a profound impression upon the rulers and peoples of Europe.

The cessation of the Cholera at Naples and the raising of the quarantine along the Papal borders has once more set in motion the tide of travel and crowds of foreigners, an unusually large proportion being Americans, are flocking to Rome. The general health of this city continues excellent and the winter thus far has been a season of almost unbroken sunshine.

Within the past month the new Austrian and Spanish Ambassadors,

[96] Extract in *For. Rel.*, 1866, Pt. II, pp. 127-128.
[97] Richardson, *op. cit.*, VI, 353-371.

Baron Hubner and Signor Isturitz, have arrived in Rome and presented their credentials to the Pope. With both these gentlemen I have established agreeable personal and official relations.

With the exception of rather frequent complaints about the increase of brigandage, the exact truth of which it is not easy to ascertain, matters continue quiet in the Papal States. The belief is very prevalent, however, that the current year is destined to witness a marked change in the political condition of Italy and Europe.

I avail myself of the occasion to tender to the President and to his faithful Councillors my best wishes for a " Happy New Year " for themselves and for our Country.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 48.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, Jany: 20th, 1866.

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 30, from the State Department, dated Washington, December 18th, 1865, in reply to mine (No: 46) of November 18th, giving an account of recent interviews with His Holiness and with the Cardinal Secretary of State. I am glad to know that the sentiments expressed by the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli, in reference to affairs in the United States, as detailed in that despatch, are so fully appreciated at Washington, and I thought it well to apprize His Eminence the Cardinal of the fact. I therefore availed myself of the opportunity afforded by an official call, a few days since, to read your despatch to Cardinal Antonelli and leave with him a copy of the same in Italian. His Eminence was much gratified with the spirit as well as the language of the despatch and thanked me warmly for the copy which I presented to him. We conversed for some time about affairs in the United States; the Cardinal repeatedly referring to the satisfactory progress now making towards the restoration of harmony and the reconstruction of the Union.

Passing, then, to other topics I asked the Cardinal's opinion about the military rising in Spain and as to the probability of its spreading far, or attaining any decisive success.[98] His Eminince did not seem to attach much importance to the movement, spoke slightingly of Gen: Prim as a leader and said that his latest advices from the Nuncio at Madrid warranted the belief that the insurrection would be speedily suppressed.

Referring to affairs in Italy, I expressed the hope that no violent outbreak would attend, or follow the approaching departure of the French

[98] The military revolt at Aranjuez, under Gen. Prim, was short-lived. Most of his followers surrendered to the Portuguese authorities in January, 1866. Prim, with his suite, followed in a few days, but Portugal refused him asylum. The revolution, which was bloodless, is reported by James E. Harvey, U. S. minister to Portugal, in his despatches to Seward (*For. Rel.*, 1866, Pt. II, pp. 91-95).

troops from Rome; and His Eminence, in reply, spoke quite confidently as to the preservation of public order and the maintenance of the Papal authority.

Having a few spare copies of the Reports of Secretary Stanton and Lieut-General Grant, I have, within the past week, presented them to several members of the Diplomatic Corps in Rome, and, amongst others, to the French Ambassador, Count Sartiges, and to Baron Meyendorff, the Russian Chargé. Both these gentlemen have returned their acknowledgements for these interesting documents and have spoken to me in enthusiastic terms of the wonderful story they tell and the remarkable ability they display.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 49.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, January 27th, 1866.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 31, from the State Department, transmitting copies of letters to the Provisional Governor and Governor elect of Alabama, announcing the restoration of civil authority in that State, as well as in the States of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Mississippi, and their recognition as members of the Union. I have also received the Proclamation of the Secretary of State, conveying the gratifying information that the amendment to the Federal Constitution, abolishing Slavery within the United States and all places subject to their jurisdiction, has been adopted by the requisite majority of three-fourths of all the States and has therefore become valid to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution. I beg leave to tender my congratulations to the President and his Cabinet upon this happy issue out of our National difficulties and especially to the Secretary of State upon the proud privilege of affixing his official signature and seal to the memorable document "proclaiming Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

The most interesting event since my last despatch is the speech of the Emperor Louis Napoleon at the opening of the French Legislative Chambers. His allusion to the Italian question is generally construed as favorable to the maintenance of the Papal Authority, while the intimation that he is preparing to withdraw the French troops from Mexico and the friendly language used towards the United States are received with marked satisfaction by all who desire to see Peace preserved between two ancient allies.

We continue to enjoy the finest possible weather in Rome, the winter, thus far, having been one of almost uninterrupted sunshine; and the Imperial City overflows with visitors, attracted hither by the near approach of the Carnival.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 50.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Feby: 10th, 1866.

Sir

An event of some significance occured here yesterday. I learned last evening from Baron Meyendorf, the Russian Charge d'Affairs, that he had that morning officialy notified Cardinal Antonelli that he was instructed to break off relations with the Papal Court. The Baron informed me that this was in consequence of the language held by the Pope, at an interview which he had with him, in the early part of last month, in relation to the course which the Russian Government had thought fit to pursue towards the Catholics of Poland. The Baron added that he should remain in Rome, but in a private capacity.

I had the honor of an interview, yesterday, with the Cardinal Secretary of State and we conversed, at some length, about the condition of affairs in Mexico. The Cardinal expressed the confident belief that the Emperor of the French would withdraw his troops from Mexico during the current season and fully coincided in the opinion, to which I gave utterance, that there would be no interruption of the friendly relations between France and the United States. Count Sartiges, the Ambassador of France, whom I met in the evening, avowed a like belief.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 51.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, March 2nd, 1866.

Sir

The Americans in Rome celebrated, on the 22nd ult., the Anniversary of Washington's birth. A large number of our countrymen were present at the festival and the proceedings passed off with unwonted spirit; the customary sentiments to the President, to the Army and Navy and to the Union, being received and responded to with the most gratifying unanimity and warmth.

I received, last week, from the Chevalier de Figueiredo, for many years past Charge d'Affaires from Brazil, official notice that he had been appointed Minister Resident at the Papal Court. With this gentleman I have enjoyed, ever since my arrival in Rome, the most agreeable personal and official relations and I was happy to have occasion to congratulate him upon his well-earned promotion.

I had an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, a few days since, and availed myself of the opportunity to ask him whether there was any foundation for the report, which I had seen in several papers, that it was the intention of the Pope to appoint a Cardinal for the United States. His Eminence replied that there was no truth in the story and added that, in all

probability, the Pope would not increase the number of Cardinals for some time to come.

Adverting to political topics, I remarked upon the very different construction which France and Italy seemed to place upon the Convention of the 15th September. This, the Cardinal said, he had predicted at the outset. Each interpreted the Convention in their own sense and each adhered to their interpretation. Public opinion, however, his Eminence added, was nearly unanimous on the subject in France and very much divided in Italy.

We spoke of Fenianism and the Cardinal observed that England was not only greatly emba[r]rassed by the question, but, in his judgement, had made a serious mistake in her mode of treating it. The outcry which the press had raised and the extraordinary measures to which the Government were resorting seemed to him evidence, not only of great alarm, but of conscious weakness, and were calculated, by giving it undue importance, to encourage the very movement they were designed to suppress. England, his Eminence added, was now reaping as she had sown. She had countenanced, if not incited, everywhere, agitation, insurrection, revolution; and now that she was herself in trouble found sympathy nowhere.

Referring, in conclusion, to American affairs, the Cardinal said that he had read, with great satisfaction, the recent intelligence from the United States, and expressed the confident belief that the wise policy of the President would not only secure the reconstruction of the Union, but the restoration of amity and good feeling between the North and the South.

The French continue their preparations for leaving Rome in the coming fall and I see, as yet, no reason to doubt that the treaty of September will be faithfully carried out. To replace these troops the Papal authorities are rapidly recruiting their own army and I was recently informed by General Kansler, the Minister of War, that he expected to have a force of ten, or twelve thousand men ready for service by the time the French withdrew. This number would suffice, no doubt, to maintain order in Rome, but would be powerless against any such popular movement in the Papal States as the friends and partisans of Italian Unity seem generally to anticipate.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 32.

Department of State, Washington, March 15, 1866.

Sir:

Your despatches, of date January 27th, and February 10th, Nos. 49, and 50, have been received. You will please accept the thanks of the Department for the information conveyed in the latter, of political events and opinions at Rome.

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter which was addressed to this Department by Messers John M. Norris, D. D. and John McMullen, D. D.

relative to the appointment of the Reverend Dr. Dunne as Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Dubuque, Iowa.[99] If you can informally favor this you are at liberty to do so.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 52.[100]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, April 4, 1866.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 32 from the State Department, under date of Washington, March 15th, and in reply to mine of January 27th and Feby: 10th. In the matter of the appointment of a bishop for the See of Dubuque, I will not fail to do all that I properly can to promote the wishes of the friends of the Revd: Dr: Dunne.

The ceremonies of Holy Week closed with the imposing celebration of Easter Sunday and the benediction by his Holiness the Pope, in presence of a vast concourse of spectators, filling every part of the immense piazza in front of St. Peters'. The Pope, who is in excellent health, went through his share of the ceremonies without apparent fatigue and his voice, in pronouncing the benediction, was distinctly audible at a considerable distance from the balcony which he occupied.

A rumor was in general circulation here, a day or two since, to the effect that, in view of the embar[r]assed state of the Papal finances and the consequent difficulty of recruiting and maintaining the proposed Foreign Legion in the Papal service, the Emperor Napoleon had decided to retain the French Contingent in Rome for three, or four years longer. I did not, myself, credit the story and at an interview with Cardinal Antonelli, yesterday, asked his Eminence if there was any truth in the report. He replied, at once, in the negative and spoke of it as an idle "*bruit*". Adverting, however, to the threatening aspect of affairs, just now, in Europe and the possibility of a rupture between Prussia and Austria, the Cardinal intimated that this might lead to new and unforseen complications. The position of the Papal Government, he added, was a passive one. They were content to abide the event and leave to others the responsibility of precipitating matters. He deprecated a war between the two great German powers, as involving consequences which none could foretell, and expressed the hope that it might yet be avoided.[101]

[99] John Hennessy was consecrated Bishop of Dubuque, Sept. 30, 1866 (*Dict. Am. Biog.*, VIII, 541). John McMullen, later first Bishop of Davenport, was at this time chancellor of the diocese of Chicago; the only Norris listed in the directory for this year was the Rev. Dr. John W. Norris, of Watertown, Wis.; the "Dr. Dunne" referred to, was probably the Rev. Dr. Denis Dunn, then vicar general of the diocese of Chicago. Sadlier's *Cath. Almanac and Ordo*, 1866.

[100] Extract in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 128-129.

[101] As a sequel to the Danish War of 1864 (note 14, *ante*), Austria and Prussia quarrelled over the disposition of the spoils. The result was the Seven Weeks' War, 1866, with Prussia

His Eminence asked several questions about affairs in America and again spoke in very eulogistic terms of the policy adopted by the President in his dealings with the States lately in rebellion against the Federal Government.

I think it not improbable that another week will bring to an issue the pending questions between Austria and Prussia and decide whether Peace, or War, is to be the *status* of Europe for the coming year.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 53.[102]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, April 23rd, 1866.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 33 from the State Department, under date of March 23rd, in reply to mine, No: 51, of March 2nd.

On Saturday last, 21st instant, a private in the Papal Zouaves, giving his name as H. B. Ste. Marie and claiming to be Canadian by birth, called upon me, for the purpose, as he said, of communicating the information that John S. Suratt, who was charged with complicity in the murder of President Lincoln, but made his escape, at the time, from the United States, had recently enlisted in the Papal Zouaves, under the name of John Watson; and was now stationed with his company, the 3rd, at Sezze. My informant said that he had known Suratt in America; that he recognized him, as soon as he saw him at Sezze; that he called him by his proper name and that Suratt, taking him aside admitted that he was right in the guess. He added that Suratt acknowledged his participation in the plot against Mr Lincoln's life; and declared that Jefferson Davis had incited, or was privy to it. Ste. Marie further said that Suratt seemed to be well provided with money and appealed to him, as a comrade, not to betray his secret; and he expressed an earnest desire that if any steps were taken towards reclaiming Suratt as a criminal, he, Ste. Marie, should not be known in the matter. He spoke so positively, in answer to my questions, as to his acquaintance with Suratt and the certainty that this was the man; and there seemed such an entire absence of motive for any false statements on the subject, that I could not very well doubt the truth of what he told me. I deemed it my duty, therefore, to report the circumstances to the Department and ask for instructions.[103]

and Italy on one side, and Austria and the lesser German states on the other. By the treaty of Prague, Aug. 23, 1866, Venetia was given to Italy, Holstein and the leadership of the German states were relinquished to Prussia. Hayes, *Political and Social Hist. of Modern Europe* (1917 ed.), II, 187-190.

[102] Extract in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 129.

[103] The dramatic career of John Surratt, especially the story of his arrest and trial in connection with the assassination of Pres. Lincoln is given by Thomas M. Harris, *The Assassination of Lincoln, a Hist. of the Great Conspiracy* (Boston, 1892), which reviews Surratt's

Our latest despatches from the North still leave us in doubt whether we are to have Peace, or War in Europe; but from a casual remark, which dropped from Baron Arnim, the Prussian Minister, at a large Diplomatic gathering last evening, the probabilities would still seem to be in favor of War. In the Papal dominions everything continues quiet.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 34. [104]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, April 30, 1866.

Sir:

I have your note of the 6th of April.[105] It would be inexpedient for you with reference to your own position to have a leave of absence.

I will present to the President the name of Colonel Hamilton for a visitor at West Point.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 54.[106]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, May 11th, 1866.

Sir

In my last despatch of April 23rd, I mentioned that H. B. Ste. Marie, a private in the Papal Zouaves, had called upon me for the purpose of communicating the intelligence, that John S. Suratt, one of the persons charged with complicity in the murder of President Lincoln, was a member of the same regiment as himself and then stationed at Sezze. I have since received two letters from S. Marie, relating to this matter, which I enclose for the information of the Department. While awaiting their instructions, the information has been kept secret here.

A man by the name of William Wall, Irish by birth, but a naturalized citizen of the United States, who has been in Rome for eight, or nine months past, was reported, a few days since, to the American Consul here, by the landlord of the hotel where he has been staying, as imbecile and destitute of funds. An inquiry by the Vice-consul, Mr. H. B. Brown,[107] and the Physician to the Legation, Dr. Gould, confirmed these statements.

trial (pp. 212-419); *Life and Extraordinary Adventures of John H. Surratt, the Conspirator*, anonymous (Phila., 1867), with an account of his trial (pp. 43-136); *Trials of John H. Surratt in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia* (Washington, 1867). See also *39 Cong., 2d sess., H. R. Rept., No. 33; 40 Cong., 2d sess., House Ex. Doc., No. 68.* His trial ended in the disagreement of the jury; L. F. Stock, "The U. S. and the Vatican: Past Diplomatic Relations", *Carnegie Institution of Washington, News Service Bulletin*, 1929, No. 10, p. 71.

[104] No. 33, Mar. 23, 1866, acknowledges receipt of King's No. 51; "the information therein is very interesting".

[105] This was probably a personal note; it was not found in the Dept. of State.

[106] Extract in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

[107] Henry B. Brown, of Mass., consular agent who acted as vice consul after Stillman's departure.

The man seemed to be of ordinary intelligence and education; in good general health; quiet and harmless, yet evidently unable to take care of himself, or give any intelligible account of his purposes, or movements. He had no passport, but appeared to have traveled on his certificate of naturalization, granted by the U. S. Court, in California, October, 1859. The landlord stated that when Wall arrived in Rome, some nine months ago, he had about $800, all of which had been expended some time since. Upon consultation and in concert with Mr[.] Hooker, Dr. Gould and Mr. Brown, it was thought advisable to send Wall back to America, by sailing vessel from Leghorn, in the hope that he might there meet with friends, or relatives, who would see that he was properly cared for. A sum of money was raised for the purpose of defraying his necessary expenses; to which I added $25 from the Contingent Fund, deeming the object a legitimate one.

In an interview which I had yesterday with the Cardinal Secretary of State, the conversation turned mainly upon the state of affairs in Europe and the comparative probability of Peace, or War. His Eminence remarked that matters had gone so far as to render war almost inevitable. Austria, nevertheless, would maintain the position she had assumed and stand wholly on the defensive; leaving with Italy, or Prussia, the responsibility of commencing the attack. This, he thought, coupled with the fact that Austria was clearly in the right as to the questions involved, would win for her the sympathies of Europe, as well as the active co-operation of the smaller German Powers and render her very formidable. In the evening, at the French Ambasador's reception, where I met and conversed with several members of the Diplomatic Corps, I found the same opinion, that war was close at hand, very generally and confidently entertained. Count Sartiges, himself, and the Austrian Secretary of Legation, Baron Ottenfels, spoke of it as unavoidable; tho' it was impossible, they said, to foretell how, or when, if once commenced, the war would end. So far as Italy is concerned, there can be no doubt that the idea of hostilities with Austria, in the expectation of winning back Venice, is very popular. During a brief visit which I paid, last week, to Naples, I was a witness to two, or three public demonstrations, called out by the arrival and departure of Italian troops, *en route* for the frontier, which served to show how deep and general was the popular feeling on the subject. The belief, too, is strong, that France, tho' professing the strictest neutrality, will not withhold her sympathy, or possibly her active aid, from Italy, in the effort to repossess herself of Venetia. Everything, in a word, points to war as imminent and inevitable.

The prospect, however, seems to excite no apprehension in this quarter; but is, upon the whole, regarded rather complacently. It is not supposed that the war will approach, or disturb the Papal States; and many believe that in the general convulsion the Pope will regain some of his lost possessions and secure new guarantees for the temporal power. It is thought,

too, that the outbreak of hostilities will be the signal for the immediate increase of the French contingent in this quarter and that the final execution of the treaty of September '63, between Louis Napoleon and Victor Emanuel, will be deferred to some more convenient season.

Henri B. Ste. Marie to Rufus King.[108]

Velletri 23d April, 1866.

Honble. Sir

With reference to the information I had the honor to give you on Saturday last, I most respectfully beg to state and suggest, that it would be advisable to proceed at once and ascertain if such information is correct, as I understand that my company may be soon under orders to go further in the mountains, and it would be more difficult for me to communicate with you. As to the identity of the party I can assure you on my most sacred honor it is lost time to acquire further proofs. I am fully convinced that he is the same individual, I have known in Baltimore, I have seen him here, have spoken to him, recognized him at once, and when he he [*sic*] made himself known to me and acknowledged he was the same party I thought he resembled to, he related several particulars of our first meeting at Ellen Gowan 15 miles from Baltimore where I was then engaged as teacher, which no one but himself could have remembered. This was about a year before the assassination of President Lincoln, all this occurred about a fortnight ago. I then resolved that as soon as I could get leave to go to Rome, I would seek the American Minister and inform him of the fact, which no one here, and I am certain in Europe knows but myself. I am fully aware of the danger of my position, for in my opinion, that party must have friends here, and the utmost caution must be used, both in securing him and for my personal safety. I have told you it is my desire to leave the army as soon as possible, and that I can do by paying a sum of 5 or 6 hundred franks. I think I have done my duty in conscience and trust in you not to be forgotten.

I shall expect an answer at your earliest convenience, in writing to me, use ordinary paper and envelope and take a form and turn of expression, so as none but myself will be able to understand.

Henri Ste. Marie to Rufus King.[109]

Velletri 7 May 1866

Genl:

I am in receipt of your honoured favor of 4th. instant, and in reply beg to state, that the party in question is still at the place mentioned in my last letter to you, if anything happens I shall immediately advise you, also if I change quarters I shall let you know where you can address me.

Hoping everything will turn out to your satisfaction and for the greatest advantage of the United States, I hope justice to the ever lamented memory of President L. will be made. I have been greatly disappointed with this Zouave Corps. I long to revisit my native land, and the gray hair of my father and mother, and wish to make of the United States my last and permanent home.

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[108] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 130. Ste. Marie signs himself as "Zouave pontifical, 9me Compagnie".

[109] *Ibid.*

F. W. SEWARD, ACTING SECRETARY, TO RUFUS KING. No. 35.[110]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, May 21st 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 23d ultimo, No. 53, was duly received, and a copy of so much of it as relates to John H. Surratt, was promptly communicated to the Secretary of War. Enclosed I transmit a copy of a letter from him upon the subject, together with a communication from the Judge Advocate General to whom your report was referrred by the Secretary of War.[111] You are instructed to obtain if possible, pursuant to General Holt's suggestion, the full statement, verified by oath, of St. Marie.

F. W. SEWARD, ACTING SECRETARY, TO RUFUS KING. No. 36.[112]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, May 24th, 1866.

Sir:

Since the date of the instruction addressed to you in answer to your despatch No. 53, of the 23d ultimo, a letter has been received at this Department from Mr. Holt, the Judge Advocate General, in which he states that it has been ascertained that the name of the person supposed to be alluded to in your despatch is Henri Beaumont de St. Marie. He is represented to be about 5 feet 8 inches in heighth, 30 years old, of a very dark complexion with black hair, with sharp piercing eyes. Mr. Holt suggests that if he should make a statement in regard to Surratt's confession, there should be embodied in it his entire name, together with the circumstances of his sojourn in the United States—if he were ever here—mentioning dates, places, etc., as well as the names of some of the persons with whom he was associated. This, Mr. Holt thinks, will make the question of identity one of easy solution.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 56 [55].[113]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, June 4, 1866.

Sir

Contrary to the opinion very generally entertained, the month of May has expired without bringing any solution of the questions at issue between

[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

[111] These letters are printed in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 131. Judge Advocate Gen. Holt writes of Ste. Marie: "This man, there is reason to believe, is the same referred to by one of the witnesses on the trial of the assassins of the President. He was represented to have been engaged in school-teaching in Maryland, at a village called Ellangowan, in the year 1853. Afterwards he came to Washington, and was for a short time employed by Father Wiget [White]. He stated that he had come from Montreal, Canada, where he had sold his farm, the proceeds of which he had lost in this country. He spoke French, Italian, and English fluently, and was known as Henry de St. Marie."

[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132, where is also printed Holt's letter of May 22, referred to in Seward's letter.

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

Austria, Prussia and Italy; and Europe continues in doubt whether to expect Peace, or War. The Conference, or Congress, proposed by England, France and Russia, could not well be declined and the coming week will probably witness the opening session. But unless Austria has fully made up her mind to part with Venice, the prospect of an amicable agreement is still remote; and the popular excitement throughout Italy is so great that war can hardly be avoided. The French Ambassador, with whom I conversed on the subject, a day, or two since, seemed to think that hostilities were inevitable and near at hand. Such is unquestionably the prevalent belief here.

The Cardinal Secretary of State, who has been very seriously ill, is, I am happy to say convalescent. For nearly two weeks he was unable to receive visitors, or transact business; and his condition was such as to excite much apprehension. Happily, the danger is past. His Holiness could ill afford to lose so able and devoted a councillor.

It is understood that the Pope intends to create three new Cardinals within the current month: *viz:* Monsignor Manteucci and Prince Hohenlohe, both attached to the Papal Household; and the distinguished Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Cullen.[114]

The festival of Corpus Domini was celebrated with all customary pomp, on Thursday last; his Holiness taking conspicuous part in the procession and looking remarkably well.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. PRIVATE.

WASHINGTON, June 9th 1866.

Dear Sir:

I have received your private note of the 21st ultimo,[115] and I thank you for the information it conveys concerning the threatened disturbances in Europe, which I have read with much interest.

I note what you say in reference to your request for a leave of absence, and I appreciate the explanations you have made. But we are in a party revolutionary commotion here, and every indulgence taken by a public officer exposes him to assaults which the Department is expected to yield to or defend him against. It ought not to be expected to hold such an attitude.

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[114] Cardinals Paul Cullen, Gustave d'Hohenlohe, Luigi Bilio, and Domenico Consoline were created at the consistory of June 22. *Annuario Pontificio*, 1867.

[115] Not found, but it evidently concerned leave of absence.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 37.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, June 15th, 1866.

Sir:

The Honorable Charles Upson, of the House of Representatives,[116] has sent to this Department the enclosed letter which was found among the effects of his brother, Mr. G. E. Upson, a United States Indian Agent, who died in March last at Sacramento, California, while on his way to this city. It is forwarded to you in the hope that you may be able to secure its transmission to its destination.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 56.[117]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, June 19th, 1866.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of despatch No: 36, under date of May 24th, and referring to certain instructions addressed to me, in answer to my despatch No: 53, of the 23rd of April. I hasten to say that these instructions have not yet come to hand and it would appear from the number (36) of the despatch now acknowledged, that two of the series from the State Department, to-wit: Nos: 34 and 35, are missing; the last received, previous to the present one, being No: 33 of March 23rd. Under the circumstances, I venture to request that duplicates of Nos: 34 and 35 be at once forwarded to me. Awaiting their arrival, I will act upon the suggestion of the Judge Advocate General, referred to in your last, and endeavour to obtain from Ste. Marie, who is still at Velletri, the farther and fuller statement which the Judge deems desirable. Ste. Marie, answers exactly to the description given of him in Judge Holt's letter and is, no doubt, the same person. He adheres, confidently, to his original statement in regard to Suratt, who, at the present speaking, is, with his company, at Veroli, some forty miles from Rome.

I had the honor, this morning, of an interview with the Pope, as well as with the Cardinal Secretary of State. The latter, I am happy to say, has so far recovered from his recent severe illness as to resume his official functions. His Holiness continues in the enjoyment of excellent health. He received, yesterday and to-day, the congratulatory visits of the Diplomatic Corps upon the recurrence of another anniversary, the twentieth, of his elevation to the Papal Throne. Of the two hundred and fifty-six successors of St. Peter, nine only, of whom the present Pontiff is one, have reigned for a longer period than twenty years.

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[116] Of Michigan; nothing could be found concerning the enclosure.
[117] Extract in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 133.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. Private.

Rome, June 19, '66.

I received yesterday, my dear Mr. Secretary, your despatch No: 34, in reference to Suratt, etc., and answered it immediately to let you know that the " instructions " referred-to *had not yet been received* and that *two* of the Department despatches (34 and 35) seemed to be *missing*. They may have been mis-sent, or lost, in some way and I therefore suggest that duplicates be forwarded, immediately. As one or two other letters that we have been for sometime expecting from the U. S., are not yet at hand, we think it possible that they may be in company, *somewhere,* with the missing despatches. Do you happen to remember whether any private letters for us were forwarded with despatches 34 and 35?

My last letters from home, of June 2nd, speak quite hopefully of an amicable settlement of the questions at issue between the President and Congress. We all hope, most earnestly, for such a result. The Fenians (!), I see, have actually *done* something, at last; tho' it was rather a slim demonstration after such an infinite deal of talk.[118] On this side of the water, we are hourly expecting to hear the first gun of the great European War. Peace is no longer talked, or thought of; and all sides seem to be preparing for a desperate struggle. Thank Heaven, our country, at least, may hope to escape the calamity.

My wife joins me in kindest regards to the Governor, your wife and yourself.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 57.[119]

Legation of the United States At Rome, June 23rd. '66.

Sir

In my anxiety to reply, at once, to despatch No: 36, from the State Department, received on the 19th instant, I had only time for a brief reference to the interview and conversation which I enjoyed with the Pope, on the day that my last communication was written. His Holiness spoke, at some length, of the impending European War, and condemned very strongly the course pursued by Prussia. On the other hand he highly commended the Austrian Emperor, for the moderation and ability which he had displayed, and did not at all disguise his sympathies for the success of the Austrian arms. In reply to my question, as to the probability of his going to his country residence at Castel Gandolfo, during the heats of summer, his Holiness said that, as yet,

[118] The Fenians made several attacks along the Canadian frontier in 1866. In the previous year a convention was held in New York for the purpose of establishing an independent government.

[119] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

it was undecided. His movements would necessarily depend upon the progress and incidents of the War; but if matters continued quiet in the Papal States, as he seemed to anticipate, he should probably go to the mountains in the course of the next month.

Adverting to American affairs, the Pope expressed his sincere gratification at the rapid recovery of the United States from the destructive effects of the late War and the evident progress making towards the complete restoration of Peace and Union and he begged me to convey to the President the assurance of his lively sympathy, as well as of his cordial approbation of the policy which the Executive had thus far pursued. He wished the President all success, he said, in the good work which he had so well begun and was so earnestly prosecuting. I thanked his Holiness for this friendly expression of his sentiments and assured him that it would give me great pleasure to communicate them to the proper Department.

Thursday last, the 21st inst., was the twentieth (20th) anniversary of the coronation of the present Pontiff and as such was duly commemorated by the Roman People. Yet notwithstanding the fact that the Pope is held in general reverence and regard, the liveliest interest is felt here in the progress of the Austro-Italian War and the success of Victor Emanuel's arms anxiously desired, as involving the future *status* of this Imperial City and its final release from civil and ecclesiastical thraldom. But however it may fare with Venice, there is no present probability that Rome will become part of the Italian Kingdom.

In compliance with the suggestion contained in your last despatch (No: 36) I communicated immediately with Ste. Marie, at Velletri, and received from him, yesterday, the accompanying document. I had, at the same time, a long conversation with him, which tended to confirm my belief in the truth of his statements. He repeated to me Surratt's confession of complicity in the murder of President Lincoln and the admission of his mother's guilty participation in the same plot. He said that Surratt was well supplied with money by parties in Paris and London. He avowed his readiness to proceed at once to Washington and testify to all he knew in the premises; only asking to have his expenses paid and some compensation made for his time and trouble. I requested him to describe Surratt to me, which he did; and it corresponded exactly with the description given by the witness Weichmann at the trial of the conspirators (see page 116 of Volume published by Ben Pittman, Recorder etc.).[120] I cautioned him not to speak of the matter to any one; but to remain quiet until he heard from me; only keeping me advised, from time to time of his own and Surratt's movements and whereabouts. He returned to Velletri last evening. I await,

[120] Louis J. Weichman, whose testimony is given in the several accounts of the trials of John H. Surratt. He said he first met Surratt at St. Charles College, Md.

of course, the receipt of the instructions referred-to in despatch No: 36, before taking any further steps in the matter.

HENRI STE. MARIE TO RUFUS KING.[121]

ROME, June 21st, 1866.

General,

Agreably [*sic*] with your desire I have the honor to make the following statement.

1°. I am Canadian born, and was living in the United States when the late rebellion broke out, I was engaged as teacher in a small village in Maryland, called little Texas or Ellen Gowan and there got acquainted with John H. Suratt and Wm. Weichman, about 6 months before the end of the war. I had removed to Washington, and was there engaged in St. Mathews Institute, under the Superintendency of Father White.[122] Weichman who was a friend of Suratt was there with me. I had occasion to see him several times, he and Weichman who was the principal witness in the trial of the assassins of President Lincoln, were intimates. From difficulties with Weichman I left Washington and joined the Northern Army as Substitute for *E. D. Porter* of Newark, Delaware, Principal of an Academy in that City. Not being used to hardships I straggled in the first marches, and was picked up by Stuarts Cavalry, near Orange Court House, Virginia, and imprisoned in Castle Thunder Richmond. Having being [*sic*] acquainted with the plots of a Company of forgers who were then in the same prison, I acquainted Genl. Winder of their intentions, and as a reward for my services, got my liberty and was sent free to Nassau and from their [*sic*] to my native home Canada, having gone first to England on board a vessel loaded with cot[t]on on the account of the Confederacy.

2°. After my return home the unfortunate assassination of President Lincoln took place. I immediately went to the United States Consul at Montreal, and informed him of what I [k]new about Suratt and Weichman and told him that in my opinion I thought one was as guilty as the other and acted only through fear in selling his accomplice. I have met Suratt here in Italy, in the Zouaves of the Pope where I am myself, he has acknowledged to me the [*sic*] he was the instigator of the murder and had acted on the instructions and orders of persons he did not name, but some of whom are in New York and others in London. He told me a party in London offered him £10,000 to publish a statement of the affair but he refused.

I beg to say I am prepared to go to the United States, and give all the evidence I know in the unfortunate matter.

I am personally known in the United States, to E. D. Porter, of Newark, *Delaware,* Neil and Derve proprietors of the St. Louis Hotel, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, R. H. Labberton, professor of Greek in the University of the same city.

I have known in Richmond, Genl. Winder, Captain Winder, his son, Major Carrington and Major Parkhill, and Capt. Alexander who was then Commander of Castle Thunder.

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[121] *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* pp. 134-135.

[122] Rev. Charles I. White, pastor of St. Matthew's. For "Wm." Weichman, above, read "Louis J."

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.[123]

ROME, June 30th, '66.

My dear Governor

I have just received your kind note of June 9th, and cheerfully acquiesce in the reasons you assign for declining to grant me leave of absence. Certainly, notwithstanding the heat and alleged unhealthiness of Rome, during the summer months, it is no great hardship to have to remain in a city so full of interest and attractions. As you will learn from the accompanying despatch,[124] the missing document from the State Department arrived, all right, today. I cannot imagine where, or how, it has been delayed. I will act forthwith, upon the instructions in regard to Ste. Marie. He is willing and anxious to go to the United States and can get his release from the Pontifical Zouaves by paying £50, or so. I should judge that his parole evidence would be much more desirable than any certified statement. He would expect to have his expenses paid and some compensation made for his time.

You will see that the war has fairly begun in Italy; and with a pretty serious check for Victor Emanuel. The battle was fought—as many of ours were—on a *Sunday,* and the Anniversary of Solferino—June 24. The Italian soldiers fought well, but they are no match for the admirably trained legions of Austria, the finest troops I ever saw. Besides, the Austrians fairly *out-generalled* their foes; cutting them in two and then defeating them in detail. No doubt, however, Victor Emanuel, after a few days rest and re-organization, will make another attempt to break thro' the formidable " quadrilateral ". I think he will find, in the end, that it is a position which must be *turned*; as a direct assault can hardly, by any possibility succeed.

My mother and sisters, after a very pleasant visit home, returned to Europe in the *Fulton*; landing at Falmouth on the 20th., where my father met them. They talk of spending the summer in England. The *London Times,* you will see, gives our government full credit for its prompt and decisive action in putting down the Fenian folly.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 58.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, June 30th, 1866.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 37, from the State Department, bearing date June 15th and enclosing a letter which the Hon: Charles Upson, of the House of Representatives desired to have forwarded to its destination in Rome. I will send it,

[123] Partly printed, *ibid.*, p. 135.

[124] There was no enclosure.

at once, to the College of the Propaganda, according to the address which it bears.

I also received, by to-day's mail, and hasten to acknowledge, the missing despatch No: 35, of May 21st, containing the instructions of the Department in reply to my letter of April 23rd. I will endeavour, without delay, to procure the desired statement, under oath, from Ste. Marie.

St. Peter's Day was celebrated in Rome, yesterday, with accustomed pomp. The Pope, who officiated in person at the imposing ceremonies in the grand Church, seemed to be in excellent health. Cardinal Antonelli, though still slowly improving, has not yet fully recovered from his recent severe attack of gout.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 59.[125]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, July 14th, 1866.

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of a Circular from the State Department, under date of June 18th, announcing the death of the Hon: Lewis Cass and directing suitable honors to be rendered to the memory of the deceased, at home and abroad.[126]

In compliance with instructions heretofore received, I have obtained and herewith transmit an additional statement, sworn and subscribed to by H. B. de Ste. Marie, touching J. H. Suratt's acknowledged complicity in the assassination of the late President Lincoln. Ste. Marie again expressed to me his great desire to return to America and give his evidence in person. He thinks that his life would be in danger, here, should it be known among his comrades that he had betrayed Suratt's secret.

Our National Anniversary was duly honored, on the 4th instant, by the few Americans remaining in Rome at this season of the year.

I had the honor of an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, yesterday morning. He continues slowly to improve in health and tho' still showing traces of severe illness is now able to attend to all the duties of his station. The Holy Father is perfectly well and preparing for a summer visit to the mountains.

The great events of the last few weeks, in Italy and Germany, occupy all thoughts in Rome and manifold are the speculations to which they have given rise. The prevailing belief here, is, that Austria cannot recover from the terrible blow which she received in the fearful defeat of Sadowa.[127]

[125] The second paragraph only is printed in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 135; the affidavit of Ste. Marie, enclosed, is given in full (pp. 135-136).

[126] Cass died in Detroit, June 17.

[127] This battle, July 3, was the decisive engagement of the war; see note 101, *ante*, p. 358.

ROME 10th July 1866

I, Henri B. de Ste. Marie, a native of Canada, British America, aged thirty three, do swear and declare under oath, That about six months previous to the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln I was living in Maryland, at a small village called Ellen Gowan or little Texas about twenty five or thirty miles from Baltimore, where I was engaged as teacher, for a period of about five months. I there and then got acquainted with Lewis J. Wiechman and John F. Suratt, who came to that locality to pay a visit to the parish priest. At that first interview a great deal was said about the war and slavery—the sentiments expressed by these two individuals being more than strongly—secessionnists. In the course of the Conversation I remember Suratt to have said that President Lincoln would certainly pay for all the men that were slain during the war. About a month after I removed to Washington at the instigation of Wiechman and got a situation as Tutor in St. Mathew's Institute, where he was himself engaged, Suratt visited us weekly, and once he offered me to send me South, but I declined. I did not remain more than one month at Washington, not being able to agree with Wiechman and enlisted in the army of the North as stated in my first statement in writing to General King. I have met Suratt Here in Italy at a small town called Velletri, he is now known under the name of John Watson, I recognized him before he made himself known to me, and told him privately, you are John Suratt, the person I have known in Maryland. He acknowledged he was and beg[g]ed of me to keep the thing secret. After some conversation, we spoke of the unfortunate affair of the assassination of President Lincoln, and these were "his words Damn the Yankees, they have killed my mother, but I have done them as much harm as I could, we have killed Lincoln, the nigger's friend"[.] He then said speaking of his mother had it not been for me and that Coward Wiechman my mother would be living yet. It was fear made him speak, had he kept his tongue there was no danger for him, but if I ever return to America or meet him elsewhere, I shall kill him. He then said he was in the secret service of the South, and Wiechman who was in some department there used to steal copies of the dispatches and forward them to him and thence to Richmond. Speaking of the murder he said they had acted under the orders of men who are not yet known, some of whom are still in New York and others in London, I am aware that money is sent him yet from London. When I left Canada he said, I had but little money but I had a letter for a party in London, I was in disguise, with dyed hair an[d] false beard, that party sent me to a Hotel where He told me to remain till I would hear from him, after a few weeks he came and proposed me to go to Spain, but I declined and asked to go to Paris, he gave me Seventy pounds with a letter of introduction to a party there, who sent him here to Rome, where he joined the Zouaves, he says he can get money in Rome at any time. I believe he is protected by the Clergy and that the murder is the result of a deep laid plot not only against the life of President Lincoln, but against the existence of the republic, as we are aware that priesthood and Royalty are and always have been opposed to liberty. That such men as Suratt, Booth, Wiechman and others, should of their own accord plan and execute the infernal plot which resulted in the death of President Lincoln is impossible, there are others behind the curtain who have pulled the strings to make these scoundrels act. I have also asked him if he knew Jefferson Davis he said no, but that he had acted under the instructions of persons under his immediate orders, being asked if Jefferson Davis had anything to do with the assassination he said "I *am not going to tell you*". My impression is that he brought the order from Richmond, as he was in the habit of going there weekly, he must have bribed the others to

do it, for when the event took place he told me he was in New-York, prepared to fly as soon as the deed would be done. He says he does not regret what has taken place, and that he will visit New-York in a year or two, as there is a heavy shipping firm there, who had much to do with the South, and he is surprised that they have not been suspected.

This is the exact truth of what I know about Suratt, more I could not learn being afraid to awaken his suspicions.

And furthermore I do not say.

HENRI B. DE STE. MARIE

Sworn and subscribed before me at the American Legation in Rome this tenth (10th) day of July A. D. 1866.

As witness my hand and seal of office

[*Seal*]

RUFUS KING
Minister Resident

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.[128]

ROME, Saturday, July 14.

My dear Governor

I send herewith Ste. Marie's sworn statement (as made out by himself) about Suratt's confession.[129] Ste. Marie is very anxious to return to America and give his evidence, in person, before the Judge-Advocate General. He thinks that his life would be in danger, among his wild Zouave comrades, if it became known that he had betrayed Suratt's secret. He is very desirous, too, to see his old mother, still living in Canada and in straitened circumstances. It would not be difficult, nor expensive, to procure his discharge from the Zouaves, ship him to Havre and thence, with the help of the U. S. Consul there, to New York—always providing that his presence and evidence are wanted in Washington.

We have had a series of exciting events, during the past fortnight. Prussia has won a great victory and is master of the situation. There is great disappointment here, among the clerical party, etc., at the unexpected and complete defeat of the Austrians; but it is thought that Napoleon will not allow the House of Hapsburg to be entirely prostrated. The Italians still insist that they mean to *conquer* Venetia for themselves, and will not accept it as a gift, from France.

The summer in Rome continues hot, but dry and so far healthy. The "forestieri" have all gone. We look, however, for a large reflux in October.

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[128] First paragraph printed in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 136.
[129] Preceding document.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 39.[130]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, July 16th 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 23d of June, No. 57, has been laid before the President who receives with much satisfaction the kindly and friendly message which it brings from the Holy Father.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 40.[131]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, July 16th 1866.

Sir:

In further acknowledgment of your despatch of the 23d of June, I have to inform you that I have laid before the Secretary of War, the letter which accompanies it, and which was written by Henri B. Ste. Marie on the 21st of June last.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 60.[132]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, July 24th, 1866.

Sir

The great events which have followed each other with such startling rapidity, during the course of the present month, have filled Rome with various and exciting rumors. The signal victory of the Prussians at Koenigratz, or Sadowa; the cession of Venezia to France and its acceptance by the Emperor; the unopposed advance of the Italian army into what had, apparently, thus become French territory; the steady progress of the Prussian arms, in all directions; the seeming helplessness of Austria; the absolute non-intervention of the other European powers; and, finally, the signing of the preliminaries of Peace—all within the brief space of three weeks—make up a chapter of the world's history of unsurpassed interest. The sympathies of the Papal Court and of the Clerical party were very openly and strongly with Austria and deep and general was the regret at the news of her fearful overthrow. On the other hand, a very large proportion of the Roman people hailed, with intense delight, every triumph of the Italian arms and are eagerly looking forward to the hour when the National flag shall replace the French tri-color on the Castle of St. Angelo.

What is to be the *status* of Rome, in the contemplated re-arrangement

[130] No. 38, July 10, acknowledges King's No. 56, and sends duplicates of instructions Nos. 34 and 35.

[131] *For. Rel.*, 1866, Pt. II, p. 137.

[132] All but the last sentence of this despatch is printed in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 137-139.

of the Map of Europe, forms, just now, the general topic of conversation here and gives rise to all sorts of rumors and conjectures. On Saturday last I was informed by a dignitary of the Church, usually very well informed in all political matters, that the Emperor of the French, in reply to a question from the Papal Nuncio at Paris, had said that it would not be in his power to intefere for the protection of the Pope; that he could not control the march of the revolution. On the same day, Marchese Bargagli, the representative, here, of the ex-Grand Duke of Tuscany, applied to Mr. J. C. Hooker (of the Banking house of Maquay, Pakenham and Hooker and Acting Secretary of Legation) to know if he could take charge of his plate and valuables, in the event of his being obliged suddenly to leave Rome. The Marchese, in explanation, said, that the events of the war, so disastrous to Austria, threatened the overthrow of the Papal authority; that France, the only power which could interpose, with effect, in the Pope's behalf, was unwilling to do so; that Louis Napoleon had declared his inability to control the march of the revolution and had notified the Papal Nuncio that his Holiness must make terms for himself; and that, in all probability, his Holiness would be driven to the alternative of abandoning Rome and retiring to Malta, which had again been placed at his disposal by the British Government. Anxious to learn what foundation existed for these reports, I called, the next day, upon the Ambassadors of France and Austria. The former was at Albano, but the latter I found at home and enjoyed with him a long and interesting conversation. I was very much struck with the extreme depression under which Baron Hubner seemed to be laboring. The expression of his face, the tones of his voice, the language and sentiments which he uttered, were alike sad, desponding, almost hopeless. He had had no intelligence, he said, from Vienna, for several days; the telegraphic communication being interrupted and that by mail difficult and irregular. He did not know, therefore what to anticipate as likely to flow from the proposed conference; or what were the precise terms of the preliminaries of Peace. Nor could he, in the absence of such information, form any satisfactory opinion as to the probable effect of the pending negotiations upon the fortunes of the Holy See. I gathered, however, as much, perhaps, from the manner, as the matter, of the Baron's remarks, that he puts but little trust in Louis Napoleon; that he thinks Prussia and Italy will settle matters pretty much as they please; that Austria must, perforce, acquiesce; and that the prospect for the maintenance of the Pope's temporal power is, at best, a very doubtful one.

In the hope of learning something more definite on this interesting topic, I called, yesterday, upon the Cardinal Secretary of State and was glad to find a very marked improvement in his health since my last interview. His Eminence, in reply to my questions, spoke of the future

as shrouded in clouds and darkness. His private advices from Vienna, he said, described the condition of things there as terrible. Discouragement, despair, a panic, in fact, prevailed on all hands. Great numbers of families were leaving the city, carrying with them their valuables, etc. The jewels, treasure and archives of the Government had been sent off to Comorn. And if the war continued Vienna must fall. The preliminaries of Peace, however, had been signed and tho' the conditions were not yet known, he anticipated that a European Congress would be held for their discussion and settlement, in which the Roman question would come up with the rest. His Eminence spoke, in strong terms, of the aggressive conduct of Prussia and did not conceal his opinion that Austria was in the right and had behaved with great moderation and dignity. He commented significantly upon the course pursued by the Emperor of the French and especially upon the fact, that *after* the cession of Venezia to Louis Napoleon and its acceptance by him had been officially announced in the *Moniteur,* the Italian Army had crossed the Po and invaded the French territory, without a single French soldier being despatched to its defence. It was impossible, the Cardinal said, that Cialdini could have ventured upon so bold and decisive a step without a previous secret understanding between Louis Napoleon and Victor Emanuel. What the nature and extent of this understanding might be was not known, and hence the difficulty of conjecturing what part the Emperor of the French would play in the approaching conference. Apparently he was master of the situation, unless, indeed, the revolution proved stronger than he was, or that this alleged power of the revolution was made to serve as an excuse for carrying out a pre-conceived purpose. At present, his Eminence in conclusion, said, all was quiet in Rome, but its future was involved in doubt. As for the Holy Father, he could only, patiently and trustfully, abide the event; leaving the issue in the hands of the Great Ruler of the Universe.

I have thus given the substance of the Cardinal's remarks, which left on my mind the impression that his Eminence himself, for the present at least, was unprepared what to expect as the result of the approaching conference; and unable, therefore, to say what probability exists that Rome, as well as Venice, is about to be absorbed by the newly-formed kingdom of Victor Emanuel. But it cannot be doubted that such is the prevalent opinion, if not hope, in Rome itself; and that, without any change in their faith, or diminution in their sentiments of regard and veneration for the Holy Father, the great body of the Roman People ardently desire to see the Ancient Mistress of the World, become the Capital of free, united and independent Italy. Should this expectation be realized and the Pope, in consequence, withdraw from Rome, I respectfully request the instructions of the Department as to the course which it would then become my duty to pursue.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 61.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, July 30th, '66.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 38 from the State Department, under date of July 10th, transmitting, in compliance with my request of June 19th, duplicates of Nos: 34 and 35, which, at the date of that request, had failed to reach me. As I wrote under date of June 30th, the missing despatches came duly to hand on that day.

I received, on the 28th, inst., from the Count du Chastel the customary notice that he had on that day presented to the Pope letters accrediting him as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Holy See.[133] The Count, for several years past, has filled the post of Minister Resident at this Court and I am happy to say that our relations, both personal and official, have been intimate and agreeable.

I learned, casually, last week that Cardinal Reisach, one of the ablest and most influential members of the Holy College, had been despatched on a secret mission to England.[134] Yesterday I was informed, on very fair authority that the Cardinal's errand was to treat with the British Government for the occupancy, temporary or otherwise, of the Island of Malta by the Court of Rome, in case the Pope should feel compelled to withdraw from the city. The probability of such a move, as intimated in my last despatch, mainly depends upon the result of the Conference about to be held for the settlement of the terms of Peace between Austria and the Allied Powers. Although hostilities, for the present, have ceased and the Emperor of the French will spare no efforts or influence to bring about a permanent Peace, the difficulties in the way are neither few, nor trifling. The popular excitement throughout Italy is very great and seems to be on the increase. The national pride, sorely wounded by the ill-success of the Italian arms, both on sea and land, revolts at the thought of owing to Prussia, or France, what they had confidently hoped to win for themselves and the almost universal cry is still for War. Even the partisans of the Holy See seem more disposed to continue *à l'outrance* the struggle which has begun, than to consent to a Peace which they fear will prove short-lived and delusive.

The Asiatic Cholera is prevailing quite extensively in different parts of the Continent and along the shores of the Mediterranean and at most of the Italian ports a strict quarantine is now enforced.

We received here on Saturday, the 28th instant, the tidings of the safe

[133] Of the Low Countries.

[134] Cardinal Charles Augustus von Reisach, prefect of the Congregation of Studies. His mission may have been for another purpose; earlier, he with the English and French cardinals—Wiseman and Villecourt, were named a commission to receive financial offerings for the defence of the Pope. De Cesare, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

arrival of the *Great Eastern* at Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, and the successful completion of the Atlantic Telegraph: a marvellous triumph of science, enterprize and perseverance. May the submerged cable prove an additional and strong bond of amity and good will between the Old and the New World.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 62.[135]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, August 8th, '66.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatches Nos: 39 and 40, from the State Department, under date of July 16th, in reply to mine of June 23rd.

Since my last, of July 31st, both the Spanish and Austrian Ambassadors at the Papal Court have left Rome.[136] The departure of the Spanish Ambassador I understand to be in consequence of a change of Ministry at Madrid. The Austrian envoy, Baron Hubner, I am informed, is to be charged with the formation of a new Cabinet at Vienna.

I had an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, yesterday. His Eminence spoke very doubtfully of the future of Rome and did not seem to think that the pending negotiations for Peace were likely to have a favorable issue; or that Peace, if concluded now, would be of long continuance. I availed myself of the opportunity to repeat to the Cardinal the information communicated to me by Ste. Marie in regard to John H. Suratt. His Eminence was greatly interested by it and intimated that if the American Government desired the surrender of the criminal there would probably be no difficulty in the way.

I learned yesterday that a French Ecclesiastic of high rank had recently arrived in Rome,[137] charged with a special mission from the Emperor to the Holy Father. On Saturday last he had a private interview with the Pope and communicated to his Holiness the Emperor's views of the situation and the conditions upon which he will continue his protectorate of the Holy See. If I am rightly informed, two of these are, that the Pope will *secularize* the administration of the Government; *i. e.* appoint none but laymen to office; and that he will surround himself with a Constitutional Senate. It is not known what reply the Pope made to these propositions.

I understand that a conclave of Cardinals was held last evening, at which the questions, whether the Pope should leave Rome and, if so, whither he should go were discussed at length, but without arriving at a conclusion. Notwithstanding the constant and positive averment of

[135] Only the latter part of the second paragraph is printed in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 139.
[136] Isturiz and Hübner.
[137] Not identified.

the French Ambassador, that the French troops will withdraw from Rome in December next, in conformity with the Franco-Italian treaty of '64, the opinion is widely entertained that Louis Napoleon will yet find some reason, or pretext, for retaining his soldiers in the Papal States. Unless he does so, it seems generally conceded that the temporal power of the Pope approaches its end.

A National flag, of bunting, is needed for the uses of the Legation here; the only one we have being of silk and not suited for out-door service.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.

ROME, Aug: 9, '66.

My dear Governor

I have little in the way of news to add to my despatch. It was your old friend, Dr. Smith, who gave me the information about the French envoy from the Emperor to the Pope and the conclave of the Cardinals. The Doctor still believes that the French troops will remain in Rome; but if they leave he thinks that the Pope will leave too. Cardinal Antonelli was much interested in the story about Suratt and intimated his readiness to give him up, if our Government wants him; as also to let Ste. Marie have his discharge. I dont know whether the Government cares to pay the promised reward of $10.000 for Suratt, but the sum would not come amiss in the exchequer of the Legation.

I received a letter from my old friend Gen: Kilpatrick, a few days ago, enclosing applications from two young Chilian ladies (sisters) for the Pope's permission to *marry* the General and his Secretary, Mr. D. Vickers—the ladies being Catholics and the gentlemen " heretics ".[138] The usual conditions are, that the ladies shall not, after matrimony, be interfered with in their religious faith, or practice, and that the children of the union shall be educated in the Catholic faith also. Cardinal Antonelli promised to get the necessary licence from his Holiness.

Rome is very empty, just now; but nevertheless not disagreeable; the weather, thus far thro' the summer, having been unusually bright and pleasant. As yet the Cholera, tho' pretty bad on the Continent (France and Germany) and in England, has not visited Italy; but a strict quarantine is maintained at most of the Italian ports.

Cardinal Antonelli has fully recovered his health again and the Pope continues perfectly well.

My wife desires her kindest regards to all your household.

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[138] Gen. Hugh J. Kilpatrick, a brilliant cavalry officer, was U. S. minister to Chile, 1865-1868. His first wife had died during the Civil War. *Dict. Am. Biog.*, X, 374-375.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 41.[139]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, August 15, 1866.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 14th of July No. 59, and your private note of the same date, and to inform you, in reply, that I have enclosed a copy of the former, together with the sworn statement of H. B. de St. Marie which accompanied it, for the consideration of the Secretary of War.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 42.[140]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, August 16th, 1866

Sir:

I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 24th. of July, No. 60. In that paper you anticipate a possible political revolution in the States of the Church, to the head of which you are accredited, and you request instructions for your government, if such an event should happen.

You will remain in the same political relations hereafter as heretofore, so long as you receive no countervailing instruction from this Department.

Should the Sovereignty at Rome undergo a revolutionary change you will suspend the exercise of diplomatic functions within the territory in which a new government shall have been established. Should the present Government remove and take up a residence in any other place, whether in or out of Italy, you will not be expected to follow it until the case as it shall then exist, shall have received the attention of the President, and until his views thereupon shall have been made known. In the case of such removal, you will either remain at Rome, or take up your temporary residence in some adjacent country, as in your discretion shall seem expedient.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.

ROME, August 24th, 1866.

My dear Governor

Last Saturday night I had what Dr. Valery calls a severe attack of nervous prostration. It was unlike anything I had ever before experienced and very serious. Indeed, I thought, at one time, that my last hour had come. It pleased God, however, to spare my life and in a day, or two, I was out and attending to business. But the Doctor insists that I must leave Rome for a few weeks; an entire change of climate being indispensable to

[139] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 139.

[140] Marked confidential.

my restoration to health; and he has furnished me with the certificate which I herewith enclose, for the information of the Department. Happily it is at a season of the year, when everything is and is likely to remain quiet in Rome and there are no Americans here claiming my official aid, or counsel. And *should* anything occur, during my proposed brief absence, calling for diplomatic action, I have left the business of the Legation in the hands of the Acting Secretary, Mr. Hooker, as Chargé d'Affaires. His experience and long residence in Rome, as well as his intimate acquaintance with the leading members of the Pontifical Government and the Corps Diplomatique, well qualify him for this trust.

I propose going to Hombourg, where my father and family are, to drink the waters for a month, and then, if my health shall be restored as I hope, to return, after a brief stop at Paris, to my post here. My wife and daughter will accompany me. Hoping, my dear Governor, that the reason I give for the proposed absence from Rome may be deemed satisfactory, and with kind regards to all your household. . . .

(*Enclosure.*)

I do hereby certify, that General Rufus King requires a change of air for a few weeks, the heat having caused him to loose [*sic*] his strength so far, that it takes away all sleep, and has impaired very much his digestive power, and that without this change he cannot recover for some time. To the truth of this I sign myself and affix my seal.

GAETANO VALERY
Profr. of clinic, and physician
to the Hospitals of Rome

[*Seal.*]
Rome 135. Babuina
22da August 1866.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 63.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Aug. 25th, '66.

Sir

On Saturday last I had a serious attack of nervous prostration; which, in the judgment of my physician, Dr. Valery, necessitates an immediate and entire change of climate for a few weeks. In compliance with his advice I propose leaving here to-morrow, for Switzerland and Germany; hoping to be sufficiently restored to be able to return to my post by, or before the middle of October. At the present moment there is little to claim the attention of a Minister here and every prospect that matters will remain quiet for some months to come. But should any business arise it will meet with prompt attention from Mr. J. C. Hooker, the Acting Secretary, in whose experienced hands I shall leave the charge of the Legation

affairs. I shall, of course, keep in close and constant communication with him.

I yesterday called on the Cardinal Secretary of State to pay my parting respects; and found his Eminence in fair health and good spirits. We conversed at length upon the aspect of European affairs, which the Cardinal does not regard as settled, nor consider promising. Allusion, too, was made to the condition of things in Mexico and the pending visit of the Mexican Empress to Louis Napoleon. The Cardinal did not at all disguise his belief that her mission would prove a fruitless one and that the withdrawal of Maximilian from Mexico was only a question of time.

The newly appointed Ambassador from Spain, the Count of San Luis, presented on Wednesday last his credentials to the Pope and we have exchanged the customary official courtesies.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.

HOMBURG, Sept. 23, '66.

My dear Governor

I enclose a letter forwarded to me from Rome, a few days since, in which Ste. Marie narrates his griefs to Mr Hooker. He thinks, of course, that too little notice has been taken of his statements about Suratt; but would be satisfied, I have no doubt, if his discharge from the Pontifical Zouaves were procured and the means furnished him to pay his passage home to Canada; where his old mother is still living. His discharge I could obtain, without difficulty, if it be desirable.

The air and water of Homburg have so far agreed with me, that I hope within a few days to turn my steps Rome-ward and to reach the Imperial City by the 10th. of October. Everything still continues quiet there: indeed, it is not until the complete evacuation by the French takes place, that any movement, or change is looked for. The period fixed for this is the 15th of December. Meantime the newly raised " legion " has arrived, and the Emperor, in the " Lavalette " circular, which just now monopolizes public attention in Europe, intimates that the Pope can still rely on the " protection " of France. What, or how much this means, the future must determine.

The preliminaries of Peace have been signed by all the recent belligerents in Europe, but a very bitter feeling still prevails and seems to be spreading among all the parties to the late War. There can be no doubt, I think, that among the *masses* of the German People, there is a strong and natural desire for German *unity*; but Prussia has " glorified ", a little too much, over her great military successes and the minor powers feel dreadfully sore. The " free city of Frankfort " is an instance in point; having been " absorbed " by Prussia without the slightest hesitation and,

as the Frankfort people contend against all law, authority, or precedent. They have " protested " against this annexation; with what success remains to be seen.

Many suppose that the " Eastern question " will speedily rekindle the camp-fires in Europe and, as I write, this seems not at all unlikely. But the Prussian *needle-gun* and the Prussian military organization have made a wonderful impression upon Europe; and neither France, nor England, will be in any hurry for a fight, until they are at least equal to Prussia in these two particulars. Another circumstance that greatly disturbs the European powers, is, the " entente cordiale " between the United States and *Russia*—but of this, I dare say, you hear quite enough from other quarters. I hope that, as the Mediterranean and adjacent seas are likely to be the scene of important actions, during the next few months, our flag will be well represented there. An " American Monitor " would command universal respect and attention in those quarters.

My wife and daughter—who go to Paris for a few weeks before returning to Rome—desire their best regards to yourself and family I beg to be included.

H. B. de Ste. Marie to J. C. Hooker.

Velletri 12th. Sept: 1866

Sir,

Notwithstanding that the American Government has taken no action in the Suratt affair, I beg to inform you that I returned here after leaving Rome, not being able to be admitted to the Section, Genl. Kanseler being absent. I travelled the whole way *on foot.* I have seen Suratt here once more, and had a good conversation with him in the matter, he was in funds and a little tight, this is in substance the new evidence I got out of him. He told me that the plot of the assassination of President Lincoln first originated in Richmond, that Booth and himself were in the habit of visiting Richmond weekly that knowing Booth to be a strong headed man he proposed to the Sec. of State Benjamin to have what he called President Lincoln put [out] of the way, also the other members of his cabinet who were the most noted at Richmond, that the matter was debated in the rebel Cabinet and they were told to act as they thought the best to accomplish their design and money was furnished them; that the evening in which the assassination took place he waited in Washington till all was prepared for the deed and left the same night for New York and from thence to Canada.

He tells me he is not going to remain more than two months more in the Zouaves, after which time he will leave for the East Indies. He intends to visit the United States in disguise in three or four years hence.

You may make use if you think proper of this statement of his, although it appears the Washington Cabinet seems very indifferent on this important matter. I shall remain here in Velletri till I get from you or General King a decided answer that the whole affair is drop[p]ed to nothing, strange as it may appear I know some papers in New York and Philadelphia who if the[y] were in possession of this information would force the government to act upon it in justice to the memory of P. Lincoln.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 43.[141]

Department of State, Washington, October 16th, 1866.

Sir:

Mr. King's private letter of September 12th, written at Hamburg, has just been received. It is accompanied by a private letter which was addressed from Velletri on the 12th of September by H. B. de St. Marie, 8th company Pontifical Zouaves, to Mr. Hooker.

I think it expedient that you do the following things, 1st Employ a confidential person, not St. Marie, to visit Velletri and ascertain by comparison with the photograph herewith sent, whether the person indicated by St. Marie is really John H. Surratt. 2d Pay to St. Marie, confidentially, $250 in gold, in consideration of the information he has already communicated on the subject. 3d Seek an interview with Cardinal Antonelli, and, referring to an intimation made by him to Mr. King in a conversation which took place on the 7th of August last, (as reported in Mr. King's No. 62,) namely, " that if the American Government desired the surrender of the criminal (Surratt) there would probably be no difficulty in the way ". Ask the Cardinal whether His Holiness would now be willing, in the absence of an extradition treaty to deliver John H. Surratt, upon authentic indictment and at the request of this Department, for complicity in the assassination of the late President Lincoln. Or whether in the event of this request being declined, His Holiness would enter into an extradition treaty with us which would enable us to reach his surrender. 4th Ask as a favor to this Government that neither St. Marie nor Surratt be discharged from the guards until we shall have had time to communicate concerning them after receiving a prompt reply to this communication from you.

St. Marie should be told confidentially that the subject of his communication to Mr. Hooker is under consideration here.

P. S. The photograph intended to be enclosed with this instruction will be sent by the next mail.

J. C. Hooker to William H. Seward.

Rome, 18th, Oct. 1866

Dear Sir

Genl. King when leaving Rome left the affairs of the U. S. Legation in my charge.

Since his departure I have called twice on his Eminence the Cardinal Antonelli the Secretary for Foreign affairs. I in a few words explained to him the question between the President and Congress. He expressed a

[141] Confidential, and addressed to King or Hooker. *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 139-140. There is another No. 43, from Wm. Hunter, Second Asst. Sec., Sept. 14, hoping that King's compulsory absence " will not be detrimental to the public service ".

wish that our troubles should be settled amicably—and hoped that party feeling would be soon quieted down.

A little over two weeks since the Empress Carlotta of Mexico arrived in Rome and was received with all the honors paid to Royalty. A Guard of Roman and French soldiers were placed at the door of her Hotel attracting crowds of the idle and curious.

She had an early and long audience with His Holiness—urging him to sanction the measures of the Emperor in Mexico and to write out to the church party in Mexico to come to terms—with her husband.

His Holiness did not give her any satisfaction and told her He must have the action of the Bishops in Mexico before He could act.

One morning He was surprised by her appearing at the Vatican at a very early hour demanding his protection she saying that those around her wished to poison her—and shewing that her mind was affected. Her Brother the Duke de Flandres was telegraphed for, and came, and has taken her away she refusing to see any of the Mexicans who accompanied her.

She has had the establishment of the Empire much at heart and the failure of her Mission to Europe has probably affected her. The quiet of Miramar Palace near Trieste may restore her.

She had while here a reception of the Diplomatic Corps. I of course did not attend. The same evening I saw the Countess de Sartiges—who told me the Empress spoke most enthusiastically of Mexico—saying Europe was tame after that country.[142]

During her stay here a Col. Estavan arrived from New York. He was introduced to my house wishing to get a small draft cashed.

In conversation with him He told me He had been in Mexico as correspondent of the *N. Y. Herald* and that He was an agent of Maximilian in the U. S.

It appears that his drafts on Mexico have not been paid—that they have been sent by Belmont I believe to Mexico—and that word was sent that an order for payment must be made by Gen. Castillo—Minister of Foreign affairs so Estavan came out to find him. He said He was an American and that He had a claim upon Maximilian. I told him that the American Legation could do nothing for him—and declined entering into his cause—Recommending him to go to the Austrian Chargé d'affaires. He told me that all the persons connected with the Empress were a bad lot. He laid some of his disbursements before me and I saw a long list of American Journals in his pay—which did not exalt my opinion of the press. He has borrowed money of Carrington, Nani, and others and said He had a legation at No. 82 5th. Avenue New York—you most likely know something about him. He was presented to me by a Mr. Freeman resident of Rome who met him at Genl. Dix' last autumn.[143]

[142] Concerning Charlotte's visit to Rome, see L. F. Stock, in *America*, June 18, 1927, p. 227.

[143] Maj.-Gen. John A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury in the last months of Buchanan's

He has left and Mr. Freeman told me last night that He had a promise from Castillo of being soon paid. I told him distinctly that He could have no communications with the U. S. Legation here.

Genl. King is daily expected back and is in improved health—He did not wish to leave Rome but it was an imperative necessity—He is to reside with me the coming winter.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 64.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, Octr: 27th, 1866.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatches Nos: 41 and 42, from the State Department, under date of August 15th and 16th—the latter marked "confidential"—and in reply to mine of July 14th and 24th: as also of No: 43, dated Sept: 14th and in answer to mine of August 25th. I shall carefully follow the instructions contained in despatch No: 42, should the contingency arise which they were designed to meet.

I am happy to say that my health has so far benefited by my visit to Homburg, under the advice of Dr. Valery, as to enable me to return to Rome, three days since, and resume my post and duties. To the best of my belief the public service did not, in any wise, suffer from my compulsory absence; Mr J. C. Hooker, acting Secretary, whom I left in charge of the affairs of the Legation, having faithfully acquitted himself of the trust.

Rome remains entirely quiet; and tho' there seems no reason to doubt that the French troops will all be withdrawn from here, before the close of the year, there is certainly no present apprehension, or indication, of any revolutionary movement, or any forcible attempt to deprive the Pope of his temporal power.

The Holy Father is in the enjoyment of excellent health and Cardinal Antonelli, I am glad to say, has fully recovered from the alarming attack of illness which he had in the early summer.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 65.[144]

Legation of the United States At Rome, Novr: 2nd, '66.

Sir

I hasten to acknowledge your despatch No. 43—marked "confidential"—under date of October 16th, in reply to my private letter of

administration, minister to France, 1866-1869, and later (1872-1874) governor of New York (*Dict. Am. Biog.*, V, 325-327). James E. Freemen, here mentioned, was American consul to Ancona, 1840-1849, and remained in Italy to the end of his life (*Id.*, VII, 11). Carrington and Nani were not identified.

[144] First two paragraphs printed in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

Sept: 12th from Homburg, and conveying instructions upon the subject therein referred-to. I lost no time in seeking an interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, as directed to do in the aforesaid despatch; and with that view proceeded, this morning, to the Vatican, accompanied by Mr. Hooker, Acting Secretary, as well that he should hear the conversation between the Cardinal and myself, as that he should repeat to his Eminence in Italian, what I proposed saying to him in French, relative to the wishes and expectations of our Government, in reference to Suratt. We were fortunate in finding the Cardinal alone and disengaged, and I proceeded, at once, to state the business upon which we had called. His Eminence was greatly interested in the matter—the more so as I showed him the portraits of the "conspirators," contained in the volume published by "Ben Pittman" and entitled *Assassination of President Lincoln*—remembered very well our previous conversation on the same subject (referred-to in my despatch No: 62, of August 8th) and the intimation he then gave as to the disposition of the Papal authorities to surrender Suratt, should he be claimed by the American Government: and in reply to my question, whether, upon authentic indictment, or the usual preliminary proof and at the request of the State Department, he would be willing to deliver up John H. Suratt, frankly replied in the affirmative. He added, that there was, indeed, no extradition treaty between the two countries and that to surrender a criminal where capital punishment was likely to ensue was not exactly in accordance with the spirit of the Papal Government; but that in so grave and exceptional a case and with the understanding that the United States Government, under parallel circumstances, would do as they desired to be done by, he thought the request of the State Department for the surrender of Suratt, would be granted. I then requested, as a favor of the American Government, that neither Suratt, nor Ste. Marie should be discharged from the Papal service until further communication from the State Department and his Eminence promised to advise with the Minister of War to that effect. I thanked his Eminence for his prompt and frank replies to my queries and assured him that they would give great satisfaction to our Government.

I shall, as directed, employ a trusty and confidential person to proceed to the station where Suratt is and identify him by the photograph which I expect to receive in the next despatch from the Department and I will pay Ste. Marie the sum named by the Secretary, in consideration of the information already furnished. I may also hold out to him the hope of some further remuneration, should Suratt be identified and surrendered, as also of his speedy discharge from the Pontifical Zouaves, in order to be a witness against Suratt, if required, in the United States. Having thus, I trust, satisfactorily fulfilled the wishes of the State Department, I await, with interest, their further instructions on this subject.

On Monday last the Pope held a secret Consistory of Cardinals to whom he addressed an elaborate allocution relative to affairs in Europe and the probable future of Rome. I enclose copies of this document, in Latin and in Italian, for the information of the State Department. It will be seen that his Holiness is very severe in his strictures on the course pursued by Russia towards the Catholics in Poland and the conduct of the Italian Government in suppressing monasteries, confiscating church property, etc.; declares that he can make no terms with Victor Emanuel, in view of these wrongs, and outrages; and intimates his purpose to remain in Rome, unless compelled by force to leave here, when he will seek "that region" where he can best fulfil his supreme Apostolic Mission. Various interpretations are given to this Papal declaration, as various opinions prevail with regard to the probability of a revolution in Rome, on the withdrawal of the French troops. Many view it as an unmistakable indication that the Pope means to leave Rome, and coupling it with the presence, here, of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Clarendon and other Eminent British Statesmen and the recent return of Cardinal Reisach (whose secret mission to England was referred to in my despatch No: 61, of July 31st) fully believe that the arrangements for the Pope's departure are already concluded and that Malta has been tendered and accepted as his temporary abiding place. Others are as firmly convinced that his Holiness will remain in Rome till the last and die, if need be, at his post and in discharge of his duty. I am assured that the Pope himself believes that 1867 is to be the last year of his reign and that his end will be a violent one.

The Cholera, which has prevailed more, or less, in nearly all parts of Europe, during the current year, has not left Rome altogether scathless. I was informed this morning by Dr. Valery, that from October 2nd, when the first well-authenticated case appeared, up to the present date, there had been between fifty and sixty cases. The Doctor added that the disease had not assumed an epidemic form and would probably soon disappear, as for the last two days there had been no fresh cases. The rumor, however, of its presence in Rome and the stringent quarantine regulations at the frontiers, with the possible apprehension of political convulsions here, have combined to keep away strangers and the Imperial City, usually crowded with English and American visitors at this season, is still comparatively deserted.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.[145]

ROME, Nov: 3, 66.

My dear Governor

In the accompanying despatch No: 65, you will find the formal reply to yours of October 16, which I duly received two days ago. Both Mr

[145] First paragraph in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 141.

Hooker and myself inferred, as much from the Cardinal's *manner* as from what he said, that there would be no difficulty about the surrender of Suratt, should he be claimed. In this event how is [he] to be sent to America? Cannot one of our ships of war, now in the Mediterranean, be directed to come to Civita Vecchia, receive Suratt and Ste. Marie on board and convey them to the U. S.? Would it not be well to ask also for Ste. Marie's discharge, that he may be used, if required, as a witness at Suratt's trial? Am I to draw directly on the Department, or on Baring Bros; for the sum paid St. Marie and the expense of sending a person to Veroli to identify Suratt—say £50?

The future of Rome is still involved in great doubt. But much anxiety and uneasiness prevail in official quarters and we begin to have applications for protection of persons and property, in the event of any revolutionary outbreak on the withdrawal of the French troops. It hardly seems possible that Napoleon should allow the Pope to be forcibly dispossessed of his temporal power; as this might cost him his own crown.

Very few Americans have arrived here yet; cholera, quarantine and rumors of impending political troubles frightening them away. My own family are still in Paris, tho' I hope for their return next week.

I was very glad to see, from the late American papers, that your health was fully restored. With kind regards to all the family . . .

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 66.[146]

Legation of the United States At Rome, Novr: 10th, '66

Sir

In my despatch No: 65, under date of Novr: 2nd. I mentioned the result of the interview I had had with the Cardinal Secretary of State, on the subject referred-to in your "confidential" communication of October 16th. I had occasion, yesterday, to call again upon his Eminence with the view to ascertain, if possible, the truth of the widely-prevalent rumor that the Pope intended leaving Rome and seeking a refuge in the island of Malta. Before, however, I had the opportunity of making this inquiry, the Cardinal apprised me that John Watson, *alias* John H. Suratt, had been arrested by his orders and while on the way to Rome had made his escape from the guard of six men in whose charge he had been placed. At the same time his Eminence handed me the official documents—copies of which I herewith transmit—relating to the arrest, the escape and the subsequent pursuit. As Veroli is close to the frontier it is not all unlikely that Suratt will make good his escape from his Zouave persuers [*sic*] into the Italian Kingdom. I thought it well,

[146] First paragraph and accompanying papers printed *ibid.*, pp. 141-143.

therefore, to send a confidential person at once to Florence, to lay the whole case before the American Minister and solicit his aid and that of the Italian government in the recapture;[147] for I did not feel at all sure that either a message by telegraph, or a letter by mail, to Mr. Marsh, would, under the circumstances, escape the surveillance, or possible interruption of the Papal authorities. I hope to have a report from my messanger within two, or three days; and as Suratt was in his Zouave dress when he effected his escape, I think the chance a fair one that he will be retaken. I trust that the course which I have pursued in the premises will meet the approbation of the Department. I feel bound to add that incredible as the details of the story appear, the Cardinal spoke of them as verified beyond all question and expressed very great and apparent sincere regret at Suratt's escape.

Reverting to the subject on which I had called, specially, to see his Eminence, I stated that there were many Americans in Europe, at the present speaking, most of them with their faces turned Rome-wards, whose only hesitation about visiting the Imperial City arose from the rumor of the Pope's intended departure and the apprehension of coming political convulsions here. The Cardinal in reply, said frankly and explicitly, that the Pope did not mean to leave Rome; that the Papal authorities would remain at their posts and felt great confidence in their ability to maintain order; that the French troops doubtless would take their departure, during the ensuing month; but that independent of these there would be a garrison of from seven to ten thousand men, which would be sufficient for all purposes. In the other words the Cardinal spoke as if fully convinced that, for the present at least, there was no danger of the Papal authority being overthrown in Rome. Such, I may add, is the belief now prevalent in diplomatic and business circles.

Allusion was made to the presence of several vessels of war, of different nationalities, at Civita Vecchia, and his Eminence intimated a wish that an American ship might be added to the number. If one of the American fleet now in the Mediterranean could be assigned for a few months to this duty, I think that it would gratify the Papal Government, as well as American residents and visitors at Rome.

As I close this communication I am in receipt of despatches from the State Department transmitting the photographs promised in No: 43.

(*Order.*)[148]

6 November 1866

Colonel

Cause the arrest of the Zuave Watson, and have him conducted under secure escort

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[147] For correspondence with George P. Marsh respecting Surratt see *ibid.*, pp. 121-126; *id.*, 1867, Pt. I, p. 602.

[148] Italian copies of these enclosures were also sent, but are not printed.

to the Military Prison at Rome. It is of much importance that this order be executed with exactness.

The General Pro Minister

KANZLER

To Lt. Colonel Allet
Commanding Zuave Battalion
Velletri

(*No. 463.*)

PONTIFICAL ZOUAVES, BATTALION HEADQUARTERS

VELLETRI 7 November 1866

General

I have the honor to inform you that the Z[o]uave John Watson has been arrested at Veroli, and will be taken tomorrow morning under good escort to Rome. While he was searched for at Trisulti which was his Garrison, he was arrested by Captain de Lambilly at Veroli, where he was on leave.

I have the honor also to inform your Excellency that his name is not *Waston,* but Watson.

I have the honor to be, General,

Your Excellency's very humble and obedt Servt

Lieut Col. ALLET

His Excy the General Minister of War
Rome.

(*Pontifical Telegraph.*)

Presented at Velletri 8 November 1866 at 8 h. 35 m.
Received at Rome " " " " 8°.50′

His Exc'y the General Minister of War. Rome,

I received the following Telegram dated from Captain Lambilly at the moment of leaving the prison, surrounded by six men as guards Watson plunged into the ravine, more than a hundred feet deep, which defends the prison—50 Z[o]uaves are in pursuit.

I will send Y[our] E[xcellency] the news which I shall receive by telegraph.

The Lieut Colonel

ALLET

(*No. 602.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE MINISTER.

Nov. 8, 1866.

Your Reverend Eminence:

I have the honor to transmit to your very reverend eminence the enclosed documents about the arrest and escape of Zouave Watson, of the 3d company, and will not fail to transmit the latest news I shall receive of the result of the pursuit of that individual.

I bend in all humility before the sacred Pontiff, with fresh assurance of profound respect.

I am, Your Eminence,

Your most humble and devoted servant

KANZLER

His Eminence the Very Reverend Signor Cardinal Antonelli
Secretary of State, etc. etc. etc.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 67.[149]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Nov: 19, '66.

Sir

I had hoped, ere this, to have been able to announce to the Department the fact of the recapture of Jno: H. Suratt, whose arrest and subsequent escape were mentioned in my last despatch: but I regret to say that, thus far, all our efforts, to apprehend the fugitive have proved fruitless. Mr Marsh, our Minister at Florence, will no doubt report to the Government the steps which he may have seen fit to take in the premises. I shall therefore content myself with a brief recital of what was done here.

On Friday last, Nov: 16, General Kansler, the Papal Minister of War, called to inform me of a rumor which had reached him, that Suratt had been received, wounded, into the military hospital at Sora, a few miles beyond the Papal frontier. I instantly telegraphed this information to Mr. Marsh and in a few hours received a reply from him, to the effect that he had made the necessary application to the Italian Government. Regarding, however, the identification and apprehension of Suratt as of the first importance, I despatched Mr. Hooker, Acting Secretary of Legation, by the earliest train to Sora; furnished with all the necessary documents and a photograph of Suratt; and also with instructions, if he found Suratt there, to ask, in the name of the American Government, that he should be held in close custody, until a proper demand could be made upon the Italian authorities, for his surrender as a fugitive from justice. Mr Hooker executed his mission with intelligence and despatch. Arriving at Isoletta, the frontier station, and communicating by telegraph with the commanding officer at Sora, he ascertained that one of the Pontifical Zouaves, calling himself Watson, of Richmond, United States; 22 years old; tall; fair complexion; blue eyes; high forehead; reddish (sandy) hair, moustaches and goatee; had passed Sora for Naples, on the 8th. inst—the same day that he escaped from Veroli, only a few miles distant. Mr. Hooker at once telegraphed this intelligence to our Consul at Naples. The Officer in charge at Isoletta did the same to the Neapolitan chief of police. Both asked that Suratt should, if possible, be arrested. I

[149] Printed, with enclosures, *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 143-145. The Italian copies of the originals are not reproduced.

received a prompt reply from Mr. Swan, at Naples, acknowledging receipt of Mr. Hooker's telegram and stating that they were on the lookout for Suratt. Our hopes were strong, therefore, that we should succeed in catching him somewhere in the vicinity of Naples. But yesterday a second despatch from Mr. Swan apprised us that Suratt had left, the preceding day, Nov: 17, for Alexandria, by a steamer which stopped at Malta to coal; and that he had telegraphed the facts to our Consul at that point. I also immediately telegraphed to Mr. Winthrop at Malta, urging the arrest of Suratt; but up to the moment of closing this despatch, I have received no reply from Mr Winthrop. The probabilities, I fear, now are, that Suratt will make good his escape.

Some surprise, perhaps, may be expressed that Suratt was arrested by the Papal authorities before any request to that effect had been made by the American Government. This was alluded to in a conversation I had on the subject with Cardinal Antonelli and the Minister of War, on Friday last. Both gave me to understand that the arrest was made, with the approval of his Holiness and in anticipation of any application from the State Department, as well for the purpose of placing Suratt in safe custody, as with the view to show the disposition of the Papal Government to comply with the expected request of the American authorities. I have no reason to doubt the entire good faith of the Papal Government in the matter.

I enclose, for the information of the Department, copies of one or two additional reports upon the facts connected with Suratt's arrest and escape.

(*Translation.*)

ZUAVI PONTIFICI, COMMAND OF BATTALION

VELLETRI 9 Novr 1866

My General

Following out Your Excellencys orders I sent this morning to Feroli, Lieutenant de Famel to make examination into the escape of Z[o]uave Watson—I have learned some other details of this unfortunate business. Watson at the moment when he was arrested, must have been on his guard, having obtained knowledge of a letter addressed to Z[o]uave St. Marie which concerned him probably. This letter sent by mistake to a trumpeter named (Sault-Marie) was opened by him, and shown to Watson, because it was written in English—I have sent it Y[our] E[xcellency] with the report of Capt Lambilly[.]

I am assured that the escape of Watson savors of a prodigy. He leaped from a height of twenty three feet on a very narrow rock beyond which is a precipice. The filth from the barracks accumulated on the rock, and in this manner the fall of Watson was broken. Had he leaped a little further he would have fallen into an abyss.

I am with respect
My General
Y E very humble subordinate
Lt Col Com Battalion

No. 1 enclosure to Min of War, Roux. ALLET.

(*Translation.*)

FEROLI, 8 November

My Colonel,

I regret to announce to you that notwithstanding all my precautions Jean Watson has succeeded in escaping. To carry out the orders received I had sent Serjeant Halyerid and 6 men to Tresulti, where this Zouave was on detachment. They did not find him there for on that day Watson had asked leave to go to Feroli, I charged the corporal of the 3d Company Vanderstroeten to take him and turn him over to the post corporal Warrin, to whom I had already given all my instructions on this subject.

All the measures ordered were carried out from point to point, two sentinels with loaded arms were placed, one at the very door of his prison with orders to prevent any communication of the prisoner with persons outside, and the other at the door of the barrack. The prison, the doors, and windows etc. had been inspected in the minutest details by the locksmith of the Commune. There was therefore nothing to fear in that quarter—all passed off well until this morning at 4 o'clock.

Then the prisoner was awakened, who rose, put on his gaiters, and took his coffee with a calmness and phlegm quite english.

The gate of the prison opens on a platform which overlooks the Country, a balustrade prevents promenaders from tumbling on the rocks situate at least 35 feet below the windows of the prison.

Beside the gate of this prison are situated the privies of the barrack, Watson asked permission to halt there, Corporal Warrin who had 6 men with him as guard, allowed him to stop very naturally, nothing doubting either he or the Zouaves present, that their prisoner was going to try to escape at a place which it seemed quite impossible to us to clear. This perilous leap was however to be taken, to be crowned with success. In fact, Watson who seemed quiet, seized the balustrade made a leap and cast himself into the void, falling on the uneven rocks, where he might have broken his bones a thousand times, and gains the depths of the valley—patrols were immediately organized, but in vain. We saw a peasant who told us that he had seen an unarmed Zouave who was going toward Casa Mari, which is the way to Piedmont.

I address to you herewith the report of the corporal of the post, besides two letters which are not without importance.[150] They may be of some use to the police.

Lieutenant Mousty and I, have been to examine the localities, and we asked ourselves how one could make such leaps without breaking arms and legs.

Please my Colonel to receive the assurance of my respect

C of detachment

de LAMBILLY

[*P. S.*] I have sent the description of this Zouave to the Gend'armerie.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 68.[151]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Novr: 20th, 1866.

Sir

I have adverted in one of two previous communications to the Department to the possible withdrawal of the Pope from Rome, in the event of

[150] Not enclosed.

[151] Postcript only, and enclosure, printed in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 145.

the French troops leaving this city, pursuant to the terms of the Convention made with Victor Emanuel in 1864. The near approach of the period fixed for the departure of the French garrison lends new and daily increasing interest to this question. Indeed it is the one topic of conversation in all circles and opinions are greatly divided both as to the probability of the Pope's departure and the consequences likely to follow so decisive a step. Within the past few days the subject has been brought specially to my notice by intimations I have received from several officials of the Papal Government, that the presence of the American Ship of War at Civita Vecchia was highly desirable and that if the Pope felt compelled to abandon Rome *he might seek a refuge in the United States.* General Kansler, the Minister of War, and Monsignor Nardi, Domestic Chaplain to the Pope—both, it must be presumed, in his Holiness' confidence—each expressed very explicitly the opinion, that the only country in which the Pope could seek and find a suitable and secure Asylum was the great Republic of America. General Kansler added the expression of his earnest hope that the Pope would take this course and seemed anxious to know how I thought it would be received in the United States. I contented myself with replying, in general terms, that our country was the home of civil and religious liberty, as well as the refuge of all who fled from political, and other troubles in the old world; and that his Holiness, should he see fit to go to the United States, would no doubt meet with a kind welcome and be left to pursue, unquestioned and unmolested, his great work as Head of the Catholic Church. I cannot but think, from these and other similar indications, that this project of going to America is seriously entertained by a portion, at least, of the Pope's most trusted friends and counsellors and I know that his Holiness himself has spoken of it more than once and in terms that seemed to imply approval.

Under these circumstances and after consultation with Mr. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy,[152] who fortunately chanced to be here, I telegraphed, in conjunction with Mr. Fox, to Mr. Harvey, our Minister at Lisbon, asking him to inform Adl. Goldsborough, that important matters seemed to call for the immediate presence of one of his ships at Civita Vecchia. A reply from Mr. Harvey, received yesterday, advises me that the *Swatara* has been ordered to Civita Vecchia, in compliance with the request made by Mr. Fox and myself. I felt the less hesitation in taking this step as I knew that Admiral Goldsborough's fleet was on its way to the Mediterranean and I still cherished the hope of the recapture of Suratt, who could not be placed in safer keeping than on board of an American Man of War. I have now to ask the instructions of the Department as to what course I am to pursue, should I receive official

[152] Gustavus V. Fox; James E. Harvey was U. S. minister to Portugal. L. F. Stock, *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, n. s., III, 115-116; same in *Carnegie Institution News Service Bulletin*, No. 10, June 16, 1929, p. 71.

intimation that the Pope desired to avail himself of the protection of our flag and accept a conveyance to the United States in one of our national vessels.

P. S. As I close this despatch I have received a letter from our Consul at Naples, of which I enclose a copy. I have telegraphed the information to our Consul at Alexandria.

FRANK SWAN, CONSUL, TO RUFUS KING. COPY.

UNITED STATES CONSULATE NAPLES Nov. 18, 1866.

Sir

I received your despatch this morning about eight o'clock. I immediately had the police at Naples and the small towns about here hunting for Suratt, and learned about two o'clock that he left last evening at nine o'clock on the steamer *Tripoli* for Alexandria, under the name of Walters. The steamer stops tomorrow at Malta to take in 300 tons of coal, and as the quarantine is in force there, he cannot get on shore. I immediately sent the following despatch to the Consul at Malta. " Suratt, one of the conspirators against Lincoln, left here last evening on the steamer *Tripoli* for Alexandria, under the name of Walters or Watson. He has on the uniform of a Zouave of the Papal States. The steamer stops at Malta tomorrow to coal, have him arrested. If you do not receive this in time, telegraph the Consul at Alexandria.["]

I did not telegraph to Alexandria, as I thought there would be plenty of time for you to do so, if you thought best, after the receipt of this. If our Consul is *in* Malta there is little doubt but he will catch him there.

Suratt has been about Naples in his Zouave uniform some days.

Passed himself at the British consulate as a Canadian, and was taken on this steamer through the influence of the Consul.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. NO. 44.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November 26th 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch No. 65, of the 2d. instant has been received. The course which you adopted with reference to John H. Surratt is approved. We await the identification of that person. A letter of credit in your favor for five hundred dollars is herewith enclosed. For the expenses which may be incurred in the case of Surratts you, will draw on the Messrs. Barings for an amount not exceeding that sum. It is probable that a war vessel will be ordered to receive that person for transportation to this country.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. NO. 68 [69].[153]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Novr. 26th, 1866.

Sir

In my last despatch, I mentioned that I had telegraphed to our Consul at Alexandria, in regard to John H. Suratt. I enclose the translation of

[153] No. 68 *bis*; printed, with enclosures, in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 145-147.

a communication from the Chief of the Telegraphic Bureau in Rome, apprising me that, in consequence of the interruption in the wires, my despatch to Alexandria was forwarded thither from Malta by *steamer*. The probabilities are, that it was sent by the same steamer in which John H. Suratt is supposed to have sailed.

I also transmit, for the information of the Department, the copy of a letter received from Mr. Swan, our Consul at Naples, giving some further details of Suratt's proceedings during his brief stay in that city. I desire to add, in this connection, that I feel greatly indebted to Mr. Swan for his prompt and hearty co-operation in the efforts to arrest Suratt.

I obtained, a day of two since, from a Clerk in a Roman book-store, who knew Suratt, quite intimately, as John Watson, an original letter of his which I enclose; as other specimens of his handwriting may be in possession of the Washington authorities. This clerk told me that Watson *alias* Suratt, claimed to be a Canadian by birth and represented that he had been a spy in the Confederate service. I have also received and herewith forward a statement, from good authority, in reference to Suratt's arrival in the Papal dominions and one of the several sources from which he obtained funds.

I regret to be obliged to add, that up to the hour of closing this despatch, I have received no further intelligence about Suratt.

(*Translation.*)

OFFICE OF THE PONTIFICAL TELEGRAPH,

ROME, 21st. November 1866

Excellency

The despatch presented yesterday by your Excellency, addressed to the Consul of the U. S. at Alexandria, Egypt, was sent *via* Malta, the Syria-Suez line being interrupted. After the despatch was sent we received advices that the line Benghazi-(Africa)-Alexandria, was broken and the Syrian line re-established. It was then directed that the despatch should be transmitted by telegraph as far as Benghazi and thence, by mail, to Alexandria; of which it was thought superflous to give Your Excellency notice. Now they telegraph us from Malta that there being no postal service between Benghazi and Alexandria, the despatch in question was this day sent by *steamer,* from Malta to Alexandria.

THE CHIEF OF THE TELEGRAPH BUREAU

To the Minister of the United States,

FRANK SWAN, CONSUL AT NAPLES, TO RUFUS KING. COPY.

UNITED STATES CONSULATE, November 21st. 1866

Sir

I have this morning received yours of the 19th Inst. Since writing you, I have learned more of Surratt while here. He arrived at Naples about the time you stated, wearing the Uniform of the Papal Zouaves, having no passport but stating that he was an Englishman who had deserted from a Roman regiment. He stated that he

had no money, and the police being somewhat suspicious of him, gave him at his own request, lodgings in the prison, not exactly as a prisoner, but holding him during three days in surveillance, and questioning him as opportunity offered.

He stated that he had been in Rome ten months, that being out of money he enlisted in the Roman Zouaves, that he was put in prison for insubordination from which he escaped jumping from a window or high wall, in doing which he hurt his back and arm, both of which were injured.

On the third day, he asked to be taken to the British Consulate, to which place one of the police went with him, when he complained of his confinement stating that he was a Canadian, and the Consul obtained his release as an English subject. In the meantime the police had found that he had some twelve scudi with him, and on asking him why he went to prison, he replied that he wished to save his money. He staid about here till Saturday, giving them some trouble at the English Consulate, and exciting simpathy [*sic*] by his position—that of a young man of good appearance without money, they not knowing of the money which the police had discovered.

At the Consulate he expressed the greatest desire to return to Canada and through the influence of the Consul, he obtained passage on the steamer to Alexandria, some English gentleman paying for his board during the voyage, and giving him a few francs. He still wore his uniform when he sailed.

The steamer left here Saturday evening at nine o'clock, clearing for Alexandria, but not having time to coal here, the Captain intended to stop at Malta to do so, which would detain him all day Monday, as there is a quarantine between Naples and Malta, Suratt could not land.

I hope to hear from you to day that he is taken[.]

(*Original.*)

VEROLI Aug. 30th /66

Edward T. O'Connor Esqr.

Dear Sir

Will you be so kind as to send me a *French* and *English* Grammar; the best method you have. I think Ollendorf's is most in use. When I come to Rome I will settle with you. I shall be in in the course of two or three weeks. If you should have the time to reply to me, please give me all the news you can. By so doing you will greatly oblige.

Your friend
JOHN WATSON
3me Compagnie
Veroli

(*Copy.*)

About 12 months ago Mr Suratt came to Rome under the name of Watson. In Canada he procured letters from some priest to friends in England. Having left England for Rome, he got letters for some people here—amongst others for Rev. Dr. Neane, Rector of the English College.[154] Being detained for some days at Civita Vecchia and having no money to pay his expenses there, he wrote to Dr. Neane from whom he received fifty (50) francs.

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[154] Dr. Frederick Neve was rector of the English College, 1863-1867. Cardinal Gasquet, *Hist. of the Venerable English College, Rome* (London, 1920), pp. 256-258.

On his arrival here he went to the English College, where he lived for some time. After that he entered the Papal Service.

ROME, Nov. 25th.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 45.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November [ ] 1866.

Sir:

Recurring to your despatch of November 10, No. 66, I thank you for the information which you have given me concerning the intention of the Pope to remain at Rome. It agrees with the expectation which prevails here.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 46.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November 30th 1866.

Sir:

The wish of the Cardinal Secretary of State in regard to the destination of an American ship of war will be immediately taken into kind and friendly consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 47.[155]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November 30th 1866.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of November 10th No. 66. It is a subject of sincere regret that John H. Surratt effected his escape from the Papal Guard. Your proceedings in communicating on that subject so promptly with Mr. Marsh at Florence, are approved and commended. It is hoped that Surratts rearrest may be effected. In that expectation I shall lose no time in communicating through that Minister with the Italian Government at Florence. You cannot express too strongly to Cardinal Antonelli the satisfaction of the President with the friendly and prompt proceedings of the Papal Government.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 48.[156]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November 30th 1866.

Sir:

Excuse me for reminding you of a regulation of this Department. Every despatch should be confined to one subject alone. If several subjects are to be treated of, they should be made the bases of distinct des-

[155] *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* pp. 147-148. [156] *Ibid.,* p. 148.

patches. This regulation has its foundation in the necessity which exists for having always convenient reference to the records and archives of the Department.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.

ROME, Dec: 1, '66.

My dear Governor

My despatch of Nov: 18, '65 giving an account of an interview and conversation with the Pope, is being quite extensively copied and commented upon by the European press. The Italian papers quote what his Holiness said about the Fenians and Canada, as justifying their desire to re-annex Rome to Italy. The *Observatore Romano,* one of the *two* papers published here, is very indignant at this and angrily *denies* that the Pope expressed the opinions which I attributed to him. I thought it right, in view of the *talk* which the article in the *Observatore* made, to call the attention of Cardinal Antonelli to the subject and ask that the Editor might be directed to take back that denial. I think it rather a pity that the despatch was made public; as the Pope, I fancy, does not altogether like to see his familiar conversations in *print* and it may make him more reserved in any future interview that I may have with him. Still, I suppose the publication was in accordance with our own customs and precedents. As to the conversation inself, which the Roman journal denies to have taken place, it happens, rather fortunately, that Mr. Hooker was with me at the interview and read my despatch before I sent it off; and that his recollection of the conversation agrees exactly with my own.

No news yet of Suratt. I enclose the last letter received (a copy) from our Consul at Naples. There seems good hope of catching the fugitive at Alexandria.

All quiet in Rome, so far; tho' there is much anxiety and agitation, as to the consequences which will follow the departure of the French—now close at hand. The Empress *Eugenie* is confidently expected here, within a few days.

Mrs. King and my daughter join in kind regards to yourself and household.

FRANK SWAN, CONSUL, TO RUFUS KING. COPY.

U. S. CONSULATE, NAPLES, Nov: 26th, '66.

Dr. Sir

I have this moment received a letter from Mr. Winthrop, our Consul at Malta, of which the following is a copy:

U. S. Consulate, Malta,

Nov: 20th. 1866

Dr. Sir

I received your telegraph respecting Suratt on Sunday evening at eight o'clock and before nine the next morning had written to the Acting Chief Secretary, asking that this notorious criminal might be landed here and kept under guard, until I could send him to the U. S., where his crime was committed. Notwithstanding I pressed for an immediate answer, both in my public despatch and by a private note, still it did not reach me until 4 P. M., when the steamer *Tripoli* was ready to leave for Alexandria and then, as I think, owing to literal quibbling, my request was not granted. This was most annoying and I shall send all the correspondence to Hon: W. H. Seward, in the hope that he will give the officials in this neighbourhood some knowledge of the treaty now existing for the arrest of criminals, which they would appear so much to require.

It was most unfortunate that the *Tripoli* came in with 15 days' quarantine, which absolutely prevented me from having the least communication with the vessel, and it was equally unfortunate that the telegraphic cable between this port and Alexandria has broken down, so that no messages can be sent. But I at once sent a telegram to the Consul General in Egypt *via* Constantinople, which, I am told, will reach him in two days and at least 24 hours before the *Tripoli* arrives. Having full judicial powers, it will not be difficult for Mr. Hale to arrest the criminal before he lands, though it may cause him much trouble to identify Suratt when he is among the 79 men who are now on board the vessel. The consignees of the vessel here kindly sent a letter from me to Mr. Hale, under cover of their Agents in Alexandria, and to be delivered before the passangers land. I earnestly hope that by my telegram, or letter the criminal may be arrested—if such should be the case, perhaps you will write me that I may forward any and all information which may be necessary for the Consul General to know.

Yesterday afternoon I received a telegram from Hon: Mr. King, Minister at Rome, and have not time to write by this mail. I should feel truly obliged, if you would send him a copy of this note, that Mr. King may know what I have done.

Very respectfully,

Wm. Winthrop.

After your letter it cannot do much good for me to write to Alexandria, but as yours was written before you had received my second letter and as one from me will probably arrive before one from yourself, I shall immediately write the Consul General at Alexandria. It may assist in identifying Suratt.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 70.[157]

Legation of the United States At Rome, December 2nd, '66.

Sir

Early this morning, I received a despatch in French, from our Consul-General at Alexandria, of which the following is a translation:

" American Minister, Rome.

[157] *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* p. 148.

"I have arrested the individual—he is in prison. Send papers, if you have them

Hale, American Consul."

As this despatch was dated: "Alexandria, Nov. 27 11.48 A. M."; and only reached Rome at 6.20 A. M. of December 2nd, it must have been sent by steamer to Malta, or Naples; and thence, by telegraph, to Rome. There being, at present, no direct telegraphic communication between Rome and Alexandria and as the speediest way of reaching Mr. Hale, I telegraphed Mr. Winthrop, at Malta, advising him of Suratt's arrest, and requesting him to send word to Mr. Hale to keep Suratt in safe custody, till he heard from me. I wrote, at the same time, to Mr. Hale, giving him the substance of the instructions I had thus far received; urging the importance of Suratt's capture; and transmitting a photograph of the fugitive. I thought it well, also, to advise Mr. Adams, at London, and Mr. Morris, at Constantinople, of all the facts in the case; and wrote to them, accordingly, by the same mail. I trust that in all these measures to secure the arrest and extradition of Suratt, I have only anticipated the wishes and directions of the State Department.

Desirous of sending this despatch by to-day's mail, I must reserve, for a future communication, some remarks upon the existing condition of things in Rome.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 49.[158]

Department of State, Washington, December 4th 1866.

Sir:

We have telegraphic information from Mr. Hale, United States Consul General at Alexandria, of the arrest of John H. Surratt there. In consequence of this Admiral Goldsborough has been ordered to send a war vessel thither for the purpose of bringing the prisoner here for trial. It is desirable and important that St. Marie to whom you have referred in your despatches should also be sent hither as a witness. You will consequently apply for his discharge from the military service of the Pope and if the application should be granted, you will forward him hither. The credit for five hundred dollars touching the Surratt case with which you have already been provided, will, it is presumed be enough to defray the expenses incident to the execution of the instructions, including the travelling expenses of St. Marie.

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[158] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 50.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, December 8th 1866.

Sir:

The Commanding Officer of the European Squadron has been instructed to station one of his vessels at Civita Vecchia, if it can be done without detriment to other important interests.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 71.[159]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Dec. 10th, '66.

Sir

The withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome may now be considered an accomplished fact. To-day, the Papal flag replaces the French tricolor on the Castle of St. Angelo and, ere the week closes, not a French soldier, it is confidently asserted, will remain in the Papal dominions. His Holiness will thus be left, face to face, with his own subjects and with the adjacent, unfriendly Kingdom of Italy and all Europe is watching, with intense interest, the march of events in the Ancient Mistress of the World. Speculation seems idle, when almost any hour may precipitate the crisis. I am satisfied that the Italian Government, with those of Europe generally, desires a peaceful solution of the pending questions between Rome and Italy: but whether the populations can be controlled and kept within the bounds of order, when the French contingent shall be finally withdrawn, involves another and more difficult problem. There are not a few of the Papal, as well as the popular party, who, though for opposite reasons, hope to see a violent collision between the authorities and people. But the mass, I think, of reflecting men and substantial citizens deprecate a resort to violence; for if the spirit of Revolution be once let loose in Rome, none can say to what lengths it might not proceed, under the strong impulse of many years of imagined, if not real wrongs, oppression and persecution.

Meantime the Holy Father shows no signs of yielding. On Friday last, the French officers called upon him, in a body, to take their leave; and the Count de Montebello, General Commanding, addressed the Pope a few parting words. To these his Holiness responded, substantially, as follows:

General:

This is not the first time that you come to offer me your good wishes; and I receive them now with the same affection as in the past.

When the French flag came to Rome, it was hailed by the acclamations of the Catholic world and of all truly Christian souls. Who knows if its return (or withdrawal) now, will be hailed with the same sentiments?

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[159] *For. Rel.,* 1867, Pt. I, pp. 695-696, but the paragraph beginning, " In a private letter ", the postscript, and the enclousre are omitted.

They tell me and they write to me, that I ought to have confidence; but has not an August Personage again said, of late, that "*Italy was made, but not completed.*" The revolution, does it not talk of planting its flag upon the Capitol; *but the Tarpeian Rock is not far off!*

I hear that Emperor has been ill and disturbed in mind. Should one of you see him, say to him that I pray God to restore him health and calm; and that he may imbue himself with this thought; that it is not enough to call himself the eldest son of the Church, but that he must justify this title by his acts.

The Revolution thunders at my gates; but like St. Augustin at Hippo, I pray God that I may die, sooner than assist in my own ruin.

This emphatic language made a deep impression upon those to whom it was addressed. It declares, in no ambiguous terms, the Pope's fixed resolve to adhere to his resolution and abide the event. The allusion to St. Augustin, Bishop of Hippo, is founded upon the crowning incident in the life of that Roman sage and saint. When besieged by the "Barbarians" in his city of Hippo (Africa) he prayed that he might die, sooner than be a witness to his own overthrow; and, in answer to his prayers, death came to his relief. So prays Pio Nono now!

In a private letter to the Honorable Secretary of State, last week, I mentioned that an extract from a despatch of mine (No: 46), of Nov: 18th, 1865, giving some particulars of an interview which I had enjoyed with his Holiness, had been quite widely copied and commented upon by the Italian press; and that the *Observatore Romano,* a semi-official paper, published in this city, had assumed to contradict the representation I had given of the Pope's remarks. I thought it my duty to call the attention of the Cardinal Secretary of State to this circumstance and did so without delay. In answer to my complaint, I received, two days since, from his Eminence, a succinct and satisfactory communication; a translation of which I transmit herewith.

This mornings mail from the East brought me despatches from our Consuls at Alexandria and Malta, in reference to John H. Suratt. I do not forward them inasmuch as both Mr. Hale and Mr. Winthrop inform that they have themselves reported their action in the premises to the State Department. They both suggest that a ship of war should be sent immediately to Alexandria for the criminal. I had already anticipated this request and am hourly expecting the U. S. Corvette *Swatara,* at Civita Vecchia, in consequence of my telegram to Admiral Goldsborough. I hope, too, to receive within a day, or two, definite instructions from the State Department, which will authorize the prompt despatch of the *Swatara* to Alexandria, to receive Suratt and convey him to America.

I learn, this moment, that Tonello and Morizo, the two envoys from Victor Emanuel to his Holiness the Pope, are just arrived in Rome.[160]

[160] Two years after the failure of the Vegezzi mission (see note 66, *ante*), negotiations were re-opened between Italy and Rome. This second mission was confided to Michelangelo Tonello. The negotiations lasted a month; Tonello yielded all former points of controversy excepting the right to approve the names of priests chosen for the episcopate, which proposal

P. S. There is a very current rumor to-day, that the Empress of the French will be here on Thursday, the 13th Inst.

(*Translation.*)

It having pleased your Excellency to call my attention (with your valued favor of the 30 ult) to the article inserted in the daily paper, the *Osservatore Romano* of the preceding day, to which you allude, I desire to signify my regret for the expressions which said article contained. In elucidation of what was published by that paper allow me to submit the following explanation:

A long time having elapsed since your Excellency was admitted to the Pontifical Audience (which took place in November 1865) the august Interlocutor, whose conversation your Excellency reported to his government, amidst the very great cares, both of Church and State, could not remember the subject of said conversation. But having recalled to his mind all the particulars; he now recollects that in said audience, speaking of the Fenian movement and under the impression of what was then generally reported, of England's intention to retire from Canada, he intimated that, should England really withdraw from that American State, it would be preferable that it should be incorporated into the United States, rather than fall under the power of the rebellion.

I commit this explanation to Your Excellency's discretion and in the hope that it may be appreciated, I have the honor to confirm the expression of my distinguished consideration.

G. C. Antonelli.

Rome, Dec: 8, '66.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 51.

Department of State, Washington, December 10 1866.

Sir:

Your confidential despatch of November 20th No. 68, has been received. I do not find in your despatch any sufficient grounds for assuming that His Holiness entertains any idea of coming to the United States in the event of apprehended revolutionary movements in Rome. Certainly it would be indiscreet and disrespectful to the Pope were I to assume that he entertains that idea on no better grounds than the fact that irresponsible individuals who hold subordinate places under the Papal Government are discussing it in the political circles of Rome. What you report that you have said upon the subject is approved and it does not seem necessary to say more. While it is sometimes desirable to anticipate possible emergencies in foreign affairs, this can seldom be done without danger of departure from the fixed national principles and habits of neutrality. The telegraph keeps us tolerably well advised of European events and is always at command. You can write in cypher if necessary.

Antonelli finally accepted. But the Italian Chamber of Deputies refused to confirm the agreement. De Cesare, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-366.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 52.[161]

Department of State, Washington, December 15th. 1866.

Sir:

Your despatch of the 26th of November, No. 68, which relates to the case of John H. Surratt, has been received. I commend and thank you for the useful and very interesting details concerning the ways of that offender, which you have given me. Among the papers which accompany the despatch is a memorandum which is inscribed "A copy" and the text of which is as follows:

> About 12 months ago Surratt came to Rome under the name of Watson. In Canada he procured letters from some priest to friends in England. Having left England for Rome, he got letters for some people here—amongst others for Revd. Dr. Neane, Rector of the English College. Being detained for some days at Civita Vecchia and having no money to pay expenses there, he wrote to Dr. Neane from whom he received fifty (50) francs.
>
> On his arrival here he went to the English College, where he lived for some time. After that he entered the papal service.
>
> Rome November 25th.

The paper bears no signature. The only information you give me from which to determine its authenticity is that you have received it from good authority. I do not know that the statement thus recited would in any case have any value. Certainly, unauthenticated it can be of no use, other than to awaken curiosity. I think you ought to have given the authority to which you allude. I am aware that the person who imparted the information to you may probably have given it to you as confidential, and that he might even have declined to give it to you at all if you had not agreed to receive it under an injunction of secrecy. Such an injunction neither you nor I have in any case a right to accept. We are agents of the President in whom the whole executive power of the United States is vested. Clearly, the information contained in the paper was designed for him and not for yourself or for me personally. No one can rightfully claim to impose upon us an injunction to conceal from the President facts which concern the public safety and welfare. I have acted upon the principle which I thus inculcate throughout all the excitement of a civil war. Better to reject all information whatever than to receive it with limitations inconsistent with official duty. What I have written is not to be taken, however, as conveying censure for the past, but rather as an instruction for the future.

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[161] *For. Rel.,* 1867, Pt. I, p. 696.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 72.[162]

Legation of the United States At Rome, Dec: 17th, '66.

Sir

I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of despatches Nos: 44, 45, 46 and 47, from the State Department, in reply to mine, Nos: 65 and 66, of November 2nd and 10th, relative to the affair of John H. Suratt. I am gratified to learn that the steps which I felt called upon to take in the matter, have met the approval of the Department. It will give me great pleasure to convey to Cardinal Antonelli the assurance of the President's sincere satisfaction with the prompt and friendly action of the Papal Government.

As anticipated in my last, the U. S. Corvette *Swatara* Captain Jeffers, arrived at Civita Vecchia on Wednesday last, 12th inst.; and was followed next day by the *Frolic,* Capt. Upshur. The latter brought despatches from the Admiral, directing the *Swatara* to proceed forthwith to Malta. She sailed, accordingly, at noon, next day. At Malta, no doubt, Capt: Jeffers will receive further instructions from Admiral Goldsborough, who must be in that neighbourhood. The *Frolic* remains at Civita Vecchia, awaiting orders.

Signor Tonello, the Italian envoy, whose arrival in Rome I mentioned in a previous despatch, had his first formal interview with the Pope on Saturday, the 15th Inst. It lasted an hour; but the result has not yet transpired.

In my despatch of the 10th instant, I gave the substance of the Pope's remarks to the French Officers, who, with their General, Count Montebello, went in a body to pay their parting respects to his Holiness. I enclose, herewith, a full report of the address of General Montebello and the reply of the Pope.

Count Sartiges the Ambassador of France, who has been absent from Rome for several months, resumed his post and duties, two days since. I called upon him, yesterday, to congratulate him on his safe return and met, as always, a kind and cordial welcome. The Count seems to think it still doubtful whether the Empress Eugenie will visit Rome, at the present juncture—tho' the telegraph announces her departure from Paris as fixed for the 18th inst.—and does *not* regard the opening speech of Victor Emanuel to the Italian Chambers, on the 15th instant, as calculated to satisfy the views and expectations of the Papal Court. Meanwhile, all remains quiet at Rome.

Ste. Marie, who first informed me of Suratt's being in the Corps of Zouaves, has been discharged from the Papal service at my request. I have paid him the sum specified in the despatch from the State Department, of October 16th. Threats had been made against him, by some of

[162] *For. Rel., loc. cit.* (p. 697), prints the despatch but not the inclosures.

his old comrades; and thinking that his life was not altogether safe and that he might be wanted, in Alexandria, as a witness to identify Suratt, I put him in charge of Captain Jeffers and he sailed in the *Swatara* on Friday last. His great desire seems to be to return to America and aid in bringing Suratt to justice. I have seen, as yet, no reason to doubt his good faith, or question the truth of his statements.

(*Discours d'Adieu du Gal de Montebello au Pape.*)

En venant pour la dernière fois présenter à Votre Sainteté mes respectueuses hommages et Lui demander Sa Sainte Bénédiction je ne puis me defendre de la plus grande émotion. Il est des circonstances où la tristesse inséparable des adieux se change en vraie douleur. Mais une pensée me console, si l'Empereur fidèle à ses engagements retire se troupes de Rome, il ne retire pas son appui au St. Siège.

A nos dix sept années d'occupation va succèder une protection morale non moins imposante et non moins efficace, parce qu'elle sera un frein pour les uns et un encouragement pour les autres.

Puisse le temps, qui dans la main toute puissante et miséricordieuse de Dieu, appaise les passions comme il calme les douleurs, et fonde plus encore qu'il ne détruit, puisse le temps inspirer à tous cet esprit de conciliation qui seul peut amener une solution des difficultés actuelles et assurer au Souverain Pontife l'indépendance et la sécurité dont il a besoin pour étendre librement son action spirituelle jusqu'aux extrémités du monde.

Tels sont les voeux que je dépose aux pieds de Votre Sainteté, comme un hommage de ma reconnaissance et de mon profond respect.

(*Réponse de Sa Sainteté.*)

Vous êtes à la veille de votre départ, mes chers enfants, je vais vous faire mes adieux.

Lorsqu'il y a dix sept ans le drapeau français partit de France pour venir sauvegarder les droits du St. Siège, il fut acclamé par tous les coeurs catholiques: je désire qu'au retour il reçoive un aussi bon accueil qu'à son départ, mais je n'ose l'espérer.

On m'écrit qu'en France tous les coeurs catholiques sont en alarme, et tremblent sur le sort du Vicaire de J. C., le Chef de l'Eglise catholique.

Il ne faut pas se faire d'illusions . . . la révolution est près d'entrer dans la Ville Eternelle . . . on l'a proclamé, on l'a dit et redit, on l'a imprimé, vous l'avez lu . . . Un personnage haut placé [163] a dit: " que l'Italie était faite, mais pas achevée "; eh bien! l'Italie serait défaite s'il y avait encore un coin où règne l'ordre la justice et la tranquillité.

Oui ils veulent venir à Rome planter leur drapeau sur le Capitole! . . . Je sais bien que la roche tarpéenne est à côté, mais cependant s'ils y viennent, s'ils s'y maintiennent pendant quelque temps, que de malheurs, que de désordres! . . . et que pourrai-je faire?

Il y a dix ans, je parlais avec un représentant de la France, je le chargeais de dire à l'Empereur, Votre Empereur, que St. Augustin, Evêque d'Hippone, une ville qui est aujourd'hui de l'Empire français, pendant que les barbares assiégeaient sa patrie, effrayé des fléaux qu'il pressentait, demandait au Seigneur de mourir avant d'en être le témoin. Ce représentant me répondit: les barbares n'entreront pas; mais il n'était pas prophète, il était honnête homme.

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[163] Note in original: " Ricasoli ". He was then Prime Minister.

Un autre représentant de la France a cherché à me rassurer en me disant que Rome ne pouvait être capitale d'un royaume, et qu'elle semblait faite pour être la Capitale du plus grand des Empires, d'un Empire de 200 millions de Catholiques. Mais je crains le révolution . . . que dire? . . . que faire? . . . je n'ai pas de ressources . . . cependant je suis tranquille, car la grande puissance de Dieu me donnera force et constance.

Allez, mes enfants, je vous donne à tous pour vous et pour vos familles ma bénédiction du fond de mon coeur paternel. Je prierai pour vous, pour la France, pour l'Empereur. Si vous voyez votre Empereur, vous lui direz qu'ayant appris que sa santé n'est pas trés-bonne, je demande à Dieu de la raffermir, que son âme est troublée, je prie Dieu d'y ramener le calme.

Puisque la nation française se qualifie de très-chrétienne, il faut que son Chef soit très-chrétien; alors il faut en donner des preuves, et mettre ses actes en rapport avec ses paroles, il faut des prières, de la confiance, de la persévérance à cette nation si grande, si forte pour obtenir ce qu'elle désire.

Il ne me reste plus qu'à faire des voeux pour votre heureuse rentrée dans votre patrie, et qu'à vous donner ma bénédiction apostolique.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 73.

Legation of the United States At Rome, Dec: 24th, '66.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 48, marked, "private" and bearing date November 30th, '66; calling my attention to a rule of the Department, requiring every despatch to be confined to one subject alone. I was not before aware of the existence of such a regulation, but shall henceforth take care to comply with its requirements.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 74.[164]

Legation of the United States At Rome, Dec: 24th, '66.

Sir

I received on Saturday 22nd inst., a telegraphic despatch, of which the following is a translation:

American Minister, Rome

Alexandria, Dec: 22nd

I delivered Suratt on board the U. S. Corvette *Swatara,* 21st instant, without any difficulty.

Hale, Consul Genl.

Ere this, I presume, the *Swatara* is well under way to Malta, with Suratt on board. The U. S. Corvette *Canandaigua,* Lt. Commander McCrea, arrived at Civita Vecchia, on the 20th inst., and leaves again for Malta, to-morrow. It is the impression of her officers that she will be ordered to take Suratt to the United States.

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[164] *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* p. 698.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 75.[165]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Dec: 24, '66.

Sir

In my despatch No: 71, of December 10th, I mentioned the arrival, in Rome, of the envoys despatched by Victor Emanuel to open negotiations with the Papal Government. As yet, very little progress has been made, tho' Signor Tonello has enjoyed several interviews with Cardinal Antonelli and one audience with the Pope. His Holiness, it is said, listens quietly to the propositions of the Italian envoy; but makes no counter ones. The prevailing opinion still is, that no common basis can be found for treating between the two Courts.

Meantime everything remains perfectly tranquil in Rome. The withdrawal of the French troops and the substitution of the Papal for the French flag were accomplished without the slightest difficulty, or disturbance. On the surface, indeed, the city never seemed more quiet than now and, at last, the tide of travel is setting strongly in this direction. The probabilities now seem to be that the winter will pass away without any change in the existing order of things.

I avail myself of the opportunity to tender to the President and the Members of his Cabinet the good wishes appropriate to this festive season.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 76.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Jany: 7th, 1867.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatches, Nos: 49 and 51, from the State Department, in reference to the Surratt affair and in reply to mine, No: 68, of November 20th.

Anticipating the wish of the Department, as conveyed in despatch No: 49, I applied, some time since, for the discharge of Ste. Marie from the Papal service. The application was promptly granted and Ste. Marie put on board the *Swatara,* when she sailed from Civita Vecchia, on the 14th ult., for Alexandria. No doubt he is now well on his way to the United States, in company with Surratt. As already reported in my despatch (No: 72), of December 17th, I have paid Ste. Marie the sum named by the Secretary of State, in his despatch of October 16th. It is presumed that the credit of five hundred dollars will cover all the expenses—including the amount paid Ste. Marie—incurred by me in connection with the arrest of Jno: H. Surratt: Tho' the items for postage, telegraphing and special messengers were unexpectedly large. I will forward, shortly, a detailed statement of the expenditures.

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[165] *Ibid.*

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 77.[166]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Jany: 7th, 1867.

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 50, from the State Department, advising me that the Commanding Officer of the European Squadron had been instructed to station one of his vessels at Civita Vecchia. As reported in my despatch of Dec: 17th, the U. S. ship *Frolic* arrived at Civita on the 13th ult. and still remains in port there.

The exigency which seemed to call, imperatively, for the presence of an American Man of War, in that harbor, has, for the moment, passed away. Rome continues tranquil and the prevalent belief is, that no political movement, or disturbance, need be apprehended for some months to come. I shall be glad, however, if the public interests will admit of the *Frolic's* remaining at Civita Vecchia for a while longer yet. Her presence there is highly acceptable to the Papal Government, as well as very gratifying to the Americans in Rome.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 78.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Jany: 14th, 1867.

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 52 from the State Dept., under date of December 17th and in reply to mine of Nov: 26th. I am gratified to learn that the information communicated about Surratt merited, as it has received, the thanks of the Secretary of State.

In respect to the " memorandum " referred-to by the Secretary and the suggestion made, that it ought to have been accompanied by the name of the person who imparted to me the information therein contained, I cannot question the propriety of the rule which the Secretary lays down. I did not, indeed, attach much value to that particular item of information and the person who communicated it, tho' he did not exactly place me under an injunction of secrecy, expressed a wish not to be known in the matter. I will, however, avail myself of the earliest opportunity to ask his consent to making known my authority for the statement, in order that it may be properly authenticated.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 79.[167]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Jany: 14th, 1867.

Sir

As I could not, in consequence of temporary illness, pay my respects

[166] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 698-699.

[167] *Ibid.*, p. 699.

to the Pope, in accordance with Diplomatic custom, between Christmas and the New Year, I applied, as soon as my health permitted, for the honor of an interview with his Holiness. This was promptly accorded and on Saturday last, 12th instant, I had the pleasure of an interesting visit and conversation with the Holy Father. The Pope appeared to be in excellent health and spirits and showed no external signs of disturbance at the "wars and rumors of wars," which fill the public ear in Rome. He asked about matters in America, inquired as to the health of the President and expressed the hope that the differences between the Executive and Congress would not lead to any serious results. Reverting to the state of affairs in Rome and Italy, he said: "Every day of quiet is a day gained. They tell me the Republicans are coming to Rome, *coute qui coute*; that Garibaldi, Mazzini, are coming and mean to make Rome the capital of Italy. Well, we will wait and see. This", pointing to a crucifix on his table, "is all *my* artillery". It did not seem to me that the Holy Father, in alluding to this report, betrayed much emotion, or spoke as if he really believed in the speedy advent of the "Republicans". But, tho' Rome still continues perfectly tranquil and the general belief is, that it will so remain for some months to come, there is a widespread impression and one which daily gains ground, that a change is near at hand. Opinions differ as to whether the Republicans, under the lead of Garibaldi, Mazzini and others: or the Italian troops of Victor Emanuel; or the Romans themselves, grown restive under priestly rule, will inaugurate the revolutionary movement which nearly all parties seem to regard as iminent. For the present, nevertheless, everything remains quiet in the "Eternal City" and our countrymen and country women are flocking hither in unwonted numbers.

The negotiations between the Italian envoy, Signor Tonello, and the Papal Court, which related wholly to ecclesiastical matters, are making satisfactory progress and will result, it is thought, in an amicable arrangement.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 80.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, Jany: 21st, '67.

Sir

On Thursday last, 17th inst., much to my surprise, I received a letter from H. B. Ste. Marie, dated at Nice, January 10th; informing me that he had left the *Swatara,* in consequence of ill-treatment; having been put ashore, at his own request, by Captain Jeffers. Ste. Marie had, in a previous letter from Alexandria, as in this, complained very much of being placed in the berth-deck, among the crew; denied all liberty and treated, in short, much more like a criminal, than Surratt himself. Unable any longer to endure what he conceived to be harsh and unjust treatment,

Ste. Marie applied for and obtained his discharge from the *Swatara* and reported, immediately, to the U. S: Consul, at Nice; by whose advice, he says, he remains there, waiting to hear from you. He still avows his readiness to proceed to the United States and render any service in his power to the Government and I know no reason to question his sincerity.

In reply to his letter, I wrote, immediately, to say: that I very much regretted his leaving the *Swatara* and, especially, for the reasons assigned; and that he ought to proceed to the United States and report himself to the authorities at Washington, without delay. I thought it my duty to write, at the same time, to our Consul at Nice, enclosing an extract from your despatch No: 49, of Dec: 4th; directing me to apply for Ste. Marie's discharge from the Papal service and to forward him to the United States, where his presence as a witness was deemed " desirable and important ": and urging the Consul to send Ste. Marie to America, by the earliest opportunity; or, if he doubted his own power to act in the premises, at least to send him to General Dix, at Paris, who, no doubt, would expedite his journey homeward.[168] I trust that in so doing, I have not overstepped the limits of official duty.

The heavy snows and severe storms which have prevailed in France and on the Mediterranean, during the past week, completely interrupted the postal service and there are four mails from Paris overdue. My latest dates from the State Department are of December 17th.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 53.

Department of State, Washington February 7th 1867

Sir

Your private note of January 9th has been received.[169] I regret exceedingly to hear of your ill health. Should Congress appropriate for the Roman mission, the question of a leave of absence in the summer months would then be considered. Should the appropriation be disallowed, the question could scarcely be expected to arise. You will be informed of the final action of Congress as soon as it shall be known.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 81.

Legation of the United States At Rome, Febry: 8th, '67.

Sir

In my last despatch, No: 80, under date of Jany: 21st, I mentioned that I had just received a letter from H. B. Ste. Marie, dated at Nice, Jany:

[168] Dix succeeded Dayton as U. S. Minister to France.

[169] Not found.

10th, announcing that he had, at his own request, been put on shore there from the *Swatara*: having left the ship in consequence of what he conceived to be ill-treatment. I thought it my duty to write immediately to Ste. Marie, expressing my regret at his having left the *Swatara* and urging him to proceed, forthwith, to the U. S. and report himself to the authorities at Washington. I wrote, at the same time and in the same sense to our Consul at Nice, Mr Aldis and speedily received a reply from the gentleman, promising his co-operation in the effort to induce S. Marie to continue his journey to the U. S.

This effort I am happy to say, has proved successful. Yesterday's mail brought me a letter from Ste. Marie, which I enclose for the information of the Department and have the honor to remain . . .

H. B. Ste. Marie to Rufus King.

Havre 1 Feby 1867

Hon: Sir

I beg to inform you that I leave tomorrow for New York on board of one of the french Steamers, thanks to your kind letter to G. Dix General, I have been true and honest in this matter, and will remain so, even at the cost of my life. You will have no cause to regret what you have done for me, and I will stand *true blue* to the last

I will write to you from Washington.

[*P. S.*] My compliments to Mr Hooker

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 82.[170]

Legation of the United States, At Rome, Febry: 11th, '67.

Sir

In the New York semi-weekly *Times* of Jany: 25th, received this day, I observe the following item of intelligence among the proceedings of Congress:

"*Protestant Church at Rome.* On motion of Mr. Dodge, the President was requested to communicate information in reference to the removal of the Protestant Church, meeting at the American Embassy in Rome." [171]

Other papers of the same date contain statements to the effect, that the American Chapel had been removed by direction of the Papal Authorities, outside the walls of Rome; and that the American Minister, assenting to the arrangement, had hired a Villa, where the services were henceforth to be held. I beg to say that there is no truth in either statement. The American Protestant Church, in Rome, remains where it was located at the

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[170] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 700.

[171] Jan. 29, Pres. Johnson transmitted to the House of Representatives a report from the Secretary of State, stating that no information had been received concerning this alleged removal (Richardson, *op. cit.*, VI, 464). A further answer, embodying King's statement was transmitted to the house, Mar. 14 (*ibid.*, p. 519).

commencement of the season and will not, I think, be interfered with; for the present, at any rate.

As the matter seems to have excited much interest in the United States, I will endeavour, by next mail, to prepare and transmit a full history of the case, for the information of the Department and the satisfaction of the People.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 83.[172]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, Febry: 18th, '67.

Sir

In the brief despatch which I had the honor to address to the Secretary of State, under date of February 11th, referring to the action taken by the House of Representatives, on the rumored closing, or removal of " the Protestant Church, meeting at the American Embassy in Rome ", I contented myself with a simple denial of the alleged fact; reserving for a future communication, a fuller history of the case. I now submit a detailed statement of the matter, for the information of the Department and of the public.

In Wheaton's *Elements of International Law,* Sixth Edition, page 304, the existing rule, as to freedom of religious worship, is thus laid down: " A minister resident in a foreign country is entitled to the privilege of religious worship in his own private chapel, according to the peculiar forms of his national faith, altho' it may not be generally tolerated by the laws of the State, where he resides ". The laws of Rome do not tolerate any other form of public religious worship, than such as conforms to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church; but the right of any foreign Minister at the Papal Court to hold religious services under his own roof and in accordance with the forms of his national, or individual faith, has never been questioned, or interfered with. Thus, the Russian, the Prussian, the American and other representatives of foreign powers in Rome, have always exercised and still enjoy, unmolested, the freedom of religious worship in the several chapels, connected with their respective legations. These chapels, of course, are open to all compatriots of the different ministers, desirous of joining in their religious services.

So long as the number of Americans visiting Rome was comparitively limited, it was not difficult for the Minister, in securing apartments for himself and family, to make suitable provision, as well for a Chapel. But of late years, with the very great increase of travel, this has been no easy matter. It has not unfrequently occurred that the congregation, worshipping under the ministers roof, has reached the number of two hundred and fifty, or three hundred; and more than once has been much larger than could be accomodated in the apartments provided. These, of course,

[172] *For. Rel., loc. cit.,* pp. 700-702.

once set apart and suitably furnished for religious worship, could be used for no other purpose and hence it has followed that the largest and best rooms in the Minister's residence were practically inaccessible to him, except on Sundays and Holy Days.

In 1859, I think, while Mr. Stockton, was Minister Resident here, Grace Church in Rome was regularly organized and placed under the jurisdiction of the Presiding Bishop of the American Episcopal Church. It is under the auspices of this organization that religious worship has since been conducted, in connection with the American Legation in Rome. In the Spring of 1865, the Revd. Dr. T. B. Lyman, formerly of Pittsburg, Penna., was regularly elected by the Wardens and Vestry of Grace Church, as their Rector. He accepted the charge; entered upon his trust, in the fall of the same year, and has since continued to discharge its duties to the general acceptation of all who united in the services.

During the winter of '65-'66, the residence of the American Minister was in the Salviati Palace and there the Congregation of Grace Church, as well as all American Protestants, desirous of uniting with them, met regularly for purposes of religious worship.[173] At times, the number attending was in excess of the accomodation provided, comparatively ample tho' it was, and attracted a good deal of attention. The holding of Protestant worship under Duke Salviati's roof and the crowd thereby gathered, were not agreeable to the proprietor and he declined to renew the lease of the Minister's Apartments for another year, except upon the express condition that there should be no chapel connected therewith. Repeated efforts to obtain other quarters, suitable for the Minister's residence and free from the restriction attached to the Salviati Palace, proved unavailing. It was under these circumstances that Dr. Lyman and the Vestry of Grace Church decided to hire an apartment, themselves, separate from the Legation, where they could hold religious services; confident in the belief that they would not be interfered with by the local authorities. Rooms were accordingly procured, fitted and furnished in the Vicolo D'Alibert, a central and convenient locality, and there since early in November, our American fellow-citizens have assembled for public worship, and still continue to assemble, without let, or hinderance.

The English, who annually flock to Rome in large numbers, have been accustomed, these forty years past, to hold religious services, in accordance with the forms of their National Church, in a large building, just outside the Porta del Popolo. They have never been interfered-with by the authorities. During the last five, or six years, the Scotch Presbyterians, perhaps thirty, or forty in number, have met, for purposes of religious worship, in a private house within the walls of Rome. A few months since, a second Scotch Presbyterian congregation was formed; the line of separation be-

[173] "To the horror of his very Catholic landlady, who, when the General changed his residence, had the room thoroughly cleaned and fumigated." De Cesare, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

tween the two being the same that divides the Established, from the Free Kirk of Scotland. This division and the presence and participation of the Duke of Argyle, who chanced to be here, attracted the notice and led to the interference of the local authorities. It was intimated to the Ministers of the two Scotch Congregations, that their services were contrary to law and must be held outside the walls. They have transferred them accordingly to the building immediately opposite the one so long occupied by the English Protestants. There I presume, they will be allowed to meet and worship, unquestioned and unmolested.

It was supposed by many that the closing of the American Chapel, being apart from the residence of the Minister, would necessarily follow that of the Scotch places of worship. To prevent, if possible, a step which I knew would excite a great deal of feeling at home and subject our countrymen here to much annoyance and inconvenience; and, at the same time, to give ourselves at least the colour of right to assemble where we did for religious worship, I directed the Arms of the American Legation to be placed over the building in which the American chapel is located. This seems to have satisfied the requirements, or scruples of the authorities and thus far no one has interfered with us. Nor do I believe that we shall be disturbed during the present season.

Thus stands the case at present. But it is not so easy to see what future provision is to be made for the American church in Rome. The authorities may, possibly, hereafter insist upon the rule, that it shall be held under the Minister's roof. On the other hand, the Minister will always find increasing difficulty in securing apartments, that will accommodate his family and himself and, at the same time, include suitable provision for a Chapel. Very good rooms can be obtained in the same building, in which the English church is located, and I have the assurance of the Cardinal Secretary of State, himself, that no interference would be attempted with Americans choosing to assemble there for religious worship; even though separate and apart from the Legation. But the locality is objected to on the ground, that it is outside, tho' just outside the walls. One solution, indeed, of the difficulty has been suggested; but I am by no means sanguine that it will find favor in the eyes of Congress. This is, to purchase, or hire for a term of years, a building for Legation purposes; including ample accomodation for a Chapel. Under such an arrangement, there would be no further question as to the right of American Protestants to assemble for public worship within the walls of Rome; while an official residence might be provided, suitable to the position of the American Representative at the Papal Court and not unworthy the character, dignity and influence of the American Government and People.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. CABLE.

ROME Tuesday.

Time 2.50 P. M.

Telegram received at Office U. S. Military Telegraph,
War Department,

Washington, D. C. Feb. 19 1867

No truth in reported closing of American chapel in Rome

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. UNOFFICIAL.

ROME, Monday, Feb: 25 [1867]

Dear Governor

As I intimated in my hurried, " unofficial ", letter of Friday last,[174] I intended to have prepared and sent, by this mail, a despatch embodying some reasons which have occurred to me, why the present, at any rate, is *not* the time to close the American Legation at Rome. But the extreme illness of my father, for several days past, necessitating my constant attendance, has left me neither time, nor inclination for any elaborate despatch. If, however, it should please God to spare his life, I hope, by the next mail, to transmit the promised document.

My father's malady is a severe attack of gout, with tendency to congestion of the brain; and for nearly a week now, we have hardly dared to hope; but to-day, I am most thankful to say, the symptoms are slightly more encouraging.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 84.[175]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, Feby: 25th, '67.

Sir

On Friday last, the 22nd instant, the Pope held a secret Consistory at the Vatican, at which he pronounced an Allocution, copies of which, in Latin and in Italian, I herewith transmit. The Pope, at the same time, appointed a number of Bishops and, among them, fourteen (14) for different sees in the Kingdom of Italy vacant for some time past. It is supposed that this is one of the results of Signor Tonello's recent mission. I hear it rumored that three new Cardinals will shortly be created and that one of them is to be assigned to the United States.[176]

[174] Feb. 22; not found.

[175] Printed, with translation of the Allocution, in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 702-703. The Allocution, in Latin original, will also be found in *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta,* IV, Pt. 1, pp. 70-72.

[176] Cardinal McCloskey, the first American cardinal, was appointed in 1875.

On Saturday last, the Carnival was opened with the customary ceremonies and an unusual display of troops. But tho' the Corso presented its wonted gay appearance—the principle buildings being decorated with rich hangings and the balconies filled with "forestieri" (strangers)—there was a marked absence of carriages and pedestrians from the street; the Roman People, as a general rule, taking no part in the festivities. This is said to have been in compliance with the advice, or request of the Roman Committee; who desired, in this indirect way, to manifest the popular disapprobation of the existing order of things. On the other hand the presence of an unusual number of troops may be thought to betray, on the part of the authorities, an apprehension that advantage might be taken of the crowds ordinarly attracted by the Carnival, to excite some insurrectionary movement. Thus far, however, all remains quiet.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE IX.

ALLOCUTIO HABITA IN CONSISTORIO SECRETO DIE XXII FEBRVARII MDCCCLXVII ROMAE MDCCCLXVII.

Venerabiles Fratres:

Cum caritas Christi Nos urgeret ad exquirendam rationem, qua prospicere possemus viduitati tot Italiae dioecesium; mense martio anni 1865 epistolam manu Nostra dedimus Serenissimo Regi Victorio Emmanueli, eum rogantes, ut aliquem ad Nos delegaret, cum quo de tam gravi negocio agere liceret. Cumque votis Nostris ipse obsequutus esset, inita reapse fuere colloquia; quae tamen, culpa sane non Nostra, caruerunt exitu, Nostrumque frustrata sunt desiderium, qui ad ea descenderamus acti vehementi studio procurandae salutis animarum, quam semper haec Sancta Sedes ceteris omnibus merito praetulit. Resumptum quidem nuper fuit negocium, iis volentibus, qui rerum Italiae potiuntur;[177] verum de hoc themate dicere, Venerabiles Fratres, non sine gravi tristitia et acerbo dolore valemus. Sacri enim Antistites, quos ad vacuas Sedes missuri sumus, non modo censum episcopalis cuiusque mensae distractum invenient, sibique subductum quidquid propriae inopumque sustentationi usui esse consueverat; sed, quod deterius est etiam, dispersos sanctuarii lapides, deserta perfectionis religiosae confugia, claustrorum habitatores omni substantia orbatos, sacras virgines eductas e foramine petrae, quo se, Deo iuvante, receperant victurae ac moriturae in osculo sponsi caelestis. Grave sane et ingratum est, ad huiusmodi Sedes, in tanta praesertim publicarum rerum angustia. Episcopos destinare. Quid tamen inde? Recedemus ne idcirco a proposito? Absit: pergant agricolae ad vineam a Deo plantatam et irrigatam sanguine Filii sui; eant, ipsam culturi in nomine Iesu Christi, potissimam ab eo opem expectantes; adeant illam Deiparae patrocinio confisi, quae validissime iis suffragari poterit. Nam ipsa dum sapientiae sedes est ad replendos Pastores disciplina intellectus, simul, uti refugium peccatorum, multos ex errantibus ad eos facile reducet; uti afflictorum consolatrix, complurium per ipsos leniet miserorum aerumnas, uti auxilium christianorum, iis obsequium, filialemque multorum pietatem conciliabit; ut in plerorumque docilitate et affectu levamen inveniant gravissimo muneri suo, et solatium in certamine exercendo adversus hostes Dei et potestates tenebrarum, quae totius agri evangelici potiri conantur, miserandam in eo vastitatem inducturae. Itaque inter novos Pastores aliquot interim renunciabimus, qui ad Italiam pertinent; fore fidentes, ut in futuris Con-

[177] The Tonello mission; *ante,* note 160, p. 403.

sistoriis alios etiam atque alios renunciare liceat, si tamen iudicia, heu nimis dissimilia, hominum iuxta saeculi placita viventium cum Nostris convenire possint, inprimis quoad personarum electionem. Plura dicere de praesenti rerum conditione non attinet; futura vero, nisi mutatio dexterae Excelsi intercedat, satis aperte praenunciatur ab exacta iam tristissimorum eventuum serie. Nobis tamen confidendum est Deo, qui sicuti, suffragantibus Immaculata Virgine, sanctisque Apostolis, Nos hactenus sub umbra alarum suarum tam perspicue protexit; sic tandem, uti speramus, *convertet luctum nostrum in guadium.* Optatissimum hunc exitum, Venerabiles Fratres, urgere ac maturare nitamur precibus nostris, animorum concordia, christianarum omnium virtutum exercitio.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 85.

Legation of the United States, At Rome, Feby: 26th, '67.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatches Nos: 53 and 54, from the State Department, under date, respectively, of February 7th and 8th; and in reply to mine of January 14th. I wait, with not unnatural interest, the result of the proceedings in Congress, on the proposed suspension, or termination of the Roman Mission.[178] Had time permitted, I

[178] Jan. 29, on the first reading of the diplomatic and consular bill, Mr. Williams, Pa., moved to strike out the item respecting Rome, stating that there was no sufficient reason why the government should have diplomatic relations with a foreign hierarchy. The motion was amended by Mr. Stevens, Pa., to include the following clause: "Whereas it is beneath the dignity and contrary to justice that this nation should be represented at any Court or Government which prohibits free worship by American citizens within its jurisdiction of the Christian religion; and whereas the Roman Government has lately ordered the American churches to be removed outside of the city and prohibited the free exercise by them of the Christian religion: Therefore no money hereby appropriated shall be paid for support of the United States legation at Rome or for the future expenses of such legation." Mr. Chanler, N. Y., asked whether the same argument would not apply to Constantinople and Spain, and whether the rule in Rome did not exist at the time the mission was established. He thought that Rome had as much right to exclude the Protestant church as the gentlemen on the floor who under the organization of Know-Nothingism, would have branded every man who differed with it on the question of religion. Mr. Banks, Mass., and Mr. Fink, Ohio, objected to the Stevens preamble, since no official information had been received concerning the removal of the American church. Mr. Hale's (N. Y.) motion that the preamble be struck out carried, 67-30. Jan. 30, when the bill was again before the house, Mr. Dodge, N. Y., presented a letter from the Rev. Dr. Prime, who was spending the winter in Rome, giving particulars concerning the removal of the Scottish church outside the walls. Mr. Stevens thought that since Rome had no minister here we should not send one there. Mr. Banks objected to action based on information at hand and called attention to the fact that the letter which was read referred to Englishmen and not to Americans. Mr. Morrill, Vt., thought that with the present territory of the Pope confined to the city of Rome, a consul would answer every purpose. Mr. Fink again objected to the amendment, and reminded his colleagues that this was not a Protestant government. Mr. Bidwell, Calif., thought Congress should not act hastily. There was no place which Americans visited more than Rome; the U. S. should be adequately represented not on account of any respect to the papal government, but for the purpose of extending protection to our citizens. Mr. Banks called attention to the service rendered the U. S. in unconditionally surrendering Surratt. "There is not probably another Government in all Europe which would have so acted. We had no extradition treaty; we made no formal demand for the surrender of the criminal, but the Roman authorities acceded to the simple request of our minister. When application was made to the Italian Government the authori-

think that I could have adduced some conclusive reasons why the American Representative at the Papal Court ought *not* to be withdrawn at this particular juncture and in view of the threatening aspect of European affairs. I presume that correct information, in regard to our American Chapel here—the rumored suppression of which seems to have prompted the action of the House—reached Washington before the final decision of the Senate; but whether it availed to save the appropriation for Rome, I am, of course, as yet ignorant. Should it be determined to close the American Legation here, I shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing, that I leave Rome with the regards and regrets of my colleagues of the Diplomatic Corps, as well as of the Papal Authorities, with whom I have been brought officially in cennection; and that I have been fortunate enough to secure—what I prize still more—the approbation of my own Government.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 86.[179]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, March 1st, '67.

Sir,

Recent mails from the United States have brought the rather unlooked-for intelligence, that the American Mission to Rome was about to be closed by Congress; mainly, it would appear, in consequence of the rumored removal of the American Chapel, from the Minister's residence within the walls of Rome, to a Villa outside. In my despatch (No: 83) of February 18th, I transmitted, for the information of the Department, a detailed account of the proceedings had here, in connection with this subject of Protestant worship in Rome; and I have nothing, at present, to add on that score. There are, however, some considerations which I feel it my duty to submit and which seem to me conclusive against the policy, or

ties stated distinctly that they would not surrender him except upon condition that he should not be subjected to capital punishment if found guilty." Mr. Hill, Ind., reminded his colleagues that each nation regulates matters of religion for itself, and that it would be improper to terminate existing relations upon this ground. Mr. Chanler regretted that the subject had assumed a religious character. He thought the position of minister at Rome was but an "ornamental post" and that a consular system would be more consistent with our form of government. He desired that the U. S. should withdraw from all participation in the system of European diplomacy. "I wonder that in assailing the Pontiff of the Church of Rome gentlemen have not applied the same line of argument to the sovereign to whom we send on large salaries the supple-kneed representatives of this Government." Mr. Morrill said the Pope was the only foreign power that formally recognized the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Banks denied that the Pope did so. "Jeff Davis wrote to the Pope and the Pope made a reply in which he addressed Davis by the same title by which he had subscribed himself." He then asked that the correspondence of King with the papal court in reference to the surrender of Surratt be read. But the amendment to eliminate the appropriation for Rome from the bill was carried, 82-18. In the Senate the bill was referred to the committee on finance. No debate nor vote is recorded, but the house amendment was retained. *Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 2d sess., pp. 850-851, 882-885, 890, 946.

[179] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 703-705.

expediency of withdrawing the American Representative at the Papal Court, in the present juncture of affairs. I feel the less hesitation in doing this; since I have asked to be transferred from Rome and do not, therefore, speak from interested motives.

There, probably, has never been a time when the number of American travellers, sojourning in Rome; and of American Artists, resident here, was so great as it is now; and it may be doubted whether there is a Capital in Europe, with the single exception of Paris, where the proportion of Americans, resident and transient, especially during the fall and winter months, is so large as in this Imperial City. The presence of an American Minister is important to them; since there are numerous occasions and various ways, in which he can be of very great service.

I am not, I think, mistaken in the belief, that the Papal Court is more than ever disposed to cultivate friendly and intimate relations with the United States. I might, in proof of this, instance not only the studied and unvarying courtesy and kindness, which I myself have always met with, personally and officially, at the hands of the Papal Authorities; but the treatment experienced by all of my countrymen, who have chanced to visit Rome, during the past few years. Perhaps a still more striking evidence of this friendly disposition, is to be found in the action of the Papal authorities, at the time of the arrest of John H. Surratt. It will be in the recollection of the Honorable Secretary of State that when, in obedience to his instructions of October 16th, '66, I inquired of Cardinal Antonelli (Nov: 2nd) whether, upon proper indictment, or the usual preliminary proof, Surratt would be delivered up, at the request of the State Department, the answer was promptly in the affirmative: and that, without waiting for any formal demand on my part, as well as in the absence of an Extradition Treaty between the two Governments, for the surrender of fugitives from justice, orders were given for the immediate arrest of Surratt and his being placed in close confinement. This was done with the single purpose of showing the ready disposition of the Papal Authorities to comply with the anticipated request of the American Government. At the very same time the Italian Government, applied to by our Minister at Florence, the Hon: Geo: P. Marsh, declined to give any assurances for the surrender of Surratt, should he be arrested within their jurisdiction, except upon conditions, which, as Mr. Marsh wrote to me, he greatly doubted whether our Government would accept. The Papal Government, on the contrary, attached no conditions whatever to their promised surrender of the fugitive, upon my expected demand. The sudden withdrawal of our Representative now, when, as many believe, the hours of the Papal Government are numbered, seems scarcely a generous return for this friendly conduct, on their part, towards the American Government and People.

The present aspect of European affairs is especially threatening. In the East, the old quarrel between the Crescent and the Cross has recently revived and is daily gaining larger proportions. France, while loudly

proclaiming Peace, is calling under her Eagles a million and a half of men. The King of Prussia, in the speech just delivered to his new Parliament, assumes the character, tho' not yet wearing the title, of Emperor of Germany. Austria, by fresh concessions to Hungary, is preparing, as in the days of Maria Theresa, to rally that gallant people to the defence of her territory and throne. Italy is in a ferment and the Revolution threatens Rome. It is hardly possible that six months should elapse, without a violent, perhaps a general convulsion. Is this the time to withdraw from Rome the American Minister? Is it magnanimous in us to abandon the Sovereign Pontiff in this hour of his waning fortunes? Shall we be the first among civilized and Christian nations, to strike this blow at the Holy See? Are we to leave hundreds of our fellow-citizens to the possible chance of encountering the Revolution, face to face, and without a Representative to vindicate their rights and protect their interests and, it may be, their property and persons?

It has been intimated in some quarters that the closing of the American Legation here—tho' ostensibly caused by the rumored suppression of Protestant worship in Rome—was really designed as an indirect recognition of the right and title of Victor Emanuel to the whole of Italy. But I am unwilling to believe that Congress would attempt to accomplish, by indirection, what it hesitates to do, directly. The United States has no need to resort to subterfuge. If the time has come for formally recognizing the Kingdom of Italy, as one and indivisible; with Victor Emanuel for its sovereign and Rome for its capital and centre; there can be no necessity of founding, upon a false pretext, an act which we have the right, if we deem it politic and proper, to perform openly and in the eyes of all the world. If we are to withdraw our recognition of the temporal power of the Pope and to recall the American Representative at the Papal Court, at the moment when it stands most in need of friendly sympathy, I trust, as indeed I do not doubt, that it will be done upon grounds and in a manner, that shall reflect no discredit upon our own country and leave no just cause of complaint to the Governments of Europe.

I am reminded, by the date of this despatch, that the term of the present Congress will expire within four days. Long, therefore, before it can reach Washington, the question as to the suppression, or continuance of the Roman Mission will have been definitely settled. It is not, therefore, with any expectation of influencing the result, that I have ventured to submit the foregoing considerations, but solely to place on record some of the reasons why, in my humble judgment, this is *not* the time for recalling the American Representative from the Papal Court and withdrawing, to that extent, our recognition to the Holy Father's temporal authority.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 55.[180]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON, March 11th 1867.

Sir:

I have to inform you that in the Act of making appropriation for the Consular and Diplomatic expenses of the Government, for the year ending thirtieth June, eighteen hundred and sixty eight, and for other purposes, "approved February 28th, 1867, it is provided that no money hereby or otherwise appropriated shall be paid for the support of an American Legation at Rome, from and after the thirtieth day of June, eighteen hundred and sixty seven."

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING. No. 56.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON, March 18th, 1867.

Sir.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your late despatches as follows:—No. 83, dated February 18th No. 84, dated February 25th No. 85 dated February 26th and No. 86, dated March 1st. A copy of your No. 83, which relates to the rumored closing or removal of the Protestant Church meeting at the American Embassy in Rome, has been transmitted to the House of Representatives.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 87.[181]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, March 26th, '67.

Sir

In my despatch (No: 83) of Febry: 18th., I mentioned the circumstances under which the Scotch Presbyterians had been requested to close their places of worship within the walls of Rome and transfer their religious services to a designated locality, outside. I learned, two, or three days since, that Mr. Odo Russell, Diplomatic Agent of the British Government at the Papal Court, who had reported the case to the authorities at home, had, in reply, received instructions to *thank* the Papal Government for not having entirely deprived the Scotch Presbyterians of the right to meet for purposes of religious worship and that it still permitted them so to assemble in a building adjacent to the one occupied, for the past forty years, by the English Protestants. The British Government appeared to think that the Scotch, by knowingly violating the Roman law on this subject, had justly incurred the penalty prescribed and that

[180] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 706. No. 54, Feb. 8, acknowledged certain despatches and approved King's actions.

[181] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 705-706.

the Papal Authorities, in the course which they pursued, had acted with commendable forbearance. Mr Russell duly communicated to Cardinal Antonelli these thanks of the British Government and inferred, from what transpired in the course of the subsequent conversation, that his Eminence expected that the American Protestants also, if continuing to hold their religious services apart from the residence of their Minister, would make use of the building already appropriated for English Protestant worship, in the immediate vicinity of the Porta del Popolo. For the present, nevertheless, the American Chapel remains in the Vicolo D'Alibert and no change seems likely to be made during the current season.

The U. S. S. ship of war *Shamrock,* Commander Hopkins, arrived at Civita Vecchia, last week, to replace the *Ticonderoga* ordered by the Admiral to Port Mahon.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 88.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, March 30, '67.

Sir

Although I am, as yet, without any advices on the subject from the State Department, I see, by the published Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill (approved February 28th) that no more money is to be paid for the Roman Legation, after the 30th June, 1867. Anticipating, therefore, early instructions to relinquish my post, I venture to suggest that it would be greatly for the advantage of the public service and very much to the interest of the thousands of Americans who now, annually, flock to Rome, if the affairs and authority of the Legation could be continued in charge of some proper person here. Mr J. Clinton Hooker, who has resided in Rome, for twenty years past, and since 1862, has acted as Secretary of Legation, would willingly undertake this trust, without compensation. His business and social standing in Rome; his intimate and extensive acquaintance, with the officers of the Government, the leading Roman families and the Members of the Diplomatic Corps; his long residence and business connections here; and his familiarity with the Italian life and language, admiralty qualify him for such a position. As Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Hooker would be enabled to render many and important services to the numerous American families, visiting this Ancient Capital of the World; as well as to take care and be responsible for, the books, papers, archives, etc. of the Legation, now occupying considerable space and of some little value and importance. I am so thoroughly persuaded that the appointment of Mr. Hooker, as Chargé d'Affaires, or Diplomatic Agent at Rome, would be of very great advantage to public, as well as to private interests, that I beg to commend the matter to the earnest consideration of the Secretary of State. As I have already stated, Mr. Hooker would not expect any remuneration for his services.

J. C. HOOKER TO F. W. SEWARD.

ROME 30 March /67

Dear Sir

May I beg you to speak to your Father in regard to the despatch forwarded to him to day by Genl King.

It grieves me to see our Legation closed here. There has been no hostility to the chapel here. The Presbyterians have been angry because the chapel was not in their hands.

I am willing to act in any way that could give me a diplomatic character.

The Consulate I do not care for even if it should become vacant. I suppose your Father could write to Genl King to give up the archives etc. to me and could write me to keep up a diplomatic character—No salary or renumeration will be asked for and the Roman Govt. will be pleased to have me here and your Father will have as He ever has had a warm friend in Rome.

I hope Genl King will be cared for by your Father[.]

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 89.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, April 2nd, 1867.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 55, from the State Department, under date of March 11th, 1867; advising me that in the Act making appropriations for the Consular and Diplomatic service, for the ensuing fiscal year, it is provided that no money shall be paid for the support of an American Legation at Rome, from and after the thirtieth day of June next. I await the instructions of the Department, as to the course which I am to pursue, under the circumstances.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 90.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, April 9th, '67.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No: 56, under date of March 18th, in reply to mine, Nos: 83, 84, 85 and 86, and apprising me that a copy of No: 83, which relates to the rumored closing, or removal of the Protestant Church, meeting at the American Embassy in Rome, had been transmitted to the House of Representatives. As this has been the subject of so much persistent misrepresentation in the press and elsewhere, I venture to express the hope that the despatch in question will be made public.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 58.[182]

Department of State Washington, April 20th, 1867.

Sir:

You have already been informed that a law has been enacted by Congress, which declares that from and after the 30th of June next no more money shall be paid for the Legation at Rome. This law leaves your mission still existing, but without compensation, after that period.

You will be at liberty, under the circumstances to consult your own feelings and interest, either to remain at Rome, in charge of the Legation after the 30th of June, without compensation or provision for your expenses, or to resign, or to leave Rome without resigning, on leave of absence, but in every case without compensation, whether remaining in Europe or returning here.

Should you decide withdrawing from Rome, you are at liberty to do so at any time before or after the 30th of June.

Whenever you may have prepared to withdraw from that Capital, you will place the archives in the care of the Consul at that place, taking the proper vouchers therefor, and you will inform the Cardinal, Secretary of State, of that proceeding. You will need to give him no farther explanation, although you are entirely at liberty to communicate the contents of this instruction.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 91.

Legation of the United States At Rome, April 22nd, '67.

Sir

I am in receipt of circular from State Department, under date of March 27th, 1867, prescribing form of certificate in regard to the records of this Legation; as also of despatch No: 47, under date of March 29th, advising me of shipment of box, containing (20) twenty sets of Diplomatic Correspondence for 1865, to be disposed of, as I may think proper. I will duly acknowledge receipt of box itself.

The ceremonies of Holy Week and Easter Sunday, which closed last evening, attracted a vast crowd of visitors to Rome; the proportion of Americans being unwontedly large. The weather throughout the week was very fine; the best of order prevailed and everything passed off satisfactorily. The Holy Father, who officiated in person at the ceremonies in St. Peter's, yesterday, seemed to be in the enjoyment of excellent health and pronounced the customary benediction, *urbi et orbi,* with impressive dignity and marked effect.

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[182] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 706. No. 57, Mar. 29, informs King that 20 sets of the Diplomatic Correspondence (*For. Rel.*) have been sent for distribution by the minister.

J. C. Hooker to F. W. Seward.

Rome, 26th April 1867

Dear Sir—

Enclosed you will find a letter from the Count de Sartiges to your Father.[183] Genl King is awaiting instructions for his movements. I hope He will have them, to keep his post, with permission to go away from here during the summer. There is an impression that Congress will in the autumn pass a bill authorizing the payment of the salary of the Minister here—as the appropriation was taken away on false reports, and information, given to Congress.

Genl King has not saved any money here and I do not see what will become of him or his family if removed from this post unless He is sent to some other. If He had some good office in the U. S. so much the better.

Holy Week has passed off very pleasantly. The Maggior Domo—was very civil and gave us many tickets for the American Ladies—and good one's.

I really hope that some provision will be made for Genl King by your Father—and that He may remain here. If otherwise I trust I may be left in charge of the Legation until—another Minister is sent here. With kind regards to your Father . . .

Rufus King to William H. Seward. Unofficial.

Legation of the United States At Rome, May 7th, '67.

Dear Governor

Ever since I received (April 2nd) your despatch No: 55, apprising me that Congress had refused to appropriate any more money for the Roman Mission, I have been expecting instructions as to what course I was to take, in closing up the affairs of the Legation, paying my parting respects to the Pope, etc. etc. But, as yet, I am without a line and am really at a loss what to do. It is all the more awkward, since, if asked *why* the Legation is suppressed, I can only say, that Congress acted under the belief that American Protestant worship had been excluded from Rome; The *truth* being, that it has *not* been interfered with, in *any* way; but on the contrary, we have been allowed, all the past season, to hold our services *apart* from the residence of the Minister and that for no other reason than that the Papal Court desired to show their good will towards the American Government and People. You will see, however, from my official despatch of this date, that if our Minister *is* withdrawn, American Protestants will be obliged to go *outside* the walls of Rome to exercise religious worship and that they will owe this exclusion, not to the Pope, but to the

[183] Not found.

action of *their own Congress.* Under the circumstances, I greatly desire instructions from you as to what I am to say to the Pope and the Cardinal (both of whom are much annoyed at the closing of the Legation) on taking my leave and whether I am expected to return, at once, to America. There are, indeed, reasons, apart from this, why I should like to go to the U. S. for a month, or so. I much desire to set *right* the story of Surratt's capture. The papers, I observe, continue to publish a variety of fictions in regard to it, and yesterday I observed in a Boston paper of April 19, all the credit of his arrest awarded to one Dr. McMillan and our Consul at Liverpool. I have never had the pleasure of hearing a word from either of them and they had no more to do with the capture, than the man in the moon. I should wish, too, to make known the *truth* in regard to Protestant worship in Rome and with what invariable kindness and courtesy Americans, whether resident, or transient, are treated by the Papal Authorities. It might, possibly, temper the bigotry of some of our ultra Presbyterian friends. I see, in the Washington papers of Apr. 19th, a long discussion between Counsel, as to fixing the time of Surratt's trial, subpoenaing witnesses, etc. Would there be any sufficient, or proper cause for subpoenaing *me* as a witness in this case? This would, at least, pay my way across the Atlantic and I should be at a loss, just now, how otherwise to do it.

I send you, by this mail, a copy of the *Diplomatic Review* for May; with an article on the " sale of Russian North America ", which may interest and amuse you. The Review is the organ of numerous societies and associations in England, mainly composed of *working men* and speaks the sentiments of a large body of Englishmen.

We have no special news. The Luxemburg difficulty is arranged, for the present; [184] but a war between France and Prussia is looked upon as sure to come, sooner, or later. Rome is preparing for great fêtes, in honor of next St. Peter's day (29 June) and the gathering, here, of Catholic Bishops from all parts of the world. The *revolution,* too, they say, is preparing to attend these *fêtes.* Certainly, without foreign help, the Pope is powerless to keep Garibaldi out.

My father, tho' decidedly better than he was a fortnight ago, still continues very ill. Dr. Valery, however, encourages us to hope and next week, if possible, we shall move him, for a change of air, to Frascati. The rest of the family are well.

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[184] Early in 1867 Napoleon negotiated with the King of the Netherlands for the purchase of Luxemburg, but Bismarck objected. By the treaty of London, following a conference of the powers, the grand-duchy was neutralized under European guarantees. Hayes, *Modern Europe,* II, 196.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 92.[185]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, May 7th, '67.

Sir

Several weeks have elapsed since the receipt of despatch No: 55, from the State Department, apprising me that Congress had declined to make any further appropriation for the support of the American Legation at Rome, from and after the close of the present fiscal year. In the daily expectation that I would receive instructions as to the course to be pursued under the circumstances, I have refrained from calling on Cardinal Antonelli; for I was somewhat at a loss how to explain to his Eminence the sudden and unlooked-for withdrawal of the American Minister from the Papal Court; or in what terms to take my leave of the Holy Father himself and his accomplished Secretary of State. I am still without the desired instructions and earnestly request that—if not already despatched—they may be transmitted to me at the earliest convenient opportunity.

The intelligence of the closing of the American Mission has, of course, become public and has elicited very strong expressions of regret from the American Artists, resident in Rome, and transient American visitors here; as well as from my colleagues of the Diplomatic Corps and various functionaries of the Papal Court. I am given to understand that the Pope himself feels hurt by the hasty and apparently groundless action of Congress and thinks it an unkind and ungenerous return for the good will he has always manifested towards the American Government and People.

On Friday last, Mr. J. C. Hooker, Acting Secretary of Legation, having occasion to call on Monsignor Pacca,[186] at the Vatican, on some matters of business, availed himself of the opportunity to pay his respects to Cardinal Antonelli. His Eminence at once introduced the subject of American Protestant worship in Rome. The season, he remarked, was nearly over and the time at hand for closing the American Chapel. Should it be re-opened in the Autumn, it could only be under the roof of the American Minister, or else in the building assigned, many years ago, for Protestant worship, immediately outside the Porta del Popolo. The Scotch, the Cardinal added, had been holding their religious services in a building opposite the one just mentioned; but complaints had been made in regard to it and he should inform Mr. Odo Russell that the Scotch must remove to the building occupied by the other Protestants. Baron Arnim, the Prussian Minister, the Cardinal said, had applied to him to know if other religious services than their own would be permitted in the chapel connected with the Prussian Legation and the reply was, that they might hold as many and what services they pleased; the Papal Government did not enter into that ques-

[185] *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 707-708.
[186] Bartolomeo Pacca, Maestro di Camera.

tion; it was enough for them to know that the services were under Prussian protection. In other words, the rule laid down and intended to be enforced by the Papal Government, in regard to Protestant worship in Rome, is briefly this: that no questions are asked and no inteference attempted, as to such worship, provided that it be celebrated under the roof of a Minister duly accredited to the Papal Court. If there be no Minister, or no Chapel connected with the Mission, then the American Protestants, desirous of holding religious services according to the forms prescribed by their own Church, must do so in the building heretofore set apart for Protestant worship outside the gates of Rome. This building, it seems proper to add, has been thus occupied by the English since 1823; adjoins the Porta del Popolo and faces the entrance to the Villa Borghese; is large, convenient, easy of access and can accomodate a numerous congregation; and is within five, or ten minutes walk of the principal Hotels, lodging-houses and quarters of the city, most frequented by American visitors.

I have given the substance of the Cardinal's conversation, that there might be no misunderstanding as to the views of Papal Government, relative to the toleration of Protestant worship within their jurisdiction. The rule is simple and obvious. It results therefrom that it is not his Holiness the Pope, but the American Congress who, by closing the Mission here, have driven American Protestant worship outside the gates of Rome. So long as the United States had a representative at the Papal Court and a Chapel connected with the U. S. Legation, no inteference whatever was thought of, or attempted, with American Protestant worship in this Catholic city. It owes its suppression in Rome to the suppression of the American Legation; to Congress and not to the Pope. It is this fact which renders it all the more difficult for me to announce to his Holiness that the United States withdraws its Representative at the Papal Court and breaks off all Diplomatic intercourse with the Papal Government, on the alleged, but erroneous ground, that the Pope refuses to permit Protestant worship within the walls of Rome.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 93.

Legation of the United States At Rome, May 14th, 1867.

Sir

I am this day in receipt of despatch No: 58, from the State Department, under date of April 20th advising me that, altho' Congress has decided that, " from and after the 30th June next no more money shall be paid for the Legation at Rome," this law leaves the Roman Mission " still existing " and myself " at liberty to remain in Rome, in charge of the Legation, without compensation, or provision for your (my) expenses, or to resign, or to leave Rome, without resigning, on leave of absence, etc."

The despatch further instructs me, should I decide to withdraw from

Rome, " to place the archives in care of the Consul " and to " inform the Cardinal Secretary of State of that proceeding ".

Under the circumstances and in view of the fact, that Congress, in its action with regard to the Roman Mission, was misled by an utterly false report and will, doubtless, avail itself of an early opportunity to revise the proceeding, it is my present purpose to retain the post which I have the honor to hold, until recalled by the authority to which I owe my appointment. The question of " compensation " I leave to the justice of my Country.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 94.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT ROME, May 17th, 1867.

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of printed Circular from the State Department, under date of April 17th, instructing me to apply to the Government of Rome, " for four complete sets of the postage stamps and stamped envelopes actually in use in their possessions ", as well as " sets of obsolete stamps and specimens at any time proposed to be used, but not adopted."

I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity to make the required application, as also to inform the Government of Rome, that it would be agreeable to the Post-Master General of the U. S. " to receive, semi-annually, four sets of such stamps as shall have been from time to time adopted ", and to signify the readiness of the American Government to reciprocate the courtesy asked-for by forwarding to the Government of Rome a corresponding number of the stamps and stamped envelopes used in the United States.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. No. 95.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT ROME, May 24th, 1867.

Sir

In compliance with instructions conveyed by printed circular from the State Department, under date of April 17th, '67, I applied, this morning, to the Cardinal Secretary of State, for the desired sets of postage stamps, etc., all of which his Eminence kindly promised to furnish. I availed myself of the opportunity to make known to the Cardinal the purport of despatch No: 58, from the State Department, under date of April 20th, and of my decision in regard thereto; with which his Eminence expressed himself greatly gratified.

The U. S. Ship of War, *Swatara,* arrived at Civita Vecchia, yesterday afternoon.

William H. Seward to Rufus King. No. 59.

Department of State Washington, 1st June 1867.

Sir

Your despatches of the 7th and 14th ultimo, and your private letters of the 23d of April and May 7th have been received.

As the course which you were to pursue regarding your future movements in connection with the United States Mission at Rome, was left to your discretion, the Department sees no objection to you carrying out your intention as set forth in your No. 93.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 96.[187]

Legation of the United States At Rome, June 18th, 1867.

Sir

I duly received, last week, by the hands of Mr. William King, bearer of despatches, a duplicate copy of despatch No: 58, from the State Department, under date of April 20th. Having already (May 14th) replied to that communication, I have nothing further to add, at present, on the subject to which it relates.

Rome is rapidly filling up with visitors, lay and clerical, from all parts of the world; attracted hither by the forth-coming ceremonies and solemnities in honor of the 18th Centennial Anniversary of St. Peter's Day. Some anxiety had been occasioned by the report that the Cholera had made its appearance in Rome; but I am assured by the Secretary of State; by the Physician to the Legation and by other reliable authorities, that the cases, thus far, have been comparatively few in number and all of a sporadic, rather than an epidemic type.

The Sovereign Pontiff continues in the enjoyment of excellent health and receives, to-day and to-morrow, the felicitations of the Diplomatic Corps upon the recurrence of another Anniversary of his Coronation.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 97.[188]

Legation of the United States At Rome, June 21st, '67.

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of despatch No: 59, from the State Department, under date of June 1st and in reply to mine of May 7th and 14th and am happy to learn that the Department sees no objection to my carrying out the intention expressed in my No: 93. I have no acknowl-

[187] All but first paragraph printed in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 708.
[188] First paragraph omitted, *ibid.*, pp. 708-709.

edgement, as yet, of my despatches from No: 87 to No: 91, both inclusive, but as no reference is made to any numbers being missing, I conclude that the despatches in question have been duly received and therefore send no duplicates.

I had the honor of an interview with his Holiness the Pope on the 19th instant; having called, officially, to tender my congratulations upon the recurrence of another anniversary (the twenty-first) of his coronation. I found the Holy Father in excellent health and spirits; greatly gratified, no doubt, by the concourse of "the faithful", whom the approaching Centenary of St. Peter's day has attracted to Rome from every quarter of the globe. The Sovereign Pontiff was especially anxious to obtain some reliable intelligence as to the probable fate of Maximilian and seemed much relieved by my assurance that the Government of the United States would use all its influence with the authorities of Mexico to save the unhappy prisoner's life and I felt every confidence that this intervention would prove successful.[189] I find a very warm and general interest in Maximilian's destiny among my colleagues of the Diplomatic Corps and it would add not a little to the prestige which our country already enjoys in Europe, should Maximilian be indebted for life and liberty to the friendly intercession of the United States.

The festival of Corpus Domini was celebrated in Rome, yesterday, with unwonted pomp and splendor. The procession around the magnificent piazza of St. Peter's was the grandest spectacle that this Imperial City has witnessed for centuries. Among the numerous ecclesiastics who took part in it were no less than forty-eight (48) cardinals and three hundred and eight (308) Bishops; many of these from North and South America; from Africa, China and "farthest Ind"; and from almost every country in Europe. A vast crowd occupied every available point in the great square and when the pageant was over, quietly separated without the slightest disturbance, or disorder.

The feeling of uneasiness on the subject of the Cholera, to which I alluded in a previous despatch, seems to have subsided; the disease itself thus far showing no symptoms of increase.

Rufus King to William H. Seward. No. 98.[190]

Legation of the United States At Rome, July 2nd, 1867.

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Circular from the State Department, under date of June 13th, enclosing copies of a memorandum from Professor Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute; and directing me to

[189] Concerning the fruitless efforts made by the U. S. to save Maximilian's life see the correspondence in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, pp. 564 *et seq.*; *id.*, Pt. II, 411-412, 554.

[190] All but first paragraph in *For. Rel., loc. cit.*, p. 709.

apply for and forward to the Department, for the use of the Professor, the information required in his Circular.[191] I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity to carry out these instructions.

The grand celebration of the Centenary of St. Peter's Day passed off most successfully. Notwithstanding the vast multitude gathered together in Rome, to witness the unwonted spectacle, no accident occurred, nor the slightest disorder, or disturbance, to mar the festivities. I had never seen so large, or so orderly a crowd, as that which assembled on the Piazza del Popolo, the evening of the 29th of June, to enjoy the brilliant display of fireworks from the Pincian Hill.

Among the numerous Catholic ecclesiastics now present in Rome, there are no less than twenty-five (25) Archbishops and Bishops from the United States. They called in a body to pay their respects to the Holy Father, last week, and the Pope embraced the occasion to speak, kindly and cordially, of our country and of its representative at the Papal Court.

His Holiness has given notice of his intention to call a General Council of the Church; to be held, as he intimated, in the fall of 1868. Great importance is attached to the assembling and the action of this Council.[192]

Rufus King to the President of the United States.

New York, January 1st, 1868

Sir

Congress having decided, at the last Session, to make no further appropriation for the support of the Roman Mission, I hereby respectfully tender my resignation, as U. S. Minister Resident near the Holy See.

William H. Seward to Rufus King.

Department of State Washington, March 25th 1868

Sir,

The President duly received your communication dated the 1st of January last tendering your resignation as Minister Resident of the United States near the Holy See.

The resignation has been accepted.

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[191] Referring to a circular of Joseph Henry, first secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, relative to exchanges of government reports and documents. Smithsonian Inst., *Annual Rept.*, 1867, p. 71.

[192] The Ecumenical Council which promulgated the doctrine of Infallibility.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD. PRIVATE.

CUSTOM HOUSE, NEW YORK, April 25, 1868.

My dear Mr. Secretary,

I did not intend, after your explicit letter of the 3rd inst., to have troubled you, or any body else, with further communications on the subject of the Roman Mission. But a few days since, I received a long letter from Mr. Hooker, narrating certain recent occurrences in Rome, which he seems desirous that the Secretary should see and which I can hardly transmit, without a few explanatory notes of my own. I have therefore copied and herewith send such portions of Mr. Hooker's letter as seem relevant and beg to add some brief comments in my own behalf. When I received notice, last summer, from the Department, that Congress had decided to make no appropriation for the Roman Mission, I was left the option of resigning as Minister; or remaining at my post, but without compensation; or of returning to the U. S. on leave of absence. Having no private means, I chose the last-named alternative and came home in August, 1867. But under the circumstances I took no formal leave of the Papal Authorities; having no "letters of recall" to present; and, as well for the public interests, as for the convenience and protection of the numerous Americans visiting Rome, requested Mr. Hooker to continue to act as Secretary in my absence and until otherwise advised. This he has done, very much, I believe, to the benefit of our fellow-countrymen in Rome; without detriment, so far as I know, to the public service; and without cost to the Department, or the Government. Of course, however, since the decision of the Department was communicated to him, he has ceased altogether to act in the capacity mentioned. As I do not know what "the laws, customs and precedents in all such cases" enjoin, I am at a loss to guess how far it may be in accordance therewith to bring a Foreign Mission to so abrupt a close; or whether it would not be in conformity with diplomatic usage to give formal notice to the Papal Government that our Minister had been withdrawn; even tho' the reason assigned by Congress for such withdrawal formed no part of the communication.

It is certainly somewhat annoying to me, personally, to find this story about the Pope's "offering indignity to American citizens; compelling the closing of the American Chapel["], etc; while I was the American representative there so widely spread and generally credited, that the highest Admiral in our Navy sees in *that,* the explanation of the Roman Mission being closed. I did my best, at the time, and have endeavoured, repeatedly, since, to correct the misapprehensions which prevailed on this subject, but, apparently, without the slightest effect. The Pope's conduct towards American citizens, during the three and a half years that I filled the post of Minister Resident, was always kind and courteous; and towards myself, personally, as well as the Government I had

the honor to represent, all that could be asked. As an instance of this, I need but refer to the prompt action, of the Papal Authorities in the case of John H. Surratt; when, in the absence of any extradition treaty between the two countries, and in anticipation, even, of any demand on our part, for the surrender of the fugitive; the arrest of Surratt was ordered, as I mentioned at the time, " as well for the purpose of placing him in safe custody, as with the view to show the disposition of the Papal government, to comply with the expected request of the American authorities ". This was, certainly, in striking contrast with the conduct of the Italian government in the same case; which according to our Minister, Mr Marsh, would probably *not* have surrendered the accused, had he been found within their jurisdiction; or with that of the British Governor at Malta, who positively *refused* to give him up, on the demand of our Consul Mr. Winthrop, based upon the telegraphic despatch I sent him from Rome. But all such reminiscences, I presume, are unavailing now.

I did not mean to inflict upon you so long a story; but, in all probability, it will close *my* share of the correspondence on the subject of the Roman Mission. Give my kindest regards to your father, Mrs. Seward and the Major, if with you, and believe me, as ever. . .

P. S. Is there not some provision of law, by which an allowance for travelling expenses is made to a Foreign Minister, recalled, or returning from his post of duty; and, if so, am I not entitled to it? I should not ask, but that my circumstances are such, as to make every dollar count.

J. C. Hooker to Rufus King.

Rome, March 25th, 1868.

My dear General

You will receive a long letter from me, by this post—but do not be alarmed; I am going to write it particularly for you; and should not mind, if you sent it to Mr. Seward and Mr. Sumner for perusal.[193]

In the first place, you know that on giving up the archives and property of the Legation to Mr. Cushman, I ceased to use the card of " Secretary "; and told Cardinal Antonelli that I should confine my future functions to doing acts of courtesy, etc. in your name. Not having the use of the seal, I intended in no wise to compromise the Legation, or myself. The Cardinal said that, until you presented your letters of recall, or rescinded the one you wrote him (on leaving Rome last summer) he should consider you as still Minister and me as Secretary; and the Court Almanac, just published, has our names in it. . . . Thus, up to the present time, the U. S. Legation exists in Rome and is carried on, as it always has been: Monsignor Pacca writing to you, on Saturday last, for the names of American ladies, wishing tickets for the ceremonies of Holy Week; and I, to-day, sending them in. I now come to an event which has decided me to retire from the post of Secretary, unless I have some authority besides your own.

About a fortnight ago, Captain Leroy and Major Montgomery, of Admiral Farragut's staff, came to Rome. The latter is the Admiral's Secretary. They reported the Admiral unwell at Naples; but shortly to come up here. He arrived on the 16th inst. Major Montgomery went with me, in my carriage, to receive him. On

[193] Senator Charles Sumner was chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

account of his health, the Admiral's arrival was kept rather secret; only five, or six knowing the day fixed upon; and hearing that Mr. Motley and others had been talking of my position as your representative, I decided on not putting myself forward in any officious way.

On Wednesday last, Captains Leroy and Strong called upon me and said that Admiral Farragut was desirous of paying his respects to his Holiness and Cardinal Antonelli; and wished to know the manner of proceeding. I told them of my position here and that I wrote frequently, in your name, for *audiences* for our countrymen; and also made *presentations,* where the parties were of distinction; having lately presented Mr Peabody and the Hon: R. C. Winthrop.[194] I mentioned to Captain Leroy that I acted for you, in matters of courtesy; and showed him your letter, saying I should continue to represent you. He desired me to go with him to see the Admiral, which I did and repeated to him what I had said to the Captain. The Admiral said, *he had been told that the Mission was closed, on account of indignity shown to Americans, by driving them out of town to worship.* I put him right in this matter; saying that, instead of " indignity ", courtesy had been shown; in permitting us to worship in a place, separate from the Legation; in a building occupied since 1823 for Protestant worship; and within seven minutes' walk of nine of the principal hotels in Rome. The Admiral said that a government like this, a Theocracy, could not, without stultifying itself, grant religious privileges to all the sects in the world. Our conversation ended by his requesting me to arrange for his presentation to his Holiness, together with his staff.

In about an hour Cushman came to me and said that while he was with the Admiral, Mr Motley and Mr Dexter came in; that the subject of the Admiral's proposed visit to the Pope was discussed and these gentlemen said I had no right to present and Col: Lawrence coincided; that Mr Cushman was the proper person to make the presentation, etc. The Admiral was perplexed, but the fact that Mr Cushman held a U. S. Commission was placed before him; so he finally gave Cushman authority to arrange for the presentation. Knowing that Mr Motley's opinion would go farther than mine, I concluded to say nothing. On Wednesday, Cushman came to me and wished to know if Monsignor Talbot generally presented.[195] I told him that he did not. He then said: " I cannot present the Admiral; I have never been presented myself; have never been in the apartment; and know nothing of the etiquette " . . . I gave him all the particulars I could; for I desired that everything should go smoothly with the gallant old Admiral and I also gave a hint to Captain Leroy about what to do. The party left the Hotel Brighton Saturday at noon (the audience being fixed at 12½ P. M.) Cushman telling me he should remain in the Antechamber till the party came out and then go with them to Cardinal Antonelli's. Monsignor Ricci received them and told Cushman that he could go in with the others; as he did; and had his first audience of the Pope. The Admiral was very kindly received by his Holiness and by the Cardinal. Had I gone, I should have taken in the Admiral first and then the other officers. . . .

Yesterday morning the Admiral and Staff left in the train for Naples. I drove up to the station, sought out the Chief and secured two compartments for the Admiral and party; for which I was heartily thanked. . . .

If Mr Seward and Mr Sumner would agree, I might be made diplomatic agent here and attend to matters, as I have done. Otherwise, as I have said to you before, I must retire if my position is to be questioned.

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[194] George Peabody, in 1868, endowed an art school in Rome. Robert C. Winthorp had been Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1847-1849, and Senator from Mass., 1850-1851.

[195] Mgr. George Talbot, Secretario d'Ambasciata. He was a confidant of the Pope and his English adviser.

Rufus King to F. W. Seward.

Custom House, New York. May 16th, 1868.

My dear Mr. Secretary

I enclose a copy and translation of a communication from Cardinal Antonelli to Mr. Hooker, in Rome, transmitting, in accordance with a request made last year, four (4) complete sets of postage stamps now in use in the Pontifical dominions and asking for a similar collection of our American stamps. One of these Roman sets I had requested myself; the other three I beg leave to send, through you, to the P. O. Department in Washington. I will, if desired, take pleasure in forwarding the American stamps, in exchange, to their proper destination.

I have duly received the letter from the Department, advising me of the acceptance of my resignation as Minister to Rome. May I ask if the query which I addressed to you, in my last letter, ought not rather to have been directed to Mr. Baker? It related to an allowance for return traveling expenses.

Mrs. King joins me in kind regards to Mrs. Seward and yourself, as well as to your father.

(*Translation.*)

From the Apartments of the Vatican. April 7th, 1868.

The undersigned, Cardinal Secretary of State, in fulfilment of the promise made to the Legation of the United States, in his note of the 16th July, 1867, charges himself to-day with transmitting to your Excellency, four complete sets of the postage-stamps in hundredths of francs, which are now in use in the Pontifical dominions and which were substituted for those of the first issue in dollars and cents.

The writer would be much obliged if, in forwarding these to your Government, you should express the wish, here entertained, to have a collection of the postage-stamps actually current in the United States—a wish quickened by the hope derived from the analagous proffer of exchange, made by the Representative of the American Government near the Holy See.

The undersigned avails himself of this further occasion to convey to your Excellency the expression of his distinguished consideration.

G. Card: Antonelli.

Mr. Hooker in charge of U. S. Legation.

Rufus King to William H. Seward.

New York May 18th, 1868

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the State Department, dated March 25th 1868, apprising me that my resignation, as Minister Resident of the United States near the Holy See,

tendered on the 1st. of January last past, had been duly accepted by the President: as also of an enclosed note, without date, stating that, "the accompanying letter was sent to New-York, at its date, and has been returned to the Department thro' the Dead Letter Office."

F. W. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, May 20th 1868

My dear General,

I have received your note of the 16th instant, and have transmitted the three sets of Roman Postage Stamps which accompanied it, to the Post Master General together with an extract from your note and a copy of the translation of Cardinal Antonelli's note to Mr. Hooker.

F. W. SEWARD TO RUFUS KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON, May 22d 1868

My dear General,

In further answer to your unofficial letter of the 16th instant, I now enclose a transcript of a communication of yesterday's date addressed to this Department by the Post Master General, together with the package to which it refers, containing specimens of the Postage Stamps and Stamped envelopes, now and heretofore issued by his Department, which he requests may be transmitted to the Pontifical Government. I will thank you to forward the package in such manner as you may deem most advisable.

RUFUS KING TO WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

NEW YORK, May 31st, '68.

My dear Mr. Secretary

Congress, I observe, has ordered 10.000 copies of J. Ross Browne's report on the Territories to be printed for distribution; placing one thousand copies at the disposal of the State Department. I do not know that I have any claim to the favor; but if you should chance to have a copy of the report to spare, I shall be very glad to get one.

I hope to send the package of P. O. stamps and stamped envelopes, with a copy of Gov: Randall's communication, to Rome, by private hand, during the current week.

I see that my cousin, Gen: Gallatin Lawrence, is to return from Costa

Rica.[196] Not many weeks since, he wrote to me from Washington (thinking I still held the post of Minister to Rome) proposing to "exchange Missions"—professing great confidence in being able to secure the appointment to Rome; while I might succeed him at Costa Rica. I did not encourage the proposal; as, if Congress had repaired the wrong of last Session and restored the Appropriation, I should have been very glad, myself, to have paid Rome a second visit.

In my last hasty note, I asked you a question which you doubtless overlooked, or forgot to answer. It was, whether law, or custom, did not entitle me to an allowance for expenses, in returning from my post of duty. If so, it would be quite acceptable.[197]

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[196] Albert Gallatin Lawrence, of R. I., was minister resident at Costa Rica, Oct. 2, 1866-July 25, 1868. Dept. of State, *Register*, Jan. 1, 1931, p. 324. Randall, above mentioned, was the former minister to Rome, and now Postmaster General.

[197] Cushman, the consul, remained in charge of the legation after King's departure. In Apr., 1869, he was succeeded by David M. Armstrong who arrived in time to witness the fall of Rome and the end of the Papal States. L. F. Stock, "Am. Consuls to the Papal States", *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 242, 249-250.

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